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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

VOLUME XII.

SESSION 1859-60.

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1860.

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EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The Wood-cuts forming the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Plates were engraved at the expense of Mr. Marsh, the Author of the Paper they illustrate. They were printed at the cost of the Society, who also wholly defrayed the expense of all the other Plates.

☞ Subjects of Papers to be read before the Society during the *Thirteenth Session*, will be advertised in the *Mercury* on the Tuesday, and in the *Daily Post* on the Wednesday, preceding each Meeting: and in the *Daily Times* on each day of Meeting.

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26 11 Counties in which Churchmen exceed 50 Per Cent
9 are most numerous of the three classes
5 3 Counties in which Dissenters exceed 50 Per Cent
2 are most numerous of the three classes
13 4 Counties in which Irreligious exceed 50 Per Cent
9 are most numerous of the three classes
No Roman Catholics in Huntingdon and Rutland
Irreligious not apparent in Hunts, Northampton, Suffolk
CHURCH strongest in Suffolk weakest in Durham
DISSENTERS strongest in S Wales weakest in Westmoreland
IRRELIGIOUS strongest in Surrey weakest in Hunts Northampton Suffolk
** The Field of the Church varies from 30 in South Wales to 86 in Westmoreland and averages 67
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ENGLAND
Explanation.
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Do not 50 .. but highest in numbers
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Do not 50 but highest in numbers
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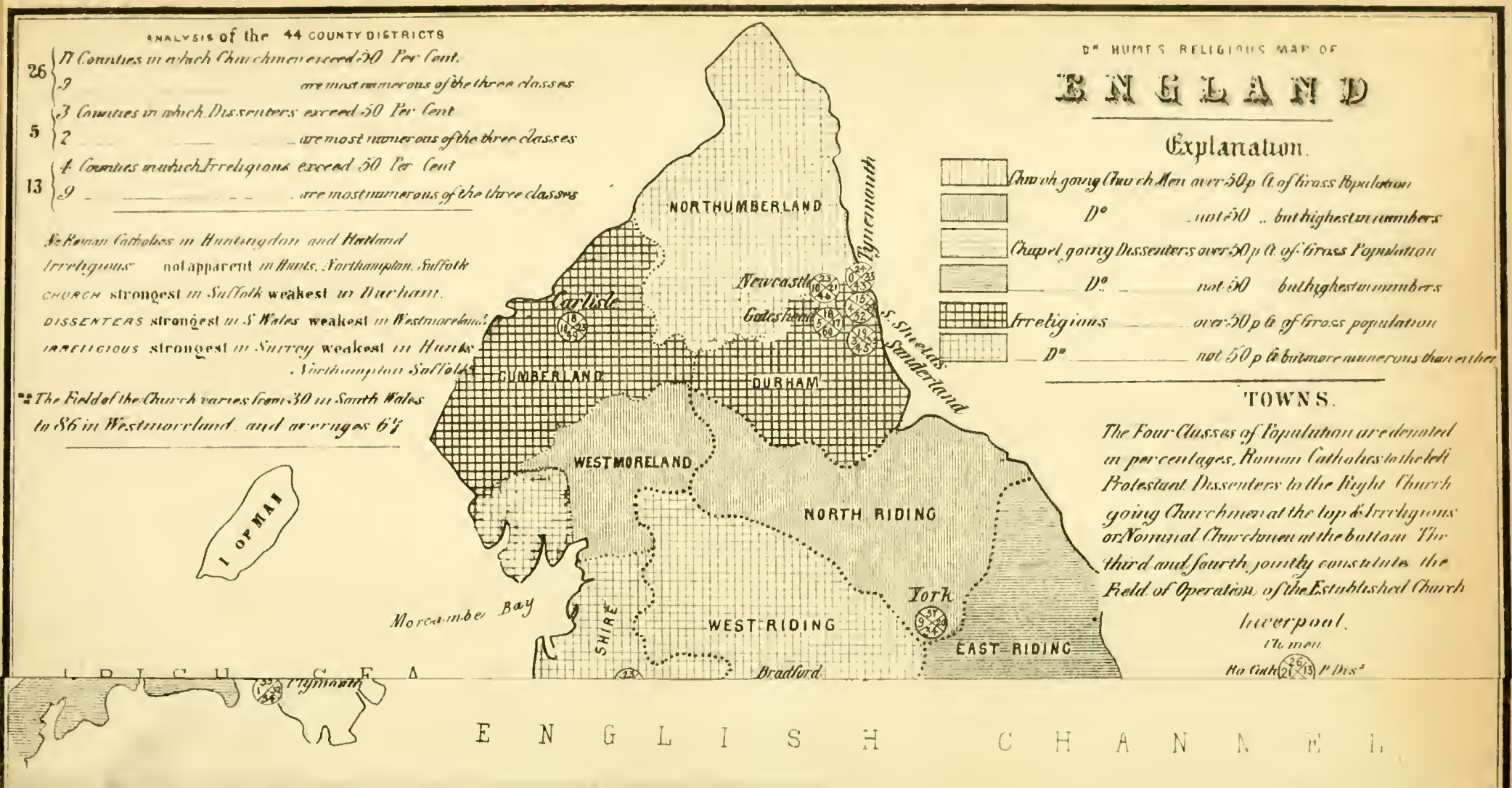
Do not 50 p Ct but more numerous than either
TOWNS
The Four Classes of Population are denoted in percentages. Roman Catholics to the left Protestant Dissenters to the Right. Church going Churchmen at the top & Irreligious or Nominal Churchmen at the bottom. The third and fourth jointly constitute the Field of Operation of the Established Church
Liverpool
Ch men
Rn Cath P Diss
Irreligious
NORTHUMBERLAND
Newcastle
Gateshead
Tynemouth
S. Shields
Sunderland
Carlisle
CUMBERLAND
DURHAM
WESTMORELAND
NORTH RIDING
York
EAST RIDING
Hull
Humber
WEST RIDING
Bradford
Leeds
Halifax
Rochdale
Oldham
Ashton
Wakefield
Sheffield
Stockport
Manchester
Liverpool
Warrington
Preston
Blackburn
LANCASHIRE
Morcambe Bay
I OF MAN
IRISH SEA
I. OF ANGLESEY
CHESHIRE
Chester
Macclesfield
DERBY
Nottingham
NOTTINGHAM
LINCOLN
The Wash
Stoke
Derby
STAFFORD
N. WALES
Cardigan B
SHROPSHIRE
Wolverhampton
Walsall
Dudley
Birmingham
LEICESTER
Leicester
RUTLAND
AMPTON
CAMBRIDGE
NORFOLK
Kings Lynn
Norwich
Yarmouth
HUNTINGDON
Kidderminster
Coventry
WARWICK
Northampton
Cambridge
SUFFOLK
Ipswich
HEREFORD
Worcester
S. WALES
NORTH
BEDFORD
Colchester
Cheltenham
OXFORD
BUCKINGHAM
HERTFORD
ESSEX
Merthyr Tydvil
Swansea
MONMOUTH.
Newport
GLOUCESTER
Oxford
Bristol
BERKS
Reading
Foulness
Mouth of R Thames
Chatham
Bristol Channel
Bath
WILTS
Gravesend
Maidstone
Dover
SURREY
HANTS
KENT
SOMERSET
Southampton
SUSSEX
DEVON
Exeter
Portsmouth
Brighton
DORSET
CORNWALL
Devonport
Plymouth
Exmouth
I of Portland
I OF WIGHT
ENGLISH CHANNEL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WESTMORELAND
NORTH RIDING
York
WEST RIDING
EAST RIDING
SHIRE
Morcambe Bay
Bradford
I OF MAN
Plymouth
ENGLISH CHANNEL

TRANSACTIONS.

REMARKS ON THE CENSUS OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP FOR ENGLAND AND WALES.

By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., &c.

(Read 12th January, 1860.)

I.—Introduction.

It will be admitted, pretty generally, that the subject of Ecclesiastical statistics is a difficult and delicate one. Each religious body looks at facts through a medium of its own interposing; and each is anxious to show its importance by its numbers. With a few understood exceptions, the smaller the body, the greater is the anxiety on this subject: for any given number,—say 1,000 or 10,000,—forms a large fractional part of a small community, but is inappreciable in a very large one.

As a matter of course, the subject is sometimes made controversial, when in reality it belongs to numerical inquiries which demand the calmest investigation: and it is a common practice to put forward one aspect of the subject only,—viz. that which is most favourable to the views of the speaker or writer,—and to omit, designedly, all that is contradictory or corrective. Thus, errors and prejudices are increased; and truth, when found at all, is reached by slow and difficult steps, instead of with speed and facility. It is well known, that one of the most dexterous modes of propagating error is to state a truth partially, or to omit one or more facts of a set: so that every word spoken or written may be strictly true, so far as it goes, and every idea conveyed may be absolutely false. This may be done in numerical inquiries as well as in others, by merely dropping some indispensable element, by ignoring some condition of the question, without which a correct solution is impossible.

In ordinary circumstances, I should shrink from an inquiry with which the interests and passions of men are so much bound up; and sometimes also their party feelings. The present occasion is, however, exceptional. The subject is important in itself, and it assumes increasing interest at the moment when we begin to prepare for another decennial census. The

errors of the last one, however few they may be, and trifling when compared with its general importance, should be rectified; so that with the growth of experience, the statements may become more and more reliable. Besides, I have given much attention to the subject; I have been identified with it in some respects; and I have had attributed to me the merit of certain calculations to which I can lay no claim. An investigation like the present appears suited for a Statistical Society, or for the Statistical section of a large Society; and as that subject is embraced in the Literary section of our own, it is quite in place here.

One of the first attempts, if not the very first, at an Ecclesiastical census, was made in Ireland in 1834. The duty was entrusted to the Commissioners of Public Instruction; who instead of employing Government officials, procured the details in general from private persons, and these were afterwards corrected by suitable checks. The gross population, for example, not only in the whole country, but in sections such as counties, dioceses, and parishes, harmonised with what might have been expected from adding the natural increase to the numbers for 1831; and whenever an opportunity occurred of comparing the results with those which had been reached by other means, the discrepancy was very small.*

That census, however, had nothing to do with *religious worship*. It classified the population according to the creed which each person professed; and thus it reached directly a result which we seek to reach indirectly from the ecclesiastical census of 1851. That of 1851, on the contrary, reached directly a result which could only be derived from the first census by estimate and calculation; but both are important, and we cannot well dispense with either aspect of the whole question.

Several years ago, I made some important analyses of a portion of the Irish census; and from the paper on the subject, published in 1859, the following extract is taken.

"Previous to the publication of this Census, there was no reliable information respecting the relative strength of religious parties; and as soon as it saw the light, an outcry was raised by each of the four divisions of the community, impugning its accuracy. The members of the Established Church declared that they were numerically much stronger than they were represented to be; the Roman Catholics did not hesitate to attribute to the enumerators intentional inaccuracy; the Presbyterians asserted that their relative importance was not sufficiently recognised; and the other Protestant Dissenters (many of whom were not *exclusively* so, but nominal

* First and Second Reports of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, Ireland, presented to Parliament, 1835.

"Churchmen or Presbyterians still,) complained that they were entirely "ignored. To impartial judges, this concurrence of dissatisfaction is strong "evidence of the general correctness of the Census. Many previous "statements, made without authority and occasionally in defiance of it, "were here contradicted; and men are slow to perceive their own errors— "slower still to acknowledge them."*

In 1851, a "Census of Religious Worship" was compiled for each of the two sections of Great Britain. That for Scotland was published separately, and at a comparatively early period after the receipt of the detailed information. It had been anxiously looked for: and was therefore issued with somewhat less care than was bestowed on the publication for South Britain.† The Census of Religious Worship for England and Wales naturally attracted much attention; and very different conclusions were drawn from it by different sections of the community. It is to this publication that I now purpose to allude exclusively.

II.—Modes of Ascertaining the Religious Elements of the Population.

The Census just alluded to is in some respects the end aimed at; but in other respects it is only means to an end. It affords us a clue by which other facts of importance may be arrived at; and one of the most interesting of these is the analysis of the population into its constituent elements, on the ground of creed. We cannot ascertain all that we wish to know, or all that is perhaps desirable to be known; but a great deal of information lies on the surface, and much more may be reached by legitimate inference from the data placed before us in the tables.

1. *Estimate from Places of Worship.*

Before 1851, we possessed only rude approximations to the relative numbers of religious bodies; and one of the facts from which people most

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* *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, for April, 1859.

The general result was the following:—

	Persons.		Per Centage.
Members of the Established Church	853,160	or	10·726
Roman Catholics	6,436,060	„	80·215
Presbyterians	643,058	„	8·840
Other Protestant Dissenters	21,882	„	·275
	7,954,160	„	100

During twenty-six years, the absolute numbers have diminished, and the relative proportions have greatly altered. But in the absence of official information, it would be unsafe to guess to what extent.

† See Appendix A.

commonly reasoned, was the number of religious edifices supported respectively, by the Established Church and by Non-established Churches. Now, in 1851, there were the following—

Places of worship in connection with the Established Church		14,077
Do.	do. all other bodies...	20,390

If we had only this fact from which to judge, it would appear that the members of the Established Church are only as 7 to 10, when compared with all other religious communities; but this conclusion is modified when we come to consider the capacity of the buildings, or the accommodation for worshippers which they severally afford. Thus,—

	Number.	Sittings.	Average.
Churches	14,077	5,317,915	377
Chapels	20,390	4,894,648	240

Hence, it appears that the 20,390 chapels are equivalent to only 12,983 churches; assuming for the moment, that in all other respects they are alike.

But a further modification is necessary. Of the churches, 13,854 are separate buildings, and only 223 (1½ per cent.) buildings of a different class; so that with few exceptions, they possess permanence of character, being devoted to ecclesiastical objects for ever. Of the chapels, on the contrary, there are 3285 (16 per cent.) not separate buildings; and if we reduce the numbers already attained, for this second reason, we have the following:—

	Actual Churches.	Equivalent Churches.	
	14,077	12,983	
Deduct	223	2,079	(16 per cent.)
	13,854	10,904	

This still assumes, that in all remaining respects the two classes of buildings are equal. But what if the one be permanently, and exclusively, and systematically devoted to religious objects, while many of the others are only temporarily or occasionally so, or in alternation with other uses. This is actually the case. In 1851 the benefices* in England and Wales were nearly 12,000 in number, each of which had its Incumbent, with clerical and lay assistance, in almost all the larger and more populous

* In 1858 there were 12,092 benefices in England and Wales; but a benefice often contains two or three consecrated churches, independent of incipient congregations in school rooms and other buildings.

parishes and districts. But, for the 20,390 chapels belonging to other communions, we find in the census returns only 8696* professional dissenting ministers. This is between a third and a half as compared with the number of chapels; and it is therefore quite clear that many of the latter must be only preaching stations, served by pious and worthy laymen, who are engaged in secular occupations during the week. Not only pastoral and missionary duties, therefore, are out of the question; even efficient congregational superintendence is morally impossible.

The extent to which mere preaching stations are multiplied, as compared with *bonâ fide* chapels, may be learned from the evidence of Mr. Edward Baines before a select† Committee of the House of Commons. His returns shew that of 19,481 places of worship, belonging exclusively to "the three "denominations,"‡ so many as 7,473 (39 per cent.) are mere temporary preaching stations. This last fact may be illustrated by a reference to the town of Liverpool. In 1851, there were 99 chapels returned in the census, as within the borough, not connected with either the Established Church or the Roman Catholic body;—yet from the Directory for the same year, not more than 60 appear to have had definite ministers connected with them.

It is unnecessary to pursue the subject farther. These facts are sufficient to show that any estimate of the relative numbers of members, founded on a direct relation to the number of religious edifices, is fallacious in the highest degree. The same may be said of the Irish census of 1834, which showed a totally different per-centage§ of members and of places of

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* This includes both Protestants and Roman Catholics. As the statement has been called in question, I give the complete analysis from the Second Part of the Census for 1851. The figures may be found in vol. i. of "Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations, &c." pp. ccxviii, ccxix, ccxxii.

Clergymen and Ministers in Gt. Britain and the Islands of the British Seas, 30,047	England and Wales	26,016	Clergymen	17,320
			Protestant Ministers	6,405
			Priests and other Religious Teachers	2,291
				8,696
	Scotland	3,812		
	Islands in Brit. Seas	219		

† On Church Rates, 1851, p. 435.

‡ Independents, Baptists and Methodists.

	Members.	Places of Worship.
§ Established Church	10·726	34
Roman Catholics	80·215	47
Presbyterians	8·840	10
Other Protestant Dissenters	·275	2

It is obvious that nearly all the Chapels of the last class were merely preaching stations.

worship.* The Presbyterian body was the only one in which the two sets of figures approximated; and the fact is explained by their local concentration. So many as 57 per cent. of all the Presbyterians of Ireland, and 41 per cent. of their places of worship, were then situated in the two counties adjacent to Scotland, viz., Down and Antrim.

2. *Rate of Increase.*

In the returns for 1851, the existing churches and chapels which had been erected previous to 1801 were separated from others of subsequent erection; and the number added during each decennial period for half a century was easily recorded. [The table of churches alone will be found in the Report, page xl.; and that for the churches and chapels jointly at page cxxxi.]

Looking only at the facts which such a table records, and assuming the circumstances of the two sets of buildings to be identical, it would follow that the increase of Protestant Dissenting chapels, during the present century, has been much more rapid than that of churches.

But here, as before, a modifying fact has to be borne in mind. It is well known, for example, that a church is a permanent erection, for the people of a fixed locality, whoever they may be. It thus bears a relation to a certain limited space, whether that be densely or sparsely inhabited, or whether by rich or by poor. A chapel, on the other hand, is related to the congregation; and changes its site† as the members change their residences. Liverpool again furnishes a ready illustration. I have shown elsewhere,‡ that 9 dissenting chapels have occupied 26 different sites; gradually receding from the lower parts of the town towards the residences of the more wealthy in the outskirts. Thus, the congregation which established

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* See also Analysis of the Scottish Census. Appendix A.

† "When the middle classes and well-to-do people who have been in the habit of attending the chapel, go away into the country, as to some suburban residence, it follows almost as a matter of course that the seat-rents fail, and another chapel is erected in a suburban district, and the congregation is transferred, and the chapel ceases to be occupied as it was formerly."—*Rev. George Osborne,* (*Wesleyan Minister,*) *Lords' Report on Church Rates, Question* 1775. "The necessarily self-supporting character of all the institutions founded by Dissenters renders it, in their case, almost indispensable to make the erection of a chapel dependent on the prospect of an adequate pecuniary return. Hence, though the Congregational and Baptist bodies have established recently their 'Chapel Building Societies,' the operation of these central boards is practically limited, if not by an actual local demand, yet by the prospect of a speedy local sympathy among the middle classes."—*Mann,—Census Report,* page cxxx, n.

‡ Condition of Liverpool Religious and Social, p. 13.

itself in Key Street in 1707, removed to Paradise Street, more than half a mile distant by the nearest route, in 1791 ; and again in 1849, it removed to Hope Street, three quarters of a mile farther; without adding a single sitting to the accommodation in 142 years. Now, if we subtract the first dates of these nine chapels from the last dates, we have an aggregate of 584 years, or an average of 65 ; that is to say, they are all represented in the census returns as founded 65 years later than the date at which their respective congregations were formed. Six of them were erected previous to 1801, and three had taken up a second position before that date ; yet five of them are represented as having been built or appropriated, at an average of only twenty years before the census !

Let us suppose, what is not very far from the truth, that *every* chapel which was erected in Liverpool previous to 1801 will be sold and replaced previous to 1861 ; it would then appear from the principle adopted in the census report, (1) that there were *no* Protestant Dissenters in the town before the present century, and (2) that the large majority of their congregations had been created within the last thirty years. This is a *reductio ad absurdum*, and shows how valueless are the arguments founded on the mere dates of erection.*

A similar illustration is found in Nottingham. "From Mr. Wylie's "local history, it would appear that of the 29 meeting-houses returned to "the census office, only six dated back to the commencement of the "present century. In other words, dissent in Nottingham, on Mr. Mann's "hypothesis, all but quintupled itself during the 50 years. In point of "fact, however, there were not six, but thirteen or fourteen dissenting

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* It is only just to Mr. Mann to state that he was thoroughly aware of the objections urged here, and that he gave the principle merely for what it was worth, or by way of a first approximation. He says, "for several reasons, the conclusions to be drawn from this source, must be subject to a certain degree of hazard. In the first place, as the facts relate entirely to *existing* buildings, there is no account of those which may have been in existence in former times and since abandoned. In the second place, in consequence of an oversight in the framing of the question, several places (parts of buildings) *erected* in former years, but only latterly employed for religious services, have been returned with the earlier date. And thirdly, with respect to as many as 4,546 (out of the 34,467,) no date whatever is inserted in the returns."—*Report*, page cxxxi. This is speaking with great caution : and if these facts had been borne in mind, the writer would have been spared some of the censure which he has received. It is unfortunate, however, that others accept the principle without modification, and as a *last* approximate result.—See "*The Truth about Church Extension ; an Exposure of Fallacies and Misstatements contained in the Census Reports.*"—*London, Skeffington*, 1857.

" congregations in 1801, and probably several more 'whose memorial has " 'perished with them.' "*

Since 1851, however, when the census was taken, and since the close of 1853 when it was published, a very valuable document has been printed; viz., a Parliamentary return obtained by Mr. Bright in 1855, showing the number of places of worship licensed under the Toleration Act. It brings us a step nearer the truth; and demonstrates that though the efforts of Protestant Dissenters have been very great, and their pecuniary sacrifices large, their numbers were not so small in 1800 and 1801, nor has their progress been so rapid since that time, as Mr. Mann's arrangement of figures would suggest. From a comparison of the number of places licensed, with the number of existing buildings returned to Mr. Mann as opened in each decennial† period, the following table has been compiled‡ :—

Ten years ending	Places licensed.	Still in existence.	
1810	5,460	1,169	or 21 per cent.
1820	10,161	1,905	or 18 ,,
1830	10,585	2,865	or 27 ,,
1840	7,422	4,199	or 56 ,,
1850	5,810	4,397	or 75 ,,
	39,438	14,535	

Thus, while the erection of chapels has been rapid, the desertion of the less desirable ones has been rapid also. With the additional light which the last named document has thrown on the subject, an elaborate analysis has been made of the actual increase since the commencement of the present century; but it is sufficient for my purpose to show the fallacy which is inseparable from such a partial statement of facts.

3. *Education.*

The question of Schools is similar to that of Churches and Chapels; and is collateral with it. It appears from the Census of Education for England and Wales, that 83 per cent. of the daily schools of the country are supported by the Established Church, and only 17 per cent. by all others; but we may not infer from this that the Church possesses more than four-fifths of the community and all other communions less than

* The Truth about Church Extension, p. 16.

† In the two documents the decennial periods do not quite tally, the Census reckoning 1801-'11-'21, &c., and the Return 1800-'10-'20, &c. But as they are for equal periods coinciding in the main, the result would not be materially affected.

‡ The Truth about Church Extension, p. 19.

one-fifth. In the matter of Sunday Schools, the case is altered; for only 44 per cent., or less than the half, belong to the Church, and 56 per cent. to all others.* The explanation of these facts is, that the Church, being more permanent and systematic, considers a set of daily schools as a necessary adjunct to the ecclesiastical arrangements; whereas, those whose very congregations are temporary rarely think of daily schools at all, but give their strength to Sunday schools.

A descent from the vague comparison of churches and chapels to the more accurate yet still imperfect one of the sittings contained in them, suggests a somewhat similar transition from schools to scholars. Here, however, the difference is not very great. The Established Church educates 78 per cent. of the children on week days; but, though there is a slight increase in the number taught on Sundays, she educates only 38 per cent. of the whole.† The explanation is, that other religious bodies receive an accession of nearly a million and a quarter of Sunday school pupils who are not at the school during the week. Many of these are taught not in school-rooms but in chapels;‡ and thus the proportions are altered. Hence, it is impossible to arrive at a correct estimate of the relative strength of religious bodies, from an examination of schools and education alone.

4. *Marriages.*

The inference from the returns of the Registrar General on Marriages, is equally deceptive, when taken by itself. It appears that at present nearly five out of six, or more accurately 82 per cent. are performed in the Established Churches of the land, while 18 per cent. are performed elsewhere; but it cannot follow that five§ persons in every six are members of the

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* Report of Census of Education, p. liii. † Ib., p. lxxvii.

‡ Of the Church of England Sunday Schools, 1,811 or 18 per cent. are held in places of worship; and of Dissenters' Sunday Schools, 7,731 or 62 per cent. Report, p. lxxix.

§ The following is an Analysis of the marriages performed during seventeen years, (1841-57 inclusive) shewing both the actual numbers and the per centages. It is taken from the "Twentieth Annual Report of the Registrar General," p. iii.:—

			Per Cent.
Total Marriages, 2,463,279	Established Church	2,143,964	=87.04
	Otherwise, 319,313 (12.96 ℘ ct.) — Roman Catholics	84,766	= 3.44
	Protestant Dissenters	136,236	= 5.53
	Quakers	1,022	= .04
	Jews	3,794	= .16
	Registrar's Office	93,495	= 3.79

National Church. Several reasons could be assigned for the preference which is given to the Church in such matters, even by persons not of its communion, though every difficulty which had formerly existed, disappeared on the 1st of January, 1857. The Registrar-General remarks, "no one has "now any just ground of complaint; and the 131,031 marriages in the "National Church [1857] were performed by no unwilling conformists to "her rites."*

5. *Number of Sittings.*

This subject has been noticed incidentally in treating of Places of Worship; but it may be directly referred to, and placed in a new light in a few words. Suppose that there are 1000 sittings in one or more places of worship, and that the following very common facts exist at the same time. (1.) The congregation has been divided once, perhaps twice, so that not more than one-third of the sittings can ever be occupied at the same time; (2) there is no stated minister, nor is there moral certainty that a regular minister will officiate on any given Sunday; and (3) the chapel or chapels cannot be opened to the poor, (being private property,) and they are more or less out of repair. It is clear that the 1000 sittings would not be worth 100 in such circumstances, if the latter be available, comfortable, and connected with regular and suitable worship, as well as with pastoral duty. One sometimes finds the nominal accommodation exceeded by the actual attendance,—as when 1300 worshippers are collected in a building intended for 1200,—but this is a rare and exceptional case.

6. *Number of Ministers.*

The circumstances of the various religious denominations are widely different; and each in turn exhibits a deficiency and a redundancy. For example, the Established Church in the West of Ireland, the Roman Catholic Church in the Eastern and Midland shires of England, the Protestant Episcopal Church of Scotland, and the Free Kirk in certain districts of the Highlands, must all maintain ministers at points where each is represented by only a few families. In the crowded towns, on the other hand, the supply is wholly inadequate; one minister having thousands assigned to him when he could only do justice to as many hundreds. Again, the clergy of the Established Church have a larger number of duties to perform,—during the week as well as on Sunday, in the house as

* Twentieth Annual Report, p. iv.

well as in the Church, and to the inhabitants of a fixed area as well as to a mere congregation,—and therefore in all the larger cures the presence of two ministers is indispensable. Hence it appears that while one Church addresses herself to all the people, while another stretches her ministers over the land for little more than half a million of souls, and while others again recognise few beyond the limits of their congregations, no safe inference can be drawn respecting the number of adherents from the number of ministers of religion.

III.—Mr. Mann's Mode of Calculating.

While the modes of calculation just noticed have been adopted by interested persons throughout the country,—each selecting that phase of the question which seemed most favourable to himself,—he whose authority is so frequently quoted and whose name is so well known, has adopted a totally different plan. It is one in accordance with the peculiar inquiry which he was authorised to make, for it has direct reference to "religious worship." Accordingly, no attempt is made to analyse *all* the people, as in Ireland; some of whom, having had no creed for ages, would have been obliged to discover their parental* or ancestral leanings. Nor is any notice taken of the different meaning which two sets of Christians attach to the word "member;" some Churches meaning by it a person baptized in connexion with one of them, and who has taken no opposing step afterwards, and others again understanding by it, one who is an adult, and a voluntary communicant. Mr. Mann's attempt is merely to reach the number of those who are actually church-going or chapel-going; and to apportion them among the leading religious communities. In stating his views, I shall only venture to alter slightly one term, and that for the sake of greater explicitness.

In the Census Tables, the number of Attend*ants* is given,† in connexion with each of the religious bodies in the country, for Morning, Afternoon,

* Previous to 1850, I analysed a population of nearly 24,000 by a house-to-house visitation, and numerous personal inquiries from the people themselves. "In many cases, it was so long since families had been conventionally classed with any body of Christians that they actually did not know what to call themselves. Their parents had been no better; 'they went just nowhere Sir,' or to 'no place in particular,' or to 'any place [Church or Chapel] convenient.' In ascending to the four grandfathers and four grandmothers (when they knew them,) of husband and wife, one at least was generally found who had acknowledged a connexion with some class of Christians."—*Missions at Home, or a Clergyman's Account of a Portion of the Town of Liverpool*, 1850.

† Census, Table A and Supplement I.

and Evening services respectively. In a subsequent statement, the Attend*ances* are given,* put in at all the churches and at each set of chapels. It is obvious that the majority of persons attended only *once* on the Sunday on which the census was taken, but many attended *twice*, and a few *three times*. The sum of the attend*ants*, therefore, gives us the attend*ances*. The following table which does not appear in the Census Volume, is condensed from it by Mr. Mann himself† :—

	ATTENDANTS.			Attendances.
	MORNING.	AFTERNOON.	EVENING.	
Church of England.....	2,541,244	1,890,764	860,543	5,292,551
Independents	524,612	232,285	457,162	1,214,059
Baptists	360,806	224,268	345,116	930,190
Wesleyan‡ Methodists....	707,921	645,895	1,053,537	2,417,353
Roman Catholics.....	252,783	53,967	76,880	383,630
All Others.....	260,116	136,956	261,211	658,283
	4,647,482	3,184,135	3,064,449	10,896,066

It follows from this, that if each person had attended service only once during the Sunday nearly eleven millions would have been present at church or chapel; that is to say, about 61 per cent. of the entire community.§ This however was not the case; the "individual persons," as Mr. Mann calls them, were not nearly so numerous. Suppose we call them, for the sake of distinction, Attend*ers*, the question arises how many in number were they? It is important to answer this distinctly; as the number so found is a step by which we reach that of the entire worshipping community.

1. *Attenders, or separate Worshippers on one Sunday.*

In the Census Report (page cliii and note) Mr. Mann points out four

* Supplement II to Table A.

† Journal of the Statistical Society, vol. xviii., p. 151.

‡ This does not include Calvinistic Methodists, who are included under "All others."

§ It is estimated that 70 per cent. is a fair proportion of the people who are able to worship at *some period* of the day.

modes* of arriving at the number of "individual persons" present at any church or chapel on the 30th of March, 1851. They are not very different in their results, but he gives a decided preference to the one mentioned in the text, and which follows here. The following quotation is from a paper to be described hereafter:—

"The plan adopted in the Census Report was as follows:—First, the "numbers attending *morning* service were taken as a basis, since it was "clear that they were all separate individuals who could not yet have at- "tended twice; then it was asked how many of the *afternoon* attendants "were not present anywhere at the morning service, and ought therefore to "be added as fresh worshippers? and it was supposed that *a half* of them "were thus additional. Finally, a similar question was put concerning the "*evening* attendants, and it was supposed that *a third* of them had not "attended anywhere, at *either* of the previous services, and ought therefore "to be considered as a further addition of new worshippers."

This is so clearly stated, that it is only necessary to give one or two illustrations, and then to give the result in tabular form. Referring to the former table of Attend*ants*, neglecting altogether the Attend*ances*, with which we have nothing to do, and following the formula just quoted we discover the following number of Attend*ers*.

	Morn.	After.	Even.	
Church of England...	2,541,244 +	$\frac{1,890,764}{2}$ +	$\frac{860,543}{3}$	= 3,773,474
Roman Catholics.....	252,783 +	$\frac{53,967}{2}$ +	$\frac{76,880}{3}$	= 305,393

Proceeding in the same manner with the others, and preserving the six classes already given, we have the following:

	Attend*ers* or "Individual Persons."
Church of England.....	3,773,474
Independents	793,142
Baptists	587,978
Wesleyan Methodists	1,385,372
Roman Catholics.....	305,393
All others	415,664
	7,261,023†

* The plans are the following:—

	RESULTS.
(1) Morning + ½ Afternoon + ⅓ Evening, = ...	7,261,032
(2) The minimum limit is 4,647,482 for all these attended in the morning: and the maximum one is 10,896,066, for there were no more attendances put in. The mean of these is	7,771,774
(3) For the attend*ers* take two-thirds of the attend*ances*.....	7,264,044
(4) To the number at the best attended service add one-third..	8,476,693

This last is subject to an important deduction; for, so many as 9,915 places of worship had only one service.

† This amounts to only 40½ of the gross population instead of 70 per cent.

We may here pause, before taking the next step, and consider the objections which have been made to the principle of this calculation. They are not numerous, nor have they been forcibly put forward; indeed the general coincidence of the result in this case, with that which would follow from each of the other plans, is a convincing proof of its fairness and general accuracy.

Obj (1.) After all, this is only an *estimate;* why then is it placed side by side with ascertained facts, like the numbers in the Census Tables?—*Ans.* We are in search of *more* accurate details, instead of *less* accurate details; we seek *more* reliable information instead of *less* reliable; and a *close* approximation to the truth instead of a *wide* approximation. The accuracy is a question of degree, since absolute perfection is unattainable. It may often suffice to say in general terms, that the circumference of a circle is three times the length of its diameter; but it would not suit to accept this as the basis of mathematical reasoning, or of calculations in science or the arts. In like manner, each of the modes of calculation already examined possesses advantages. It serves as a hint to those who require only a general idea, and *properly understood* it is corroborative and corrective. Besides, the "Census of Religious Worship" is itself only an approximation, very few of those who sent in returns having carefully reckoned those present at any particular service. Certain defects are admitted on almost every page of the Tables, and an attempt is made to remedy them by "estimates," that is by averages. Yet after all, we know that in many instances we are still wide of the truth. If, therefore, we are to reject all estimates, the book is of no practical value whatever; but if we are to eliminate all known causes of error in order to see the truth more clearly, the plan adopted possesses many recommendations.

Obj. (2). Mr. Mann says "it will be evident that this computation "mainly rests upon conjecture; and any one, of course, is at liberty to make "a different conjecture, and to assume that the number of new worshippers "at the afternoon and evening services, is likely to have been more or less "than a half and a third respectively, and also that the proportion may have "varied, (as no doubt to some extent it did), in various religious bodies." Here then is an acknowledgment of incorrectness; and no doubt other persons will make conjectures differing from this one.—*Ans.* Mr. Mann also says, after the Census Report had been before the public a year and a half. "while anxious to allow the possibility of error, I have yet suffi-"cient confidence in the probable correctness of the estimate to venture to "reproduce the principal results." Besides, there is not an acknowledgment of *incorrectness* but of *imperfection*, such as one sees in a vanishing fraction or a circulating decimal.

Obj. (3.) The morning attendance should not be taken as a basis; for among the Methodists both Wesleyan and Calvinistic, the evening attendance is larger than either of the others.—*Ans.* Some one service must be taken as the basis, and in all England and Wales the attendance is decidedly largest in the morning. Besides, in rural families, this is not

only the best attended service, but often the only one, while even where there is an afternoon or evening service, it possesses more or less of the character of an extra one. The morning service may be said to be the service of *necessity*, the afternoon service that of *convenience*, and the evening one that of *devotion*. Further, it is well-known that many who attend the service of the Established Church in the morning, consider themselves so far freed in action, that they attend at a Methodist chapel in the evening. But even when such a change is not made, a corresponding fact occurs;—in the poorer portions of large towns the evening congregation in the Established Churches, is generally much in excess of the morning congregation.

2. *Entire Worshipping Community.*

One step only of the process is wanting: it is to find the relation existing between the attenders on any one Sunday, and the entire worshipping community who get their turn of church or chapel. It is self-evident that only a portion of the pious and worthy people in the whole country, or of those who are actual worshippers, can be present at public worship on any one Sunday. Those who are absent include the young, the aged, the sick, persons in attendance upon these, persons engaged in lawful occupations or in "works of necessity and mercy," travellers, those in charge of houses, and many others employed in the discharge of domestic duties, or in traffic which the law does not suppress. It is calculated in the Census Report that not more than fifty-eight sittings are required at any one time for every hundred of the population; but it is not meant that the remaining forty-two persons are necessarily home-heathen. On the contrary, many of them show their religious feeling in the same way as others do, but not on the same day. An allowance must therefore be made for those who are *bonâ fide* worshippers, but who were absent on the Census Sunday, as a similar number would be absent on any other Sunday. The question simply is,—what allowance?

This part of the calculation was given by Mr. Mann in a paper read before the Statistical Society of London, 18th December, 1854, and published in the Journal of the Society in June, 1855. He estimates that from the operation of all the causes specified, and perhaps of others not noticed, there are in the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, as many worshippers absent as present on any given Sunday. In other words, that of the entire worshipping community in these two Churches respectively, fifty per cent. are present at some one or more of

the services, and the remaining fifty per cent. at other convenient times. Hence, when we know the number of attend*ers*, or "individual persons" present on one Sunday, we require only to *double* it, to get at the entire worshipping community. Among Protestant Dissenters the attendance is somewhat better than this. Such reasons as the following may be assigned for the fact:—(1), that they embrace fewer of the outcast and pauper poor; (2), that with them mere preaching is more of a necessity, and (3), that there is a greater definiteness and positiveness of opinion among those who voluntarily depart from what is usual. Mr. Mann estimates, therefore, that of every hundred chapel-going Dissenters, so many as sixty are present at some service of any given Sunday; so that by *adding two-thirds* to the attend*ers* we reach the entire worshipping community.

Proceeding on these principles, we obtain for England and Wales* the following numbers, which are easily expressed by per-centages at the same time:—

Established Church	7,546,948	= 42 per cent.	
Roman Catholics	610,786	= 3½	,,
Protestant Dissenters and others.			
Independents	1,321,904	= 7.35	
Baptists	979,964	= 5.45	
Wesleyan Methodists...	2,308,954	=12 84	
All others	692,788	= 3.85	
	5,303,609	= 29½	,,
	13,461,343	= 75	,,
Balance, Non-worshipping.....	4,466,266	= 25	,,
	17,927,609	100	

Thus, though the nation is a Christian nation in several senses of the term, so many as one-fourth of the people do not worship in the church or chapel of any religious community. Nearly all of them have a nominal connection with some creed and form of worship, and they are not necessarily irreligious as we shall see; but their religion, when it exists, is passive not active. Now, the only church which avowedly and systematically takes cognizance of these, whether they are poor or rich, and whose Ministers may be compelled to perform Ecclesiastical offices for their advantage, is the Established Church. To her, every portion of the field is transferred when it has passed out of cultivation and become a moral waste, that she may restore it again to a condition of fertility, if

* A similar Analysis for Scotland is given in Appendix A.

possible. To the forty-two per cent. of her ordinary church-going members she is *Ministerial*, and to the twenty-five Non-worshippers she is *Missionary*; so that the joint area of her operations is over sixty-seven per cent. of the population, or more than twelve millions of the seventeen.

Thus, therefore, the problem is solved, by induction from the best facts which we possess, and by a cautious and patient analysis of the gross numbers placed before us.

The objections which not only may be brought against these figures, but which actually *have* been brought, admit of easy reply. They may be considered here, before we proceed to the statement of additional facts.

Obj. (1.) After all, these results are not in the census; why lay them before the public at all?—*Ans.* The suppressed major premiss is false, which is, in effect, that no information respecting such numbers is of value, except that which is found in the official publication. Nor is the minor premiss true; for though the entire worshipping community is not found in the Census of Religious Worship, the fact from which it immediately follows is there stated briefly. The one premiss, therefore, being false in principle, and the other being partially false in fact, the conclusion which constitutes the *gravamen* of the objection is untenable.

Obj. (2.) Well, but it is only an *estimate*.—*Ans.* No; it is a calculation founded upon the best evidence in our possession. In value, it of course falls short of an enumeration of individuals on the ground of professed creed; but it excels such an enumeration, in as much as it shows something of the firmness with which certain public duties of religion are discharged by the masses of the people. And no other calculation which has been laid before the public has made allowance for a greater number of disturbing causes.

Obj. (3.) There is nothing *official* about it. This paper was read before a private society, as an individual and personal act.—*Ans.* The conclusion suggested here is the same, that therefore the calculations are of less importance than is supposed. Now (1) the separation of a man from office is happily not his separation from qualifications, and from the fruits of experience. Mr. Mann was selected by the Registrar General to perform a certain task, avowedly because he possessed unusual fitness for it; and such experience as he gained in the performance he brought to the subsequent consideration of this subject. (2.) He read his paper a year after the publication of the census, and corrected it for the press a year and a half after. (3.) It was no more individual or personal than the whole of the Census Report, which was the product of a single mind; and (4) it was not addressed *ad populum*, but was laid before that Society of the United Kingdom, whose members are specially conversant with such inquiries. It is nothing to say of such an objection that it fails to disturb the previous conclusions; in reality it serves to confirm them, by drawing attention to points of interest not hitherto noticed.

Obj. (4.) Admitting that the number of attend*ers* is correct enough, the last step contains an erroneous estimate. It is absurd to suppose that there are as many persons absent from the Church and Roman Catholic chapel as are present altogether; or that only three-fifths of Protestant Dissenters can manage to hear a sermon at any part of the Sabbath. Experience shows that a larger proportion are present, and a smaller proportion absent.—*Ans.* 1. Experience shows this only in *select portions of society*, as among the intelligent and virtuous. In certain pious families, consisting of healthy adults, it is possible that every member may be able to attend on some portion of every Sunday, but in the great majority, this is not possible; and in families which are not pious and only partially intelligent, even the desire does not exist. 2. But apart from the partial view which is taken in this objection, the theory when carried out demonstrates its own incorrectness. Thus, let us suppose that of Churchmen and Roman Catholics, who are actual worshippers, not 50 but 60 per cent. are present on any given Sunday at some time of the day: it is evident that to get at the whole number we must add two-thirds to the attend*ers*. Also, if so many as 75 per cent. of Protestant Dissenters are present, we add one-third. Our table would then stand as follows:—

	Attenders.	Worshipping Community.	Per Centage.
Churchmen	3,773,474	6,289,124	35
Roman Catholics	305,393	508,989	3
Protestant Dissenters and others	3,182,165	4,242,887	23½
		11,041,000	61½
Balance, Non-worshipping		6,886,609	38½
		17,927,609	100

This would show nearly two-fifths of the population to be non-worshipping,—a proportion which is wholly absurd; though we may reach at no very distant date, that condition of irreligion. The objection was brought originally, to show that the members of the Established Church are not so numerous as Mr. Mann supposed them to be, but it proves the contrary. For, instead of 67 per cent. of the gross population, she would be responsible in these circumstances for 73½ (=35 + 38½) or nearly three-fourths of the whole. 3. We can reply from ascertained facts. In my own parish a roll of attendance has been marked weekly for upwards of two years and a half, so that in one instance at least, the means of comparison are within our reach. The people are poor, and were recently almost all non-worshipping, so that the congregation has been won from the desert during about nine years. The families of positive church-going people, all of whom have attended worship more or less within the last few months, comprise 3104 persons. Yet the average number of attend*ers* or "individual persons," who have been present weekly is 816, or 26¼ per cent. So that in this case—an exceptional one, it is true, but with an average extending over a whole year—we should require to multiply almost by four, to get at the worshipping community.

Obj. (5.) These new figures have only recently been brought to light, and

are only now submitted to the "test" of public opinion. *Ans.* 1. They were *published* in June, 1855, and are well known to the Members of Learned Societies in Europe and America. 2. The "Census of Religious "Worship" does not contain, and could scarcely with propriety contain, an investigation respecting the positive "adherents" of each religious community. This is such an investigation; and the only one which comes to us formally and with authority. No comparison can be instituted between the work which contains the materials only and that which exhibits the results.

IV.—General Considerations.

1. *Operation of the Principles.*

From the principles of the foregoing calculations, it is apparent that if there were a number of families, or congregations, or a whole community which attended *more* regularly and frequently than is customary, the number of separate attend*ers* would appear from the figures greater than the reality; and the number representing the whole worshipping community would be still farther exaggerated beyond the truth. On the other hand, if there were a community *less* frequent in their attendance at public worship than is usual in all England and Wales (as in the example quoted above), the worshipping community would appear by these calculations, smaller than it is in point of fact.

From all this, such deductions as the following are almost self-evident.

(1.) In this principle of calculation, numbers and frequency of attendance act and react on each other. Greater frequency gives greater apparent numbers, and less frequency smaller apparent numbers.

(2.) In rich and comfortable communities (e.g., Bath, Cheltenham, Oxford) where conveniences for public worship and even luxuries abound, the number of irreligious will in general appear smaller than it actually is, and may wholly disappear.

(3.) In a poor and ignorant community, where the necessaries of life are procured with difficulty, and where clothing may often be insufficient and money scarce (e.g., Southwark, Lambeth) attendance at worship is less frequent; and the number of irreligious therefore appears greater than it is in point of fact.

(4.) In towns of limited population (e.g., Exeter, Cambridge), the improved attendance is a reality; for the number of ministers of religion is so great that only a manageable population is committed to each. In

towns of rapid growth (e.g., Swansea and those in Lancashire), the average of population for each clergyman is much too large, and the irreligion of the masses is a painful reality.

(5.) It is only over a broad area, therefore, that the figures already found are an accurate expression of truth; and such an area is the whole of England and Wales. The more numerous and varied the facts, the more accurate is the average. This is a principle well known and universally admitted. A local tendency in one direction is counteracted by a similar tendency in another; and thus the balance is adjusted by the very variety of interests which men own, and of circumstances in which they are cast. Those who attend more frequently than the assumed average, form a set off against those who attend less frequently; and as intelligence and piety are not confined to any grade of society, we may suppose them to exist in nearly equal numbers. In like manner, the rich and the poor are correlated, the rural and the town population, the maritime and inland, the manufacturing and the commercial, dense and sparse communities.

6. For smaller areas, the principle is still of great value. Though not perfect in such cases, it is vastly superior to most others; and gives us an approximation to truth, such as observation and experience frequently verify.

2. *Calculations for smaller Areas.*

In the census which we are considering, the details have been given for (1) the eleven Registration Divisions, (2) the forty-four Counties,* (3) seventy-three† large Towns and Boroughs, and (4) the Registration Districts or Poor-Law Unions, 623 in number. The first and last of these divisions are little known to the general public, and are not marked upon ordinary maps. But the second and third are well known;—the Counties both in respect to their area and their population, and the Towns in respect to their sites, their population, and their importance.

Though well aware that Mr. Mann's formulæ would be less applicable to small areas than to the whole of England and Wales, I felt that it was still of great importance to obtain an analysis of portions of the population. The result given here, is unquestionably a *good* approximation; and if not

* North and South Wales are each given as one, and Yorkshire is divided into the East, North, and West Ridings.

† These are mainly Municipal or Parliamentary Boroughs, of which London includes several. The Metropolis, or London in general, is also given.

the best that could be desired it is the best that can be had in the present state of our knowledge.* The calculations were made for the 44 County Districts, and also for the 73 great Towns; and it was easy then to construct Maps, showing the four great divisions of the population in percentages. One of these,† that relating to the Towns, has been printed with the Report of the Select Committee of the Lords on Church Rates, though it was constructed for a different purpose‡; and by a slight variety of form, I am enabled to show, with the present paper, the condition of the county districts also.

The detailed mode of arriving at the results, is of course identical with that already shown for England and Wales; but it may be interesting to give a single example of the analysis of a County and of a Town, before stating the general results.

COUNTY OF OXFORD.

Population 170,439.

"*Individual Persons.*"

Churchmen	30,157	+ ½ (30,438)	+ ⅓ (8,096)	=48,075
Roman Catholics	928	+ ½ (109)	+ ⅓ (344)	= 1,097
Protestant Disseuters, &c.	12,033	+ ½ (10,019)	+ ⅓ (17,379)	=22,835

Worshipping Community.

Churchmen	2 × 48,075	=96,150	or 56½ per cent.
Roman Catholics	2 × 1,097	= 2,194	or 1 ,,
Protestant Dissenters, &c.	1⅔ × 22,835	=38,059	or 22½ ,,
		136,403	or 80 ,,
Balance, Non-Worshipping		34,036	or 20 ,,
		170,439	100

* It has been said that I attributed far too much importance not only to the analysis of Towns, but also to that of England and Wales; the statement is, however, quite incorrect. A note was appended to the proof-sheet of my evidence given before the select committee mentioned in the text; but as it had not been spoken in evidence it was not printed. This note is given at large, Appendix B; and it disproves, incidentally, another statement, viz. that I did not refer to the "Journal of the Statistical Society."

† That Map also exhibits the absolute and relative strength of the principal sects of Nonconformists; but the numbers there are less correct than those given on page 16. This part was added hastily to the map, in London, at a distance from my papers; and the Dissenters of a miscellaneous kind were made to appear somewhat more numerous than they are, at the expense of the three principal and special communities. A further correction is that Newport should be in Monmouthshire, not in the Isle of Wight.

‡ In illustration of the Report of a select Committee of the Lords, on "The Means of Divine Worship in Populous Places," printed 5th July, 1858. I had given evidence before the Committee on the 14th of May.

CAMBRIDGE—(*Municipal Borough.*)
Population 27,815.

"*Individual Persons.*"

Churchmen	5,616 + ½ (1,436) + ⅓ (4,246)	=	7,749
Roman Catholics	260 + ½ (200) + ⅓ (180)	=	420
Protestant Dissenters, &c.	2,722 + ½ (1,862) + ⅓ (2,735)	=	4,565

Worshipping Community.

Churchmen	2 × 7,749	= 15,498	or	56	per cent.
Roman Catholics	2 × 420	= 840	or	3	,,
Protestant Dissenters, &c.	1⅔ × 4,565	= 7.609	or	28	,,
		23,947	or	87	,,
Balance, Non-Worshipping.....		3,868	or	13	,,
		27,815		100	

The results in general, are not very different from what we might have predicted. In the old English counties, and especially in those which have been least influenced either commerce, mining or manufactures, the actual worshippers at the Churches exceed 50 per cent. of the gross population. This remark applies to Hereford and Shropshire on the west, to Devonshire on the south, and to fourteen out of seventeen of the south-eastern shires. Churchmen are still numerous, but the worshipping members do not amount to quite half the population, in seven counties contiguous to these, and also in Westmoreland and the North Riding of Yorkshire. The following six are highest in the per-centage of Church attenders—Suffolk 63¾, Wilts 63, Northampton 63, Buckingham 62, Rutland and Hertford 61. The three which are lowest are Durham 21, Surrey 19, and North Wales 18.

Protestant Dissenters amount to more than half of the gross population in the two divisions of North and South Wales, and in Monmouthshire. It does not follow that they exist in these proportions in each of the twelve counties, but it is probable that they do. We have, however, no means of arriving at a closer estimate. In the East Riding of Yorkshire where Methodism is very popular, and in Cornwall where the followers of Wesley were numerous at an early period, the number of Nonconformists exceeds that of either Churchmen or Irreligious. The highest per-centages are South Wales 69, North Wales 57⅔, Monmouth 55½, Cambridge* 46, Huntingdon* 45½. The lowest are Sussex and Warwick 19, Cumberland and Hereford 16, Middlesex and Surrey 15, Westmoreland 12.

* Cambridge and Huntingdon are higher *absolutely* than Cornwall or the East Riding; but the latter are higher *relatively*. The former are places of a more religious character than the latter: and high as the Dissenting numbers are the numbers for Church-going Churchmen are still higher.

The Roman Catholic numbers are not sufficiently high to influence the colouring in any county; indeed there are twelve county districts, (one of them being North Wales,) in which they do not amount to one per cent. of the gross population. It does not appear that there was any congregation in either Rutland or Huntingdon, in 1851, though there may have been a few scattered families or individuals. In Lancashire they amount to 11 per cent; but this is the highest* limit. In no other of the 44 districts are they relatively half so numerous.

The Non-worshipping are most numerous in Surrey, Middlesex, Cumberland, and Durham; in each of which they amount to more than half the population, and in the first of which they reach 63 per cent. Northumberland, Somerset, Lancashire and Nottingham are next in order, in which the per centage ranges from 44½ to 41. It is easy to see that this is owing in a great degree to the large towns which nearly all of these counties contain. Thus, the rural portion of Surrey has its religious average dragged down by the southern portion of London, which is inhabited by a large number of the outcast and poor; Durham is influenced in a similar way by South Shields, Sunderland and Gateshead; Northumberland by Tynemouth and Newcastle; Lancashire by its numerous towns, manufacturing and commercial; and Nottingham which is a small county, by its principal town. In some of the others, the explanation is not so obvious. In a few instances, ordinary observation shows that a county possesses two sets of characteristics in different portions of it. For example, the part of Essex which adjoins Middlesex partakes of the character of the metropolitan counties, of which an illustration is found in Mr. Dickens's article entitled "Over the Border;" while the northern part is inhabited by a Church-going population, and in this respect resembles Cambridge and Suffolk. The Non-worshipping are least numerous in Cambridge and Buckingham where they amount to only one per cent.; and in Huntingdon, Northampton and Suffolk where they disappear in the calculations.

The towns are the great centres of irreligion as well as of religion, of vice as well as of virtue. Though their general character is that of a mixed population, in reality each of the larger ones is an agglomeration of distinct communities; and though there is apparently liberty of action,

* About 39½ per cent. of all the Roman Catholics of England and Wales, are found in Lancashire.

no separate "quarter" being specially devoted to any, the habits of individuals and the necessities of classes create an irresistible tendency towards the localization of people of the same kind. We have, therefore, districts which are possessed exclusively by the rich, the poor, the moral, the immoral, the intelligent, the ignorant, the pious, or the criminal and depraved. Besides, there is not only a tendency to classification, but also to assimilation; so that the few take the tone of the many, and in the majority of cases sink into the common average.

While we thus account for dense masses of Non-worshipping population in the midst of communities nominally Christian, we should bear in mind that the less frequent attendance of many of the poor at public worship appears in these results as a diminished number of attend*ers*; so that a little allowance should be made for poor communities, or for the poorer portions of mixed ones. As we are treating of this class, we may give their numbers first.

There are sixteen large towns in each of which the irreligious or Non-worshipping amount to 50 per cent. at least: while in Southwark they reach 68, in Sheffield 62, in Oldham 61½, in Lambeth 60½, and in Gateshead 60. The joint population of these is 2,622,394, and the irreligious in all this number amounts to 55 per cent. If we add to these eighteen other towns, none of which singly contains 50 per cent. of ungodly population, we have in the whole thirty-four, nearly four millions, [3,993,467.] Of these, more than two millions, [2,197,388] or 52½ per cent. are Non-worshipping. With all the modifications which have been suggested or can be assigned, this is a fact of fearful significance. On the other hand, the number is very small in Warrington, Cheltenham, Cambridge, Dover, Ipswich, and Reading; ranging from 16 per cent. in the first to 7 in the last. In Bath, Exeter and Colchester the number vanishes, probably in consequence of the better than ordinary attendance at Divine Worship, of other sections of the community.

In the Established Church, the worshipping members attain their *maximum* limit in Exeter, of 68 per cent. In explanation of this, it is only necessary to state that there are 25 Churches in the Borough, (independent of 15 chapels of other denominations,) for a population of less than 33,000. In other towns of the Kingdom, there are one, two or three churches for this number; and the wants of the population are regarded

as well supplied, if there be so many as six. The order then is Dover 65, Worcester and Bath 64, Colchester 57, Ipswich 56, Cheltenham and Maidstone 55, Reading and Wakefield 50. The eleven towns first enumerated contain in all 58 per cent. of Worshipping Churchmen, independent of course, of those who are only nominal members. But while these rise considerably above the average [42] for the whole country, there are others that sink below it; so that in fifteen towns the average is about 16. These include Sunderland, South Shields, and Gateshead, which are connected with commerce; Tower Hamlets embracing a poor and long neglected portion of London; Dudley, Stoke, Manchester, Oldham, Sheffield, Rochdale, Bradford and Preston in the manufacturing districts; Newport and Merthyr Tydvil which are also in a Dissenting District; and Carlisle which is exceptional.

The strongest point of Nonconformists is Merthyr Tydvil, where their numbers appear to rise to 83½. There is internal evidence however, that some of the returns have been grossly exaggerated; independent of the external evidence that the average for all the great towns of the Kingdom is only 21, and that in Swansea which is in the same neighbourhood and of the same character, the number of Dissenters is only 44, or little more than half as great. Besides, Swansea is the highest except Merthyr Tydvil. Colchester, Dudley, Northampton, Reading and Rochdale come next in order. The lowest numbers are found in Gateshead, Manchester, Tower Hamlets, Lambeth, Preston, Marylebone, Liverpool, Westminster, and Southwark. In these the per centage ranges from 17 to 8, and averages about 13.

The towns in which Roman Catholics attain high relative numbers are nearly all situated in Lancashire, four of the first five being Wigan 22, Liverpool 21½, Preston 18, and Manchester 14. Newport in Monmouthshire has 16. On the contrary, there are five towns in which they do not seem to be represented at all; and fifteen others in which they average only 1 in 75 of the population.

3 *Character of the Non-worshipping Population.*

Though the terms "irreligious" and "ungodly" have been used as almost synonymous with "Non-worshipping," it would be a very unjustifiable inference that none are religious but those who attend worship and hear sermons in Churches and Chapels. There are large numbers who regard

Religious Worship as a moral necessity and who look forward to it as an enjoyment; but who in consequence of limited means or improvident habits, rarely find themselves in a condition to attend, consistently with self-respect. The desire at length becomes weakened, and habits are contracted at variance with piety or attachment to any creed. In other instances, the connexion is still kept up or renewed at intervals, with the Church or Chapel, directly through the occurrence of the offices of baptism, marriage and burial, or indirectly through the school which their children attend, or through the visitor who calls at their cottages.

But, while it would be not merely unsafe but also uncharitable to regard as unchristian all who are Non-worshipping, it is undeniable that a broad line of distinction is drawn in this fact. The individual and especially the family who can spend a succession of Sundays in physical rest, or intellectual quiescence, or social intercourse, or recreation, or secular pursuits, soon finds that a species of estrangement has grown up within him to religion; and even when leisure permits or inclination prompts, he is still an absentee from Church or Chapel. Thus, he yields to his animal propensities and becomes a mere secularist, living to eat, work, and sleep; and being little under the controul of public opinion, which still exerts a salutary influence on the higher classes, many thousands know nothing of religion but the party feelings with which it is sometimes associated. Indeed public feeling frequently acts injuriously in the case of the humble man; for when few persons in a street perform "religious "worship" anywhere, or when this occurs with particular persons on few occasions, the exceptions draw forth comparisons or criticisms which few have the moral courage to bear.

There is great danger that the negative irreligion of the present generation will grow into positive and aggressive infidelity in the next;—especially in the great towns, and in those of them where the Non-worshipping at this moment outnumber the worshippers of all creeds. It is thus that the causes in the past generation are visible by their effects in this one; the seed of neglect having produced a harvest of home heathenism. Few are aware of the actual condition of portions of our great towns, for few will penetrate where facts of the following kind occur. In 1849 I had the pastoral charge of two ecclesiastical districts in Liverpool, the joint population of which was nearly 24,000. The condition of these was

carefully ascertained by visitation from house to house; and a tract was published with full details in 1850. It contains the following:—

"In six streets and their courts in one of the districts, where there is a "population of 5,939, only 29 families attend Church. In six streets and "their courts in the other district, where there is a population of 5,188, "only 14 families attend Church."

"In a population of 5,850, embracing whole streets and all the courts of "other streets (in the former district), *not one attends Church.* In a popu- "lation of 2,308, embracing whole streets, and all the courts of other "streets, (in the latter), *not one attends Church.*

"The degree of religious knowledge or religious feeling existing among "these people is low indeed. In the former district there were 467 "families, and in the latter 240, (in all a population of more than 3,000) "not one of whom would even *promise* to attend a Church Service! Yet "these are not Roman Catholics or Protestant Dissenters, they are all *the* "*lost sheep of our National Church.* There were 482 other families in "the former, and 343 in the latter, (in all a population of nearly 4,000), "who were more polite but in general less truthful; they *promised* to come "occasionally to Church. These again, are not Roman Catholics or "Protestant Dissenters, but nominal *Churchmen.* Here then is a popula- "tion of 7,000 who have never connected themselves with any party "hostile to the Church; and yet 'God is not in all their thoughts.' The "term Protestant as applied to them is a misnomer; the majority are "simply not Christians."*

V.—Suggestions for the Census of 1861.

We ought to feel duly grateful for the fact that the nation has taken a decided step in the right direction, by the publication of the "Census of "Religious Worship." Yet the importance of the subject, which compels us to welcome such *data* as it affords, demands that we should remove, as far as possible, all sources of error. With that intention, the following suggestions are offered; it being taken for granted that a "Census of "Religious Worship" will be made in 1861 also. But if that should be regarded as superfluous, a Census of adherents, like that of Ireland, 1834, would be of immense importance; as it would furnish us with a set of new facts, not hitherto arrived at.

1. The making of returns should not be a voluntary act, but should be made imperative. Several Dissenting Ministers, and a large number of the Clergy of the Established Church refused their co-operation;—in general assigning as a reason that the return was inquisitorial, or trouble-

* Missions at Home, or a Clergyman's Account of a Portion of the Town of Liverpool. London: Rivingtons, 1850.

some, or unnecessary. There was another reason which was not so frequently stated, viz., that congregations were below the average; and the ministers connected with them did not know how far the facts which they furnished might obtain publicity. In Preston, for some reason, only three out of the incumbents of ten Churches* made any return; while out of nineteen other places of worship there was only one omission. One would almost imagine that there was an intention on the part of some to destroy the value of this Census; for it is remarkable that many of those who were least interested and least earnest to promote the wishes of Government, are loudest in their complaints of the incorrectness of the volume. We are all sorry that the book is deficient or erroneous in any respect; but it is only those who have done their duty that have any right to complain.

2. Most of those who made returns were unaccustomed to count the attendants at Church or Chapel; and some did not even know how to make an estimate. The usual error consisted, therefore, in estimating too high, and the tendency to do this is strong with the minor officials in places of worship. Perhaps this may be accounted for in part from the fact that they see the people from the same level, the intervening spaces being hid by sitters or kneelers; but there can be no doubt that in some cases there was designed and culpable exaggeration. At present this is proveable in only a few cases; but where the attendance is represented as considerably beyond the capacity of the building, there can be no doubt respecting the incorrectness of the return. I have grouped some curious figures in a note below.† The returns from Merthyr Tydvil are very

* The attendance at the 10 Churches is represented as having been 2479 in the Morning, 951 in the Afternoon, and 180 in the Evening! This return, which is obviously absurd, is the fundamental error; and it gives us in the usual way 18 Roman Catholics per cent., 14 Dissenters, 9 *bona fide* Churchmen, and 59 Non-worshipping. The correct analysis may be inferred from the following:—"When the tripartite division of the new Burial Ground was made, the population was distributed into the three sections with the greatest care; and the proportions were subjected to various rigid tests and scrutinized by all with the utmost jealousy. The result which was accepted, showed Church people 62, Roman Catholics 27, Dissenters 11,=100."

† The number in brackets denotes the number of sittings or the entire capacity of the Chapel; the numbers following shew the recorded attendance at one or more times of the day. In the greater number of religious communities, no anomalies of this kind occur, in any of the 73 great towns.

Primitive Methodists.—Bath, (434) 530; Derby, (1192) 1310; Nottingham, (1850) 1900.

General Baptists.—Coventry, (300) 397.

Wesleyan Association.—Marylebone, (198) Morning 277, Evening 336.

Wesleyan Reformers.—Bradford (810), Morning 1061, Evening 1483! Yarmouth (400), 450; Halifax (400), Morning 460, Evening 526; Leeds (200), Morning 650! Afternoon 723!! Evening 1030!!! Nottingham (600), 700.

remarkable, and I think I may say suspicious. Of eighty-four places of worship in the town, thirty-nine belong to the Independents and Baptists, and their sittings are fifty-six per cent. of the whole, but their gross attendances at the three services are sixty seven per cent. of the whole. This per centage is nearly as three to two when compared with that of the places of worship: such a result is possible, however, with great activity on the part of these two religious bodies, and great remissness on the part of the other ten which the town contains. But, on comparing their own sittings respectively with their attendants, the suspicion of exaggeration increases. Thus, in all the twenty Independent congregations, the morning attendance was ninety-three per cent. as compared with the sittings; in all the nineteen Baptist congregations it was eighty-three! Again, in the evening the twenty Independent congregations had 8,336 persons present to occupy 8,466 sittings, *exactly ninety-eight and a half per cent.!!* The nineteen Baptist congregations had 10,664 persons present, to occupy 10,864 sittings, *exactly ninety-eight and a half per cent.!!!* One is almost forced to infer, not only that the parties compared notes, but that the returns were forwarded by the same individual. Of nearly twenty thousand sittings in the two sets of Chapels, there were only 130 vacant with the Independents, and 200 with the Baptists. Every reader will compare probabilities for himself, whether it is more likely that this miracle of attendance actually occurred, or that the desire to appear important interfered with human accuracy.

Such exaggerations would be effectually cured by allowing any one, friend, foe or rival, to make the enumeration, and to attach to it an affidavit of its correctness within a few units. If the parties officially connected with the church or chapel were not prepared to guarantee the correctness of their return in a similar way, then the return with the affidavit should take precedence, and be regarded as the official one. It is probable that not more than twenty or thirty such cases would occur in all

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Lady Huntington's Connexion.—Brighton (973), Morning 1000, Evening 1150.

Brethren.—Hull (710), 800; Leeds (250), 330.

Isolated Congregations.—Leeds (280), 559; Merthyr Tydvil (305), 462.

Roman Catholics.—[In almost every instance the morning attendance far exceeds the capacity of the Chapels, the explanation usually given being that there are several morning services expressed in one. In the following examples the evening attendance only is quoted.] Bolton (600), 711; Coventry (800), 1000; Hull (628), 850; Liverpool (14,218), 15,205; Sheffield (950), 2000! Southwark (1570), 4500!!

the churches and chapels of the kingdom; for the conviction that every one was or might be watched, and that the correctness of his return might be disputed, would of itself ensure strict accuracy.

3. All the returns so made should be open to inspection for fourteen days, say at the office of the Superintendent Registrar of the District or Union. In 1851 the returns were unchecked; but this arrangement would subject them all to the scrutiny of persons in the immediate neighbourhood, to whom the general facts would be familiarly known. If any congregation were found to be omitted, either by accident or otherwise, its attendances could be supplied for the Sunday next following, and this would be infinitely better than striking averages. As Life Assurance offices select good lives, and treat them for their own interest according to the average of mortality, so negligent or interested persons would omit congregations of a merely nominal character, that they might be benefited by being treated according to the higher average of the whole country or the particular district.

4. A column immediately after the "number of Places of Worship," should state the number of Ministers engaged exclusively in duties connected with those places of worship. This would show how many, both of churches and chapels, are nothing more than preaching stations; as distinct from those in which there is a minister devoted to the congregations or to the population of a certain area. Many confound these two classes of buildings in ignorance;—others do so by design.

5. Alongside of the record of Churches and Chapels erected or opened during the ten years 1851–'61, should be another of the Churches and Chapels which have been abandoned in the same period, by the whole or a part of the existing Congregation. For example, three new churches may have been erected in some town or parish, superseding the same number of licensed rooms which were in use in 1851. It is clear that in these circumstances there would be a gain in the number of sittings and in their permanence of character, but none whatever in the number of buildings. Or, again, if twelve chapels and preaching stations have been opened, while five of those which were in use in 1851 have passed to other uses, the actual gain has been only seven. There would be no danger of enumerating the abandoned chapels twice by the members of different congregations, for by stating the name or site of each they could all be readily identified.

VI.—Conclusion.

It does not appear that the injury of one religious body contributes to the success of another, or that any two of them exist in an inverse ratio. In other words, the high numbers of one do not indicate low numbers of another; but the contrary. Thus let us arrange the per-centages of Churchmen and Dissenters in the Counties from the highest to the lowest in each; and call the upper half of the per-centages high numbers and the remainder low ones. Of the 22 places which show a high per-centage of Churchmen, so many as 13 show a high percentage of Dissenters also; so that much more depends upon the moral and religious tone of any particular place than upon the success of one denomination over another. But this is not all; for if we take a smaller number such as ten places indicating the highest Church numbers, we find several of them also in the first ten Dissenting numbers; while on the contrary Surrey is 43rd in order, or the lowest but one in both scales! In the Towns, there is not the same remarkable correspondence, because the disturbing influences are more powerful in their operations;—Yet we find Colchester, Reading, and Wakefield in the highest ten of both columns, and Manchester in the lowest ten of both.

There is, however, a very marked and suggestive correspondence between the numbers which indicate the Non-worshipping community, and those which refer to the two leading religious communities. Thus the place which is highest in irreligion is that in which Dissenters have done least, viz., Southwark; the numbers being respectively 68 and 8. If we take the nine places in which the Church is weakest, seven of them are found among the 34 irreligious towns; and if we take the nine in which Dissenters are weakest, they are all found in the same 34. In Manchester, Churchmen and Dissenters are nearly equal, but the irreligious are half as many more as both together; in Oldham, Churchmen and Dissenters together are a little more than a third of the population, but the irreligious exceed three fifths.

It should not be forgotten that while much is said respecting the enlightenment and progress of our great towns, the 73 enumerated here contain 45 per cent. of a Non-worshipping community; while in the smaller towns, villages, and rural districts there are only 15 per cent.

Also, in the large towns, Churchmen diminish from nearly a half to little more than a fourth of the gross population, and Dissenters drop down from more than a third to about a fifth.

I will not touch upon the materials for thought which these facts force upon the mind, and if more than was absolutely necessary be already said, I think I may fairly plead in apology the importance of the subject. These remarks may appear late, in reference to a Census taken nine years ago; but it is only four years and a half since Mr. Mann's mode of Analysis was made public. It is even asserted by those whose interest it is still to ignore it, that it was only brought to light in reality by my public reference to it in the autumn of the past year.

APPENDIX A.

Analysis of the Population of Scotland.

The plan adopted for England and Wales, may be adopted with slight modification for Scotland. Thus if we double the number of Attenders or individual Worshippers on the Census Sunday, for Protestant Episcopalians and Roman Catholics, and add two-thirds for all others, the result is as stated below. The number and per centage of congregations is also given.

Places of Worship.	Per cent.		Worshipping Community.		Per centage.
		Presbyterians.			
1183	35	*Established Ch.* ...756,136			26·21
39	1	*Reformed Presb.* ... 21,994			·76
36	1	*Orig. Seceders*..... 16,611			·57
2		*Relief* 728			·03
465	14	*United Presb.* 404,444			14·00
889	26	*Free Church* 688,674			23·84
2614	77			1,888,587	65⅓
134	4	Protestant Episcopalians.....		69,084	2⅓
117	3½	Roman Catholics		118,664	4
530	15½	Indep., Bap., Meth. & all others		129,665	4⅓
3395	Total.			2,206,000	76
		Balance, Non-worshipping.....		682,742	24
		Gross Population ...		2,888,742	100

APPENDIX B.

Note written for the Report on Church Rates, 1859.

Note, at the close of Answer, 1340. "For the general principles of calculation, and their application to the population of England, see in the *Journal of the Statistical Society*, the Paper read by Mr. Horace Mann, 18th December, 1854. There are modifying influences at particular points, which interfere occasionally, to a slight extent, with the results. For example, where Church and Chapel attendance is more frequent and regular than in the assumed average, the number of irreligious appears smaller than it really is, and at Bath and Colchester wholly disappears. In like manner, where there is occasional attendance, but less frequent than in the assumed average, the number of irreligious appears somewhat greater than it is in reality. Thus, the *general* results, or those on a large scale, are more correct. It is of course impossible that any such principles of calculation and their application in detail, can be absolutely perfect; but the approximate results which these afford us are incomparably more correct than any that have been attained by other means.

"It is morally certain, that in many cases the estimated attendance at Religious Worship on the 31st of March, 1851, was too high. For example, it has been ascertained on independent grounds, that the Roman Catholics in Liverpool were about 81,000 in 1851; and of these, several thousands are irreligious, or do not attend chapel. Yet these calculations give us 88,304 chapel-going Roman Catholics; a result physically impossible, yet deducible from the official record of attendance. It is clear that all these exaggerations of the religious diminish the apparent number of practical heathen in our large towns, for whom no systematic provision is made, except by the Parochial system of the Established Church."

1407091

ON THE POPULATION OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE, AND ITS LOCAL DISTRIBUTION DURING THE FIFTY YEARS 1801-51.

By J. T. Danson, and T. A. Welton, Esqrs.

PART FOURTH, AND LAST.

(READ 9TH FEBRUARY, 1860.)

IN returning once more to the Statistics of the Population of Lancashire and Cheshire, we were not without some misgivings that the number of curious and interesting facts remaining to be presented to the Society would not prove to be large; or that they would, in most cases, possess a less wide and important significance than those brought forward in the first three parts of our work.

Here, however, we were in error. The particular subjects of this Paper will be admitted to possess considerable interest for all who are disposed to examine the facts lying nearest the causes of the rise and fall of States, or the aggrandizement or decadence of particular localities.

And we cannot but express our regret, that while investigations of what are somewhat exclusively termed "natural phenomena" are even among the amusements of most intelligent persons, while such subjects as Entomology and Conchology, which have but slight apparent connexion with the larger and more obvious interests of humanity, are generally regarded as embodying useful knowledge, the study of man, and his various modes of living, with the habits and tendencies indicative of these, have only of late attracted scientific investigation, and have, as yet, but few practical observers. Yet it is not possible to doubt that the patience and industry which invariably yield the richest results when directed to subjects the most trivial, would secure an ample return if bestowed upon the studies to which we have here drawn the attention of the Historic Society; and could hardly fail, in the end, to lead to the

erection of beacons for statesmanship, and guides for the national will, far more trustworthy than those in which, with the best intentions, the leaders of mankind are now compelled to put their trust.

Table XXIV (annexed).

In the first place, observing that the facts respecting occupations presented in our third Paper contained less of detail than might be wished, and would be useful, we have calculated the centesimal proportions of adult population engaged in some of the most important forms of employment, viz.:—

Males.—Farmer.
Agricultural labourer (out door).
Coal miner.
Cotton manufacturer.
Silk manufacturer.
Engine and machine maker.
Labourer, branch undefined.

Females.—Cotton manufacturer.
Silk manufacturer.
Domestic servant.

The results will be found in Table XXIV.

It is necessary to explain that the numbers now given refer simply to the returns under the above headings in the census of 1851; and which by some observers might not be deemed accurate in form. Those working in cotton, for example, might be made to include not only the proportions of population stated in Table XXIV., but also the cotton printers, dyers, packers and pressers, the fustian manufacturers, &c. These, however, are comparatively small classes, and the present object being to exhibit the magnitude of the largest classes, they have been disregarded.

Farmers and Farm-labourers.

The first two columns of Table XXIV., exhibiting the proportions of farmers and agricultural labourers, will be usefully compared with the death-rates presently to be referred to. It will be seen that in Garstang, Chorley, Ormskirk and Nantwich, (the districts, in each of the four regions, in which the agricultural element is largest), the death-rates are comparatively low. This is in accordance with the now generally received idea of the effect of out-door employment on longevity.

It will also be seen, from these columns. that the relative numbers of farmers and out-door labourers differ much in particular places; but that there are only a few districts in which the labourers are twice as numerous as the farmers. In Ulverston and Lancaster, in the northern region, they are about equally numerous; but in Fylde there are nearly two labourers to each farmer. In Burnley, Haslingden, Blackburn and Rochdale, in the eastern region, there are more farmers than labourers, but in Barton-upon-Irwell there are nearly three labourers to each farmer. In the western and southern regions the labourers are throughout more numerous than the farmers, being in Warrington, Runcorn and Great Boughton nearly treble their number.

These variations are in a great measure dependent on modes of holding and cultivating the land; and these, again, on the amount of capital applicable to farming, and the demand for its produce in different localities. For instance, were *in-door* farm servants included, a somewhat different result would be obtained: these last varying exceedingly in comparative number in the several districts. Thus:—

In Warrington we have	446	farmers.
	1,422	out-door labourers.
	43	in-door farm servants.
	17	,, ,, female.
Total	1,482	
And in Altrincham	955	farmers.
	1,810	out-door labourers.
	675	in-door farm servants.
	255	,, ,, female.
Total.....	2,740	

So that a considerable apparent inequality almost disappears in the more extended view.

Also, in comparing the different counties of England one with another, in regard to the numbers of *men* engaged in agriculture, it must not be forgotten that there are very unequal proportions (in some places much larger than those here shown) of *women* so engaged in the various parts of the country. This circumstance does not, however, need much notice in the division to which our attention is at present directed.

Size of Farms.

We have already observed that in the north-western division of Lancashire and Cheshire the farms are smaller, on an average, than in any other of the great divisions of the country. It may be worth while to state the average number of acres to one farmer, in each region, thus:—

Northern..	3,961	males,	311	females,	together	4,272	farmers,	giving	118	acres each.
Eastern ..	10,494	„	1,336	„	„	11,830	„	„	55	„
Western ..	2,878	„	330	„	„	3,208	„	„	72	„
Southern..	4,981	„	684	„	„	5,665	„	„	87	„

A great part of the northern region, however, is uncultivated. Hence the comparison of total area to number of farmers is not to be relied upon.

The number of *cultivated* acres to a farmer, instead of being greater, may even be less there than in the southern and western regions. And, if so, the proportion of labourers to a farmer may, in fact, agree pretty closely with the average magnitude of the farms in the respective regions.

Coal Miners.

The proportions of the coal miners to the whole population, as shewn in the third column (Table XXIV.), point distinctly to the Wigan district as being the one most largely engaged in this department of industry. Accordingly, it will be found that, contrary to the rule prevalent in the rest of the north-western division, the immigration into the Wigan district consists principally of males. The mortality also presents some peculiar features.

The Cotton and Silk Manufacturing Population.

The figures in the 4th and 8th and in the 5th and 9th columns of Table XXIV., may be observed with a good deal of interest when we come to the death-rates.

Domestic Servants.

The distribution of these is very significant; and deserves especial attention in connexion with the migratory movements of the population, and the local distribution of the sexes.

Labourers (undefined).

The proportions of "labourers (branch undefined)" in different districts are far less equal than might have been expected; varying from two per cent.

to upwards of sixteen per cent. on the male adult population. This may have arisen partly from want of uniformity in the principle on which the class has been formed for registry in different districts; and it suggests a useful task to those living in the districts exhibiting the widest variations—that of enquiring on what this class of persons is most employed. In the absence of this information the remaining figures of the Occupation Census, for a district like Prescot, must be received with a certain caution, as liable to be delusive in regard to the relative importance of particular departments of industry, some of which, in all probability, employ a disproportionate number of these labourers. It may also be that some forms of employment, quite worthy of being distinguished, are kept out of sight by undue enlargement of the limits of this "undefined" class.

Table XXV. (annexed).

Table XXIV. may be taken as an amplification of those already given; but this deals with a department of the census we have hitherto left untouched: the condition of the adult population as to marriage.

Married and Unmarried.

It appears from Table XXV. that while the proportions out of 100 adults of each sex who are unmarried, married, and widowed, respectively, and the proportions of females, in each of these conditions, to 100 males in the like condition, are nearly the same in England and Wales and in the north-western division, the like ratios vary widely in *different parts* of the division.

It may be reasonably conjectured that these ratios depend, in a great measure, upon the rate of increase in population, and the occupations prevalent in particular districts. Other causes no doubt prevail; but their operation cannot be even approximately estimated till these have been allowed for.

The proportion of unmarried persons is highest in the northern region, and lowest in the eastern region. In the former there are ninety unmarried women to 100 unmarried men, in the latter 108 women to the like number of men.

Marriage and Mortality.

While the number of the unmarried is high in the healthy northern region, and not low in the southern region, (these being the two

portions of the division in which agriculture is the main occupation), the same result appears to be brought about in Liverpool by a very different cause. In the one case, a moderate number of marriages, being accompanied (as will be seen) by a comparatively low mortality, sustain a greater number of married couples than might otherwise be possible, and the children of these marriages being exposed to a lower rate of mortality, a sufficient number survive to fill the ranks of an increasing population, and even to send forth (from the northern region) a considerable stream of emigration. On the other hand, in Liverpool, a marriage rate which may be considered extremely high, being accompanied by a rate of mortality equally unusual, sustains a proportion of married couples not much greater than in the northern region, but accompanied by a greater relative number of births, in consequence of the smaller proportion of couples reaching old age without being severed by death. This extra proportion of births appears, however, to be far more than balanced by the infantile mortality, and, as a consequence, it follows that the population is chiefly recruited by immigration. In Liverpool, West Derby, and Wirrall, comprehending the town and suburbs of Liverpool, this is so largely the case, that to 100 males added by natural increase in 1841-51, 475 were added by immigration; and to 100 females added by the excess of births over deaths in the same period, 681 were added by immigration. These immigrants, being frequently unmarried labourers and domestic servants, do not raise the proportion of the married, but probably contribute at once to the large proportions of single men and women, and to the great ratio of annual marriages appearing on the returns.

We have been insensibly drawn into comments on figures which will be found in the remaining tables; and for this, as they are calculated to reflect light upon each other, perhaps no apology is needed. But it is well to say, before going further, that in speaking of the mortality prevailing in Liverpool and other places, allusion is made to the periods for which the figures are given, and to no others. That what we say is true of the period 1840-52 is clear, as a reference to Tables XXX. and XXXI. will shew; and a glance at Table XXVII. will give an idea as to what changes had taken place up to 1858 in the mortality-experience of the division generally.

Widows and Widowers.

The same causes (great commercial activity, and general pecuniary

prosperity, with a high death-rate) offer a solution of another phenomenon :— the low proportion of widowers, and the high proportion of widows, in Liverpool. The rapid growth and change of the population, on the one hand dissolving more marriages than ordinary (by death), and, on the other, facilitating re-marriage with women previously unmarried, directly increases both the number of widowers who marry and of widows who do not.

It may be supposed that the high proportion of widowers to widows in Liverpool is a consequence of the deaths among seafaring men whose wives reside there; but this does not appear probable when we consider that in Manchester the ratio is not much less.

Ages of Wives.

That widowers usually marry spinsters (here, as well as in the kingdom at large, where two out of three do so) may be inferred from the increasing proportion of men with young wives at the successive periods of life in the following table; showing (for the north-western division) how many out of 100 husbands at each age have wives whose ages fall within the same, the earlier, or the later quinquennial periods.

Age of Husband.	Age of Wife.					
	3 or more qninquens younger.	2 quinquens younger.	1 quinquen. younger.	same quinquen-nium.	1 quinquen. elder.	2 or more quinquens older.
15 — 20	....	....	....	46.7	44.4	8.9
20 — 25	....	....	8.2	68.4	19.5	4.0
25 — 30	....	1.0	28.2	53.7	13.8	3.3
30 — 35	.2	6.6	31.4	46.3	11.6	3.9
35 — 40	1.6	9.7	30.6	42.6	11.9	3.6
40 — 45	3.7	11.8	29.2	40.7	11.0	3.6
45 — 50	5.6	11.9	30.2	38.8	10.3	3.2
50 — 55	7.5	13.7	28.4	37.3	9.5	3.6
55 — 60	9.2	13.5	28.7	35.4	10.4	2.9
60 — 65	11.7	15.6	26.3	35.0	8.5	2.9
65 — 70	13.9	14.6	29 8	32.3	7.4	2.0
70 & upw.	20.6	18.6	27.5	27.2	5.1	1.1
All Ages.	3.8	8.9	28.0	44.1	11.7	3.4

Manchester and Liverpool.

It should be observed that the ratios for Liverpool and its suburbs differ widely in regard to the proportions of unmarried and married men, but

less in other respects. The disproportion of widows to widowers is singularly similar in each of the three districts, which together include Liverpool; and an equally remarkable similarity of ratio in the three districts of Manchester may be pointed out. The numbers of unmarried dock-labourers resident in the district of Liverpool (proper), and of female servants (also unmarried) resident in the suburban districts of West Derby and Wirral, will go a great way towards explaining the differences observed.

The chief point of distinction between the figures for Manchester and Liverpool lies in the greater proportional number of married persons, both male and female, in Manchester. The mortality in Manchester, though large, is lower than in Liverpool, and although Manchester derives the major part of its increase from immigration, its natural increase is far more considerable than that of Liverpool.

Unmarried Males.

The eastern region generally exhibits a low proportion of unmarried males; and the principal exception to this rule is in the semi-agricultural and unprogressive district of Chorley.

In the obscure district of Garstang, in the northern region, where we found, in a former paper, the lowest proportion of immigrants from a distance, and which we shall find to be the most healthful of any, the lowest proportion of married men is also found.

The district of Leigh must be noted as one the population of which contains but a small urban element, and is not remarkable for rapidity of increase. Here we find a higher proportion of widowers than anywhere else in the eastern region: the proportions of marriages and deaths being at the same time by no means high, compared to the average of the region, and that of widows *much less* than ordinary.

In Ulverstone the proportion of unmarried males is evidently raised by the presence of a mining population. Excepting this district, and that of Liverpool, the highest proportion of this class is in Garstang, already mentioned.

The *lowest* proportion of unmarried males is found in the Stockport district, where population had during the preceding ten years (1841-51) been increasing far less rapidly than in previous decennial periods, and the tendency to marriage may consequently be supposed to have received a

decided check. If we assume that during the more prosperous times preceding 1841 the marriages in this district were comparatively numerous, and led to an increase of population greater than seemed to be required on the spot, and resulting, in the period 1841-51, in an emigration, as shewn in Table XXIX., of about 2,700 males, and 900 females (probably for the most part unmarried), we have a conjectural explanation of the very small number of bachelors here returned, and the consequently large proportion of married people.

Migration of Men, and of Women.

It does not appear that the *rural* districts of Lancashire and Cheshire part with a larger number of women than of men, by way of migration into localities where domestic service or the requirements of manufactures call for a large female population. On the contrary, the tendency of the entire division, and of each part of it, seems rather to be *to attract the women of other places* than to rearrange its own native population. Almost every district appears to have either parted with more men than women, or attracted more women than men. The exceptions are Wigan, Ulverstone, Prescot, Clitheroe, Great Boughton (Chester) and Runcorn. The three first-named are mining districts. Clitheroe shows an excess of males only in its mountainous northern portion, and especially in the sub-district of Chipping; and consequently, so far as it is engaged in manufactures, forms no exception to the rule prevalent in the eastern region, that the female population equals or exceeds the male; but the male population of its manufacturing portion having increased, while the female population has diminished (though still remaining largest) it is in that respect exceptional.

Peculiarities of Great Boughton (Chester.)

The district of Great Boughton (including Chester) presents some features of which intimate knowledge of the locality can alone be expected to furnish the true explanation. It has at present only a moderate per-centage of its population in the conjugal state, and must have shown considerably lower proportions in 1841, as the marriages have since then been rather numerous. Then the births have been so few, as to be lower, in proportion to population, than in any other part of the Division; and, after deducting a considerable death loss, leave a very small natural increase. This increase has had to be supplemented by an immigration of more than six times its number, equalling in fact more than a quarter of the total

births, and, even with this aid, the growth of the population has not been at all striking. Are we to suppose that the inhabitants of the Great Boughton district under-estimated in 1841-51 the power of the district to sustain an increase in its population ; or did its young people emigrate, in considerable numbers, to some more attractive locality; and did those remaining behind fail to appreciate the opportunity afforded them ? It is certain that for some time past, the marriages have been rather numerous, compared with those in most other parts of Cheshire; and we may therefore suppose, with some appearance of probability, that the phenomena will not be the same in 1861

Another peculiarity observable in this district is the greater immigration of males than females The natural increase in each sex was between two and three hundred ; but the immigration 2212 males and 1361 females.

The increase in the sub-districts appears to have been—

Tattenhall.....	increase	34	Males...	decrease	144	Females
Chester Castle	,,	1721	,,	...increase	1157	,,
Cathedral Division ...	,,	713	,,	... ,,	557	,,
Hawarden.....	,,	37	,,	... ,,	40	,,

or, dividing the district differently,

Chester City.....	2146	Males.....	1539 Females
Remainder of District ...	359	,, ...	71 ,,

What these figures indicate cannot well be discovered without more local information than we possess, or can readily obtain. One thing, however, is certain : that in spite of the other facts, there are more adult unmarried women than men in the place. The number of elderly persons, particularly women, is also large, especially as compared with the number of children. Perhaps Chester is less inhabited than formerly by families employing servants, and thus the disproportionate numbers of the sexes are not maintained, and this seems the more likely when we revert to the returns of 1831-41.

The public health in Great Boughton has not been good. The annual death rates, on an average of the three years, 1850–1–2, were, in the sub-districts :

Tattenhall	16.9	per thousand
Chester Castle	22.1	,,
Cathedral Division (including the Workhouse)	27.8	,,

Hawarden	17.7	per thousand
In the whole district.....	22.4	„

In the ten years, 1841-50, the annual average death rates in the undermentioned districts were—

Great Boughton	23.51	per thousand
Nantwich	21.14	„
Northwich.....	21.11	„
Altrincham	20.84	„
Congleton.....	21.97	„

We have the more willingly dwelt on these peculiarities of the Great Boughton district, as it is one, especially when regarded from an historical point of view, which attracts and rewards a large amount of attention. Nor do we forget that there is, in Chester, a Society similar to our own, to which we may appeal for additional information, touching the real significance of these great national records, as they affect that ancient city and its immediate neighbourhood.

Unmarried Females.

The numbers of the female population are in some places remarkably small; and in some districts the proportion of unmarried women to 100 unmarried men is very low. These latter are Runcorn, Prescot, Ulverston, and Garstang, and (less strikingly) Northwich, Liverpool, Wigan, Warrington, and Nantwich. Most of them are among those just noticed as attracting more men than women—of the others the Liverpool district cannot be regarded separately from the suburbs, as West Derby &c., where unmarried women decidedly preponderate. Northwich, as well as Runcorn, contains a considerable number of bargemen; the excess of males in Warrington may also perhaps be traced to peculiarity of occupation. In Nantwich, where, until 1841, there appears to have been an excess of females, the railway establishment at Crewe has some influence. The excess of males in the Monks-Coppenhall township is 181. In Garstang, from 1821 forwards, there has always been an excess of males, the cause of which is not very obvious.

The districts where, on the other hand, the unmarried females are considerably *in excess* (excluding suburban districts) are Stockport, Preston, Ashton-under-Lyne, Manchester and the neighbouring districts, Bury, Macclesfield and Fylde. All these, excepting the last, are districts where

female labour is in request for manufacturing purposes; and in Fylde there is an unusual number of female servants: especially at Lytham and Blackpool. In Stockport, the proportion of females would be less excessive but for the recent emigration of males having been greater than that of females.

Table XXVI.

Here we have computed and stated the proportions of population living at different ages over ten years to the number of children under that age: exhibiting the combined effects, mainly, of occupations, as regulating migration, mortality and births. Having adopted as a measure the number of children under ten years of age, it is obvious that a low proportion of births tends, by diminishing this number, to increase the relative numbers at higher ages. This irregularity may be deemed objectionable; but it was preferred to using the total population as a measure, because that would have been seriously disturbed by any peculiarity in the migration into or from the district. The number of children does not seem to have been materially affected by migration: there being nearly the same numbers of each sex at the ages 0-5 and 5-10.

Number of Children.

The number of the population having among them 100 children under ten years of age, is nearly the same in England and Wales and in the north-western division. But, in the different districts composing the division it ranges from 361 to 448. For the better understanding of this part of our subject it is advisable to separate the period of life between the ages of ten and forty from that after forty. We shall then perceive that the main feature developed is an excessive number at the ages ten to forty, and a defective number over forty years of age, in the eastern and western regions. And it will be remembered that these are the most characteristic and important parts of the division. In the northern and southern regions the number aged ten to forty is defective; and the number after that age attains nearly a full proportion.

In the Northern Region to	100	aged 0 to 10	there are	197.7	at 10 to 40	and 98.9	over 40
„ Eastern „	100	„		218.6	„	86.1	„
„ Western „	100	„		224.1	„	83.3	„
„ Southern „	100	„		200.9	„	92.5	„
„ N. Western Division	100	„		217.1	„	86.8	„
„ England and Wales	100	„		206.6	„	97.1	„

Two facts are prominent here: (1) In the northern and southern regions of our division of the kingdom, the children are, in number, *above* the English standard; and in the eastern and western regions they are *below* it. (2) In the northern region alone does the number *over forty* come up to the English standard.

Youth and Maturity.

It is also remarkable that while, in the eastern region, the excess at the ages ten to forty is most commonly found among those aged ten to twenty-five, in the western it is chiefly in the population aged twenty-five to forty. In other words, the element of youth decidedly predominates in the great manufacturing district; and in the great commercial district we have a like excess of persons at the most active period of life. Thus:—

	To 100 Children aged 0-10 years		
In the Northern Region there are	117.1 aged 10 to 25,	and 80.6 aged 25 to 40	
„ Eastern „	127.7 „	90.9 „	
„ Western „	123.3 „	100.8 „	
„ Southern „	119.1 „	81.8 „	
„ North-Western Division	125.4 „	91.7 „	
„ England and Wales	120.2 „	86.4 „	

This circumstance has an evident connection with the extensive employment of young persons in the manufacture of cotton; and of clerks, dock labourers, and domestic servants in the western or Liverpool region.

The large numbers at ages from ten to forty, with the low proportions at the higher ages, in the manufacturing and commercial localities, doubtless arise from the comparatively small populations of these places in the preceding decennial periods causing many fewer births than at present, while the immigration of young persons has greatly swelled the ranks of those in middle life; and the very considerable infantile mortality has since hindered the children proper to such a population from attaining a greater proportion to its total number.

Maturity and Old Age.

The numbers at 55 to 65, and at 65 and upwards, compare thus:—

	To 100 Children aged 0 to 10 years		
In the Northern Region there are	23.6 aged 55 to 65,	and 21.4 aged 65 and upwards.	
„ Eastern „	18.7 „	12.4 „	
„ Western „	16.5 „	10.3 „	
„ Southern „	21.5 „	18.2 „	
„ North-Western Division	18.7 „	13.0 „	
„ England and Wales	22.7 „	18.7 „	

The state of the western (or commercial) region is very remarkable. No inference would here be safe as to longevity in the different regions; but the actual composition of the population, as here exhibited, cannot fail to have a corresponding influence on the state of society in each.

Disturbance by Migration.

So far as the figures enable us to judge, we conclude there must, formerly, have been a considerable disturbance, by emigration, of the age-distribution of the population of the northern and southern regions, particularly as to the women:—the proportions of population at the several ages being as follow, when compared with the average for England and Wales:—

	Northern Region.		Southern Region.	
Ages 10–25	+ 0.8 Males	— 3.9 Females	+ 0.4 Males	— 1.5 Females.
„ 25–40	— 1.4 „	— 4.4 „	— 1.0 „	— 3.6 „
„ 40–55	— 0.1 „	— 1.7 „	— 0.7 „	— 2.2 „
„ 55–65	+ 0.7 „	+ 0.2 „	— 0.5 „	— 0.7 „
„ 65 and upwards	+ 1.7 „	+ 1.0 „	— 0.0 „	— 0.5 „
or,				
„ 10–55	— 0.7 „	— 10.0 „	— 1.3 „	— 7.3 „
„ 55 and upwards	+ 2.4 „	+ 1.2 „	— 0.5 „	— 1.2 „

Consideration of the corresponding figures for particular districts, as stated in Table XXVI. and more particularly in the census, will possess much interest, and might afford profitable occupation for local observers disposed to aid or correct our enquiries. Of course it will not be forgotten that a depressed birth-rate tends to raise the proportional numbers in Table XXVI.; and this has actually occurred in the following places in our division:—

Northern Region.—No district relatively very low.

Eastern Region.—Preston, Leigh, Stockport, and Macclesfield.

Western Region.—Ormskirk.

Southern Region.—Congleton and Great Boughton.

The marriage-rate in Altrincham has been very low; but there is nothing in the birth-rate 1841–50 to account for the excess of people at the higher ages, compared with children; and this is possibly ascribable in some degree to the salubrity of the place, which appears to be the healthiest in the southern region.

The subject of migration is a good deal cleared up by this table. It

appears, for example, that the disproportion of the sexes in Runcorn and Northwich, arises rather from an emigration of women (somewhat exceptional) than an immigration of men. Again, the influence of former immigration, modified by recent emigration, is very visible in the figures for Stockport. It is, probably, the high rate of mortality, after infancy, in Congleton, that prevents the immigration of females into that place from producing a more marked effect. The district of Ormskirk would appear to have parted, in times past, with a large part of its population, both male and female; and it does not seem likely that that of Leigh has always been able to attract a greater number than it lost. The infantile death-rate in Lancaster seems quite enough to cause the relatively high numbers at the ages above ten years.

In these remarks we have rather indicated the uses of Table XXVI. than exhausted the comparisons to be deduced from it. Each reader will perhaps be able to find something in that Table falling within the range of his particular knowledge, and capable of interesting him. And if what we have said, or the figures we have brought together, should thus elicit further information, we shall be the better pleased with the result of our labours.

Table XXVII.

Here we have given the figures for each of the twenty years 1839–58: showing, for England and Wales, and also for our own division, (1) the estimated population on the 1st of January in each year, and the number of (2) marriages, (3) births, and (4) deaths, *during* each year, to one thousand persons living at its *beginning*.

It will appear, on examining this table, that the proportions of marriages, of births, and of deaths, have all been *constantly much higher* in the north-western division than in the kingdom at large, ranging, comparatively, as follows:—

	England and Wales.	North-Western Division.
Marriages	7.41 to 8.98	7.84 to 10.47
Births	31.63 to 34.62	35.22 to 39.17
Deaths	20.56 to 25.33	24.00 to 34.17

In every year of the twenty the *birth-rate* in the division exceeded the *maximum* rate in England and Wales. In eleven out of the twenty years the marriage-rate exceeded the maximum. And in fifteen of the twenty years the death-rate exceeded the maximum of England and Wales. We will not attempt to indicate the range of reflection suggested by these remarkable differences.

The diminished ratio of *illegitimate* births is worthy of notice; and it is observable how closely the marriage, the birth, and even the death-rates of England, though in amount so different, correspond, in their *variations* with those of Lancashire. Beginning with the year 1839, the marriage-rate sank gradually until 1842, then rose steadily until 1845, becoming low again in 1847, again rising year by year till 1850, remaining high until 1853, afterwards sinking till 1855, rising again in 1856, and declining until 1858: when the lowest figure since 1847 was reached, in both the kingdom and the division. Here we have, strongly marked, the operation of what may be termed periods of prosperity on the tendency to marry. And it is at least probable that in this variation there is present, besides an improvident haste to take advantage of "good times," a good deal of the self-denying determination to wait for such times.

Table XXVIII.—Marriages.

Here we give the actual numbers of marriages, in each district, in the most remarkable of the years referred to, and it will be observed that the numbers in the good year 1845 and the bad year 1855 in the entire division were nearly equal, the larger population having, under adverse circumstances, come down to the marriage-rate of the smaller. Comparing 1845 and 1847 with 1853 and 1855 we get, in each case, a bad and a good year, and an average interval of eight years. This shows for the several regions:—

Northern	1,658	in 1845 and 1847	against	1,759	in 1853 and 1855.
Eastern.....	26,702	„	„	31,774	„
Western	11,111	„	„	12,489	„
Southern	3,373	„	„	4,044	„
N. W. Division	42,844	„	„	50,066	„

Here, however, it is to be remembered that the prosperity and adversity referred to bore differently on different localities; and that the population was increasing at very different rates.

The number of marriages in Stockport having again become high, it may be safely assumed that that place has regained something of its former prosperity. The marriage-rate seems to be more immediately and powerfully acted upon in Manchester than in Liverpool. But this Table deserves a minute and careful examination by the light of adequate local knowledge.

Tables XXIX. and XXX.

The second of these is chiefly composed of ratios derived from the first; and, together, they carry the comparison of the rates of birth, marriage, and death, in different parts of our district, as far into detail as probably they can at present be usefully carried.

The *natural increase* of population in 1841–50 as shewn in Table XXIX. will no doubt differ, in some measure, from that between the periods of the censuses of 1841 and 1851, as these were not taken at the commencement of the respective years; but probably not to the extent of more than about two per cent. The two periods 1st January, 1841 to 1st January, 1851, and 6th June, 1841 to 31st March, 1851, have, for the purposes of these two Tables, been assumed to be practically identical; and any difference between the actual increase and the approximation to the natural increase thus obtained has been taken as arising wholly from immigration or emigration.

It appears then that the movement of the population, in the entire division, between the last two censuses, was—

Births	828,264
Deaths	609,822
Natural Increase	218,442
Immigration	200,410
Total Increase	418,852

In the two great towns and their suburbs the similar figures were—

	Liverpool.	Manchester.
Births	153,334	155,764
Deaths	135,313	123,738
Natural Increase	18,021	32,026
Immigration	102,654	73,306
Total Increase	120,675	105,332

In the rest of the division the corresponding figures were—

	Northern Region.	Southern Region.	Residue of Eastern & Western Regions.
Births	37,242	74,003	407,921
Deaths	23,112	53,957	273,702
Natural Increase ..	14,130	20,046	134,219
Immigration	— 10,462	929	33,983
Total Increase	3,668	20,975	168,202

Thus it appears that while Liverpool and Manchester increase principally by immigration, four-fifths of the increase in the remaining portions of the eastern and western regions was derived from the excess of births over deaths, and the northern region alone could send off upwards of ten thousand emigrants and still exhibit a net increase of population.

The large emigration from Chorley (Table XXX.) deserves notice. It is ascribed to cessation of work at some coal pits, from exhaustion of coal, and to substitution of power-looms for hand-looms. Several of the features of Table XXIX. have already been noticed. The large emigration of males, compared with females, from Fylde, seems to have arisen from the completion of the harbour at Fleetwood, where in 1841 a large number of men appear to have been employed.

It will be observed that the silk-manufacturing places are among those which attract the greatest numbers of women, compared with men. Congleton even parts with a portion of its male population, while attracting as many females as suffice to more than double the natural increase of that sex.

Fertility of Marriages.

Considerable difficulty, traceable to defect of information in the census, was found in exhibiting, in Table XXX, a reliable set of indications of *the comparative fertility of marriages* in the different parts of the division. It can only be done imperfectly.

The following Table shows the proportions of the marriageable, but unmarried, to the total population, at several ages, for the division:—

Ages.	Per Cent. Unmarried. Males.	Females.	Ages.	Per Cent. Unmarried. Males.	Females.
15–20	99.3	97.1	45–50	12.0	12.1
20–25	76.3	67.1	50–55	11.4	11.5
25–30	42.0	39.2	55–60	10.2	10.9
30–35	25.6	24.7	60–65	9.7	11.3
35–40	17.4	17.7	65–70	8.7	10.8
40–45	14.4	14.1	70 and upwards.	8.0	9.9

But we are not supplied with this order of facts for the districts separately; and are therefore precluded from comparing the number of births in them with the number of married women aged twenty to forty-five.

Our sole resource, therefore, was to compare the births with—

1. Women aged 20 to 45, including the unmarried and widowed.
2. Wives aged 20 and upwards, including many above 45 years of age.

It appears on a comparison between the north-western division and England and Wales, that the proportions were respectively :—

	N. W. Division.	England and Wales.
Per Centage of Women aged 20–45 who were Married	58.65	59.15
„ Married Women aged 20 years and upwards whose ages were under 45 years	71.22	66.21
Annual Births (average of three years, 1850–2) to 100 *Married* Women aged 20–45	32.15	30.83

We may therefore rest assured that if the number of births is small, compared with that of marriages, in some of the largest places, this is probably the result rather of the height of the marriage-rate being disproportioned to the number of the married, than merely to a low birth-rate in proportion to the number of married women at the child-bearing age.

The number of births to *a marriage* (without reference to the ages of the married) is shown, for the two periods 1841–50 and 1850–52. In both periods the number was low in the following places :—

	1841-50.	1850-2.	Marriages per 1,000 persons 1841-50.	Per cent. of Women 20 and upwards in married state. 1851.
Manchester, Salford, and Chorlton Barton-on-Irwell	2.9	3.1 2.4	12.83	56.6 to 58.4
Liverpool, West Derby, and Wirrall	3.4	3.2	11.13	54.5 „ 55.9
Rochdale	3.5	3·2	10.69	61.3
Great Boughton	2.8	2.9	8.74	55.4
The average of England and Wales being	4.0	3.6	8.02	58.7

The figures, above given, show that (everything else being equal) there were good reasons for the proportions of births to marriages in these places being low, inasmuch as, in every case, the marriages bore a higher proportion to the numbers already married than in England and Wales; and therefore afforded an exaggerated idea of the *total numbers* of women in the married state.

It is however abundantly evident, that with reference to any detailed comparison, very little dependence can be placed on these ratios of births to marriages; and they are introduced partly to make this apparent.

The ratios of births to 100 married women are defective because the numbers of aged women vary so much in particular places. And to this circumstance almost entirely may be attributed the seemingly high ratios in the eastern and western regions. Again, when we look at the figures for Liverpool, and remember this defect in our materials, it is impossible to resist the inference that, in 1850-2 at least, the births there were not high, in proportion to the number of married women under forty-five years of age. The same may be said of several other places.

The column in Table XXX. most worthy of reliance is probably that shewing the proportion of births to women aged twenty to forty-five, when taken in connection with the proportions of women married, thus:—

	Births in 1850-2 to 100 Women aged 20-45.	Per centage of Women aged 20 and upwards who were Married, in 1851.	Estimated Births per 100 married Women aged 20 to 45.
Great Boughton	15.1	55.4	27
Liverpool	15.6	54.7	29
Wirral	16.2	55.9	29
West Derby	16.4	54.5	30
Barton-on-Irwell	17.0	56.6	30
Macclesfield	17.4	58.7	30
Chorlton	17.8	56.7	31
Stockport	17.9	59.3	30
Lancaster	18.2	53.4	34
Manchester	18.3	56.8	32
Altrincham	18.3	54.7	33
Congleton	18.3	61.2	30
Fylde	18.4	55.0	33
Ashton-under-Lyne	18.4	60.0	31
Salford	18.5	58.4	32
N. W. Division	18.9	58.3	32
England and Wales	18.2	58.7	31

We have just had occasion to observe that the proportions of women aged *twenty to forty-five* living in 1851 in England and Wales, and in the north-western division, who were married, do not differ materially from those of women aged *twenty and upwards* who were in the same condition.

If we assume the same to be true of the districts just enumerated, the numbers on the right will represent (nearly) the ratios of births per 100 *married* women aged twenty to forty-five; these confirm the impression derived from the ratios to 100 married women (simply) and tend to shew that the birth-rates in Liverpool, Great Boughton, Macclesfield, Stockport and Congleton, are low; and that those in Manchester and its suburbs, and in Ashton-under-Lyne, are at all events not far above the average.

The birth-rate in Wigan appears to be very high. Perhaps local explanation might bring this ratio nearer to the average.

Marriages and Bachelors.

The marriages would best have been measured by comparison with the number of unmarried men at the entire marrying age, but as we cannot obtain the necessary information for doing this from the census, we are obliged to measure them by the total number of unmarried males aged twenty years and upwards.

This gives the following annual ratios for the three years 1850–2:—

Northern Region	7.5	Marriages per 100 Bachelors.
Eastern ,,	14.3	,, ,,
Western ,,	11.5	,, ,,
Southern ,,	9.3	,, ,,
N. Western Division	12.7	,, ,,
England and Wales	10.9	,, ,,

The highest local ratio was in Stockport, where there had been, previously, much commercial depression. There the marriage ratio reached 19.1 per 100 bachelors. The lowest ratios were in Garstang and Altrincham—5.4 per 100 bachelors. In Manchester the rate was very high, much higher than in Liverpool. In Chorley, Leigh and Oldham it was low.

Marriages to Population.

Measured by the total *population*, the marriages in 1841–50 gave the following annual proportions:—

Northern Region	6.59	per 1,000 persons.
Eastern ,,	9.29	,,
Western ,,	10.30	,,
Southern ,,	7.20	,,
N. Western Division	9.14	,,
England and Wales	8.02	,,

In Manchester, Liverpool and Rochdale, the ratios were highest; and

in Altrincham, Northwich, Ormskirk, Garstang, Oldham and Ashton-under-Lyne, they were very low. In Chorley, Leigh, and other places the marriage-rate was far from high.

The column last commented upon, and those of births and deaths per 1,000 persons living, are chiefly valuable as throwing light upon the facts disclosed by Table XXVII.

The birth and death columns (of Table XXX.) also have much meaning when looked at in reference to natural increase of population, as indicating whether this arises mainly from low death-rates, from high birth-rates, or from some other cause. The column shewing the average annual real increase per 1,000 persons is intended to aid in making these comparisons. Thus :—

	Births.	Deaths.	Difference or natural increase.	Actual increase.
Northern Region	31.00	19.24	11.76	3.1
Eastern ,,	37.33	26.51	10.82	18.1
Western ,,	37.55	31.47	6.08	27.8
Southern ,,	31.04	22.63	8.41	8.8
N. Western Division	36 38	26.79	9.59	18.4
England and Wales	32.48	22.31	10.17	11.6

Here it will be seen that the lowest birth-rate being accompanied by a still lower comparative death-rate, is followed by the largest natural increase; while the highest birth-rate is, from a similar cause, followed by the smallest natural increase. This makes apparent the importance of the manner in which an increase of population is attained; and the consequent local value of the materials we have brought together for its examination and consideration, as to different localities in our own division of the kingdom.

Births and Deaths to Population.

Enough has perhaps been said about the relative numbers of births and of married women. It only remains to be noticed that the actual proportion of births to population was lowest in this period (1841–51) in Great Boughton and Congleton, and singularly high, by comparison in Northwich —all in the southern region. It was highest in Bolton, Blackburn, Oldham, Wigan and Bury. Next to these places come Liverpool, Haslingden, Burnley, Rochdale, Ashton and Manchester. It was comparatively low in Macclesfield, Stockport, and Preston.

It will be observed that in Oldham and Ashton-under-Lyne, where the marriage-rate during the ten years 1841–51 was only 5.93 per 1,000

persons, the number of births remained comparatively large, and, in Preston, where the corresponding marriage-rate was 8.93, the number of births was relatively low. So much do the marriages already in being affect the figures, when taken together with those occurring year by year.

The low proportion of births in Congleton, in spite of a large ratio of persons in the wedded state, is not easy to understand. We want local information. The ratios of births for 1850–2 in this district are not so remarkable. Whatever the cause previously in operation it would appear to have ceased; as the births had considerably increased.

The death-rates in Table XXX. (already referred to) shew that the excess of mortality in the division is traceable to causes operating chiefly in the eastern and western regions: the rate in the northern region being low, and that in the southern region not differing materially from the average of England.

It has already been pointed out that the mortality in Great Boughton is high; and an attempt has been made to indicate the locality of the excess; but this is always difficult to do for sub-districts, through the influence of public institutions, such as work-houses, which sometimes bring into one sub-district all the deaths of the paupers of the district, and hospitals, which have a similar effect.

We have now to call attention to the peculiar death-rate in the Lancaster district. This appears to have been much raised by a special mortality in the sub-district of Lancaster. The mortality in each of the sub-districts was, in 1850-52 :—

Ellel	population	3686.....	17.7 per 1000 persons
Heaton	,,	2587.....	18.9 ,,
Lancaster	,,	18292.....	28.6 ,,
Caton	,,	2119.....	24.5 ,,
Wray	,,	2528.....	20.3 ,,
Tunstall	,,	925.....	13.0 ,,
Arkholme	,,	931.....	19.3 ,,
Warton	,,	3592.....	19.6 ,,
The whole district	,,	34660.....	24.3 ,,

But a better medium of comparison, between districts, as to vitality, will be afforded by Table XXXI., to which we now proceed.

Table XXXI.

The unequal distribution of the population, as to age and sex, in the

different districts, renders it imperative, in ascertaining the comparative death-rates, to take both elements into account, for each district. Before forming this table (XXXI.), the following figures were computed on the census of 1851 :—

DEATH RATES AT DIFFERENT AGES IN EACH SEX.

AGES.	Annual average deaths, per cent. in 1850-52.				Female compared to Male Death Rates.		Excess per cent. of death rates in N.W. div., compared with England and Wales.	
	Eng. & Wales.		N.W. Division.					
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Eng. & Wales.	N.W. Division.	Males.	Females.
0— 5	7.18	6.18	9.93	8.56	— 1.00	— 1.37	38	39
5—10	.87	.85	1.19	1.12	— .02	— .07	37	32
10—15	.49	.52	.60	.59	+ .03	— .01	22	13
15—25	.76	.81	.87	.90	+ .05	+ .03	14	11
25—35	.94	1.00	1.04	1.14	+ .06	+ .10	11	14
35—45	1.22	1.21	1.44	1.47	— .01	+ .03	18	21
45—55	1.76	1.52	2.18	2.01	— .24	— .17	24	32
55—65	3.02	2.66	3.82	3.35	— .36	— .47	26	26
65&up.	9.22	8.67	10.10	9.44	— .55	— .65	10	9

It thus appears that the ages 0—5, and 45 and upwards, are those at which the male mortality is generally highest, compared with that of females. And on considering the mortality in the North-western division, as compared with that in England and Wales, we were further led to distinguish the mortality at ages 5—10 and 45—65, as it appears that in these periods of life the Lancashire mortality is more excessive than between 10 and 45, and after 65 years of age.

DEATH RATES IN DIFFERENT DISTRICTS.

Table XXXI. was then framed, and will be found to present many remarkable results. The following abstract embodies some of the most striking.

AGES.	Annual average Death Rates per cent.								Female compared to Male Death Rates.			
	Northern Region.		Eastern Region.		Western Region.		Southern Region.					
	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	N. region.	E. region.	W. region.	S. region.
0— 5	5.53	4.63	10.53	8.87	10.58	9.58	6.93	6.20	— .90	—1.66	—1.00	— .73
5—10	1.08	1.09	1.19	1.07	1.31	1.32	.98	.98	+ .01	— .12	+ .01	....
10—45	.88	.99	.97	1.05	1.08	.99	.87	.98	+ .11	+ .08	— .09	+ .11
45—65	2.00	2.06	2.78	2.58	3.15	2.63	2.39	2.08	+ .06	— .20	— .52	— .31
65&up.	9.04	8.21	10.23	9.73	11.42	9.47	8.76	8.86	— .83	— .50	—1.95	+ .10

The death rate among children under 5 years of age was, in every district of the division, less among girls than among boys; and this is in accordance

with the experience of the country at large. But the excess of deaths among *male* children was particularly great in the *Eastern* region.

Between 5 and 10 years of age, the death rate was nearly equal in the sexes; except in the *Eastern* region, where, again, the mortality of *boys* was comparatively high.

At the ages 10—45, where the excess of death rate would (naturally) be on the side of the females, to the extent of about 5 per cent., the excess is found in greater proportion, excepting in the Western region, where the *male* mortality considerably exceeded, even at this period of life, that which took place among females.

At the ages 45—65, the excess of the death rate ought, according to the experience of the whole country, to be among the males; and it was so, in every region except the Northern: being particularly heavy in the Western region.

At the higher ages, too, there should be, and there is, a state of things similar to that just mentioned; but again with an exception in the Southern region; and the greatest excess of male deaths again occurring in the Western region, as before.

Death Rates in each Region.

On calculating the excess per cent. of mortality in each of the four regions, as compared with that in England and Wales, we obtain the following table :—

Ages.	North Western Division.		Males.				Females.			
	Males.	Fem.	N. reg.	E. reg.	W. reg.	S. reg.	N. reg.	E. reg.	W. reg.	S. reg.
0— 5	38	39	— 23	47	47	— 3	— 25	44	55	..
5—10	37	32	24	37	51	13	28	26	55	15
10—45	15	16	4	14	27	2	11	18	11	10
45—65	23	27	— 11	23	39	6	4	30	33	5
65&up.	10	9	— 2	11	24	— 5	— 5	12	9	2

It would thus appear that in the northern and southern regions there was a rate of mortality lower, on the whole of life, than that prevalent in England and Wales; but at the ages 5–10 rather higher. That this arose immediately from an outbreak of Scarlatina, in 1852, is almost certain; and substituting the mortality of 1855 (selected as a year not affected by Cholera) for that of 1852, we get rid of the anomaly.

Scarlatina destroyed in the north-western division

in	1850	629	males	597 females.
,,	1851	1407	,,	1375 ,,
,,	1852	3114	,,	2830 ,,
,,	1855	1706	,,	1612 ,,

This seems to be the most fatal disease at the age 5–10 years.

Substituting the mortality of 1855 for that of 1852, and retaining the same population as a divisor, we obtain the following results:—

	Annual Mortality per Cent. at Ages 5–10 Years.		Difference per Cent. Compared with Eng. & Wales	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Northern Region.....	.65	.66	— 24	— 21
Eastern ,, ...	1.05	.95	+ 24	+ 13
Western ,, ...	1.29	1.35	+ 52	+ 61
Southern ,, ...	.73	.77	— 14	— 8
N. Western Division	1.05	1.00	+ 24	+ 19
England and Wales.....	.85	.84		

It will be seen that the position of the northern and southern regions, compared with that of England and Wales, is here reversed—becoming much better than the national average.

The mortality in the eastern and western regions was much *above* the average of England and Wales, though not so excessive at the ages 10–45, and above 65, as at other periods of life. This may arise, so far as concerns the ages 10–45, from the immigration of large numbers of healthy persons, whose condition, gradually deteriorating, has less influence in lowering the general death rate after they pass 45 years of age.

A few examples of the rates of mortality prevalent in particular districts will further display the uses of Table XXXI.

If we place in juxtaposition Garstang, Manchester, Ormskirk, Liverpool and Macclesfield, we have:—

Ages.	Death Rates of Males.					Death Rates of Females.				
	Garst'g	Manch.	Ormsk.	Liverpl.	Maccles	Garst'g.	Manch.	Ormsk	Liverpl.	Maccles
0–5 ..	4.43	13.26	5.54	14.06	8.81	3.19	11.41	5.16	12.94	7.57
5–10..	1.30	1.29	.87	1.56	1.21	.99	1.12	.89	1.57	1.20
10–45..	.62	1.16	.84	1.29	1.02	.78	1.09	.91	1.13	1.28
45–65..	1.71	3.85	2.25	3.73	2.41	1.44	3.39	2.10	3.05	2.51
65 & upds	7.20	11.59	8.96	13.68	9.69	7.51	10.46	7.35	10.69	10.83

Disregarding the figures at ages 5–10, we have here a striking contrast between two agricultural rural districts and two commercial town districts. It is greatly to the advantage of the former, as might be expected. And then we have a silk manufacturing place with high *female* death rates—in fact the highest in the division at ages 10–45; and only second to Ashton-under-Lyne at the ages above 65.

Many will be prepared for large differences in the death rates of these districts; but few will perhaps expect such as this abstract shows.

The tables of occupations will be found very useful for comparison with those now given. For example, the low death rate in Chorley is most probably connected with the comparatively large proportion of persons observed to be employed in agriculture in that district. And so with many other instances, which the space at our disposal does not permit us to point out, but which will become obvious to any who shall take the trouble of examining and comparing the tables for themselves.

And now, having completed our task, so far as the details are concerned, we will endeavour shortly to sum up the information thus gathered.

First.—The local area of our inquiry extends for the most part over a dense and rapidly increasing population: a population which has been increased in fifty years by 1,618,274 persons. Excepting London, it now presents to us the most densely peopled spot, of anything like the same extent, in Europe. The characteristics of density and rapid growth have been carefully distinguished, by making it clearly apparent where, in our division, they do, and where they do not exist, with indications in each case of their actual and comparative extent—considered locally.

Secondly.—The rapidity of increase of the population has been shewn to have taken place chiefly in the larger towns, but it has also been shewn that increase as rapid has occurred in some districts which cannot at present be properly termed towns.

Thirdly.—The locality of greatest increase, during the fifty years, having been determined, the precise period of its actual occurrence has also been shewn. It thus appears that in the towns this took place, more especially, in the period 1821-31; and, in the country districts, just previously, or during the first twenty years of the century. Then it has been made

apparent that while, in most parts of the country districts, a rapid and general increase was taking place in the first twenty years of the century, the same state of things was not maintained in the ten years 1821–31; and further, that in the following twenty years 1831–51, it was succeeded, in these country districts, by an equally remarkable tendency to decrease.

Fourthly.—The first part of our third paper was devoted to a further inquiry into the nature of the changes which had thus taken place in the distribution of the population during the fifty years. And it was found that while a large part of the division was still thinly peopled in 1851, and, although much of the great increase that had previously taken place had been added to populations already comparatively dense at the beginning of the century, still a large augmentation had also been made of the extent of thickly peopled *parishes*, particularly in the eastern or manufacturing region. The real meaning of average densities, is apt, for the most part to escape those who deal with such inquiries only in a cursory manner. We trust this third paper has done something towards rendering it clearer.

Fifthly.—The extent, the time, and the place, of the increase having been shewn, the *manner* in which it was attained, still remained to be inquired into. This question has been answered; not, indeed, in the best manner conceivable, but, we trust, intelligibly, and, we believe, as well as the materials at our disposal would permit, by an investigation of the birth places of the present inhabitants, and of the statistics of births and deaths during a portion of the interval—as these are to be gathered from the Census, and the Annual Reports of the Registrar General.

The first inquiry informs us (1) that in no part of the kingdom is there so strong a tendency to retain those born within its limits as in our own (the north-western) division; (2) that this division has also made large additions to its population by immigration from the adjoining counties, and especially those lying within fifty miles of its frontier; and (3) that Ireland and Scotland have also sent in large numbers of their people to share its prosperity. The net result being that the division contained in 1851:—

925,423	Adult	Natives of	Lancashire and Cheshire.
180,688	,,	,,	,, Counties within 50 miles.
58,333	,,	,,	,, Counties beyond 50 miles limit.
24,618	,,	,,	,, Scotland.
154,265	,,	,,	,, Ireland.
8,503	,,	,,	,, Colonies, Foreign Parts, &c.

The local distribution, within the division, of the immigrants from the nearer, and also from the more distant places, has been separately traced; and it has been shewn that those who came the greatest distance, are attracted almost exclusively by the large towns. It may even be surmised that, excluding the immigration to our largest towns, the increase by way of immigration is derived in the main from a circle of very moderate radius from the increasing place. If this surmise be correct, it is obviously one of considerable importance.

Sixthly.—The occupations of the people of the north-western division have been made the subject of a separate inquiry; and it has been shewn that while it undoubtedly derives from its textile manufactures the position it holds in the greatest department of English industry, yet its coal mines, its metallic manufactures, and its agriculture, are also such as would alone render it remarkable in an industrial point of view. The number of its inhabitants employed in agriculture is peculiarly large; and it would be satisfactory to be assured that this number is not to any extent maintained in the service of an unscientific and inferior system of culture, involving a large expenditure of human labour for a moderate result, and only rendered profitable by the proximity of large markets. That the circumstances of the eastern and western divisions are such as to afford a strong stimulus to the investment of both capital and skill in this branch of the national industry is sufficiently obvious, and we should be glad if other members of the Society better informed on the subject could adduce trustworthy evidence of the actual effect of this stimulus.

Another important feature developed by this part of our inquiry is the very large number of the commercial class, in Liverpool and its suburbs; a number scarcely paralleled even in the metropolis.

Seventhly.—The civil conditions of the adult inhabitants have been examined, and it has been found that the large measure of material prosperity which the division has enjoyed has been accompanied, in accordance with what now is generally expected, by numerous marriages. It may also be inferred, in connexion with this part of the subject, that had it not been for the high rate of mortality, with which the division has had to contend, a much smaller immigration would have sufficed to meet the demand for additional labour. It is also evident that this unfavourable circumstance, terminating many marriages by death at an early period,

together with a large immigration of unmarried persons, has prevented the ratio of the "married" to the total population rising higher here than the average of the kingdom. And there can be little doubt that the same circumstances have operated to render the number of widows, in some places, so disproportionately high compared with that of widowers.

The peculiarities of the more densely peopled parts of the division have, all through the enquiry, been rendered more striking by comparison with the more thinly peopled regions of the north and south; in which the slow increase of population, the absence of large towns, and the small proportion of manufacturers, are accompanied by moderate numbers of marriages and births, and comparatively favorable death rates. Whatever is said of the division at large, and especially of those sections of it by which it is best known elsewhere, the reverse is almost sure to be true of its northern and southern regions.

The proportions of the married of each sex, and of the sexes to each other, supply material for comments which might easily be extended. The opposite circumstances of Stockport and Great Boughton, for instance, appear to us to possess much interest.

Eighthly.—The ages of the population, as measured by comparison with the number of children who had not completed their tenth year, form the subject of another table. This affords evidence of the augmented numbers at ages 10-40, attributable to the immigration of large numbers in youth and early maturity; while the smallness of the numbers at the higher ages, is clearly traceable to the combined effects of a high ratio of mortality, and the rapidity of increase by birth and immigration, dwarfing the past and passing generations by comparison.

It is also apparent that the effect of the immigration (pointing, also, to its motive), has been to bring the relative numbers of the sexes, and at particular ages, into something like harmony with the wants of the various departments of industry, and the same figures enable us in some measure to discover by what particular migrations the existing inequalities in the numbers of the sexes have been brought about.

Ninthly.—Our somewhat lengthened investigation of the ratios of marriages, births and deaths, leads to the conclusion that the general prosperity of the country depends upon like causes with that of the north-western division: the marriages in both showing a constant coin-

cidence in their variation. The death rate in the division continues lamentably high, and, as might be expected, the births are almost equally in excess of the natioual average.

This part of the subject is closely connected with that dealt with under the fifth of these remarks. We have it in our power to determine, very nearly, the natural increase of population between the last two censuses,—and thus to find the number and sex of the immigrants during the interval of ten years. We learn that the immigration has been composed of a larger number of women than of men, and that (combined with migrations within the division), it has led to the addition of 102,654 to the population of Liverpool, and of 73,306 to that of Manchester, the other parts of the division gaining only 24,450 by immigration ;—but we also find that while the natural increase in Liverpool has been only 18,021, and in Manchester 32,026, the other parts of the division have added to their population, in this manner, as many as 168,395 persons.

The fertility of marriages has been enquired into as well as the imperfect information obtainable would allow, and with the more care, because, at first sight, it seemed not improbable that from the absence of homely domestic habits in our large manufacturing and commercial towns, a depravation of the race might be going on in such localities, of which a want of fecundity in women, and a high rate of mortality among the children born, would form prominent features. It might also be that the apparently low birth rates were occasioned by the non-registration of an unusually large number of still-births. But although the birth rates are not perhaps as high as they might become, were the operative classes more comfortable and domesticated, there does not seem to be any thing about the figures to justify the fear that the evils under which these classes labour are not easily removable, or even that they are not already in process of being removed, rather than increased.

The apparently narrow influence of the prosperity of particular places over the marriage rates of the surrounding districts is also worthy of attention, and is well attested by the moderate ratios in those parts of the division which, as already observed, do not share in its general activity and prosperity.

That the mere ratio of births to population has but slight connexion with the magnitude of the natural increase by births over deaths becomes

evident, on consideration of the fact that the region with the lowest birth rate showed, in 1841-50, the largest natural increase, and *vice versa*.

The death rates exhibit, as might be expected in so variously composed a population, an extreme diversity at different places, and in the sexes; and this appears to be traceable in a great measure to occupations, and to the modes of life they induce.

Finally, in taking leave of a subject which has cost us no small amount of dry labour, cheerfully given in the hope to rescue from neglect the great lessons embodied in the census, and, we trust, to induce, among the members of our Historic Society a more elevated idea of the aims of statistical science than the public at large have formed, it may also be deemed right to say what shares we have respectively had in the performance of the work. And this the more so as the greater part of it has been planned and executed by a gentleman resident in London, and personally known to very few of our number.

The original idea may be considered to belong about equally to each of us. The particular method of arrangement here adopted was tried and brought to a successful issue by Mr. Welton, before he saw a passage in Mr. Danson's Paper of March, 1855, "Science in Lancashire and "Cheshire," in which a similar elaboration of the Census returns, for the north-western division in particular, was recommended. About the time of the appearance of that paper, his own work was actually begun by Mr. Welton. The whole of the tables, now published, were then, and afterwards, designed and computed by that gentleman. After much mutual interchange of ideas, the first paper was written by Mr. Danson. The second was also written by that gentleman, aided by notes supplied by Mr. Welton. The third paper, and the present one, were written by Mr. Welton and afterwards remodelled and enlarged by Mr. Danson. So much as a joint statement.

In conclusion Mr. Danson desires to add, in his own name, that by far the greater part of any merit attaching jointly to the producers of these papers ought to be awarded to the one least known to the audience before which they have been read.

TABLE XXIV.

PROPORTIONS OF ADULT POPULATION ENGAGED IN SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS, IN 1851.

REGISTRATION DISTRICTS.	Per centage of Males aged 20 years and upwards who were							Per centage of Females aged 20 years & upwards who were		
	Farmer.	Agricult. Laborer, (out door.)	Coal Miner.	Cotton Manufacturer.	Silk Manufacturer.	Engine & Machine Maker	Laborer, branch undefin'd.	Cotton Manufacturer.	Silk Manufacturer.	Domestic Servant
Ulverstone	11.0	11.3	1.2	1.5	—	0.1	3.4	2.1	—	10.9
Lancaster	10.1	10.4	0.3	3.7	2.1	0.2	6.3	6.3	1.0	16.3
Garstang	17.6	25.1	—	4.5	—	0.1	2.0	7.1	—	11.8
Fylde	10.5	19.0	—	3.5	—	0.4	2.9	3.9	—	14.6
Clitheroe	14.8	16.5	—	14.4	0.2	1.8	2 1	21.0	—	6.3
Northern Region	12.1	14.8	0.4	5.2	0.6	0 5	3.7	7.6	0.3	12.4
Burnley	4.9	4.5	5.7	34.7	—	1.2	4.0	32.0	—	8.2
Haslingden	4.5	2.7	2.3	29.1	0.1	2.0	6.1	23.7	0.1	7.8
Blackburn	3.6	1.9	2.8	41.9	0.8	0.4	6.5	34.9	0.5	9.5
Preston	4.5	4.9	0.1	30.6	0.1	0.9	5.7	28.5	—	6.7
Chorley	9.6	11.7	5.4	29.9	0.2	0.5	3.1	30.5	0.2	8.5
Wigan	3.6	6.4	25.6	15.0	0.9	1.3	4.1	18.1	1.2	4.5
Leigh	4.8	7.5	8.2	17.8	22.6	0.4	2.3	15.9	28.8	4.9
Bolton	2.6	3.9	9.3	28.2	1.6	2.0	3.6	20.9	2.6	6.3
Bury	2.5	4.2	3.1	30.5	0.7	2.0	4.9	26.6	0.5	4.9
Rochdale	3.5	2.5	5 0	18.7	0.3	3.7	4.4	19.8	0.1	6.8
Oldham	1.8	2.3	6.8	30.4	8.6	5.5	4.5	25.4	9.5	3.3
Manchester	0.4	1.0	0.4	16.0	2.4	3.4	7.4	13 9	3.6	9.1
Salford	0.2	1.5	1.1	10.1	1.5	3.4	3.9	9.5	3.3	10.2
Chorlton	0.5	1.6	0.1	9.1	0.7	5.9	5.3	9.5	0.7	11.3
Barton-upon-Irwell	3.8	10.8	10.4	15.0	4.2	1.2	5.6	13.2	7.1	9.0
Ashton-under-Lyne	1.6	2.1	4.6	36.8	1.4	1.9	6.0	32.8	2.1	4.5
Stockport	1.9	4.3	2.7	33.3	2.9	1.7	5.5	31.2	2.3	4.7
Macclesfield	6.0	6.3	3.9	3.5	29.1	0.6	5.5	3.2	25.8	5.9
Eastern Region	2 6	3.4	4.5	23.6	3.3	2.5	5.3	21.0	3.7	7.2
Ormskirk	13.8	22.1	1.0	0.5	3.3	0.2	3.8	0.4	3.1	7.6
Prescot	3.8	10.8	9.7	0.2	—	1.0	16.3	0.6	—	8.2
West Derby	1.1	3.9	0.1	0.5	—	1.1	9.1	0.1	—	16.0
Liverpool	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.3	—	0.7	11.5	0.3	—	13.2
Wirral	2.8	7.1	0.6	0.1	—	0.8	13.4	—	—	17.9
Western Region	1.9	4.5	1.1	0.3	0.2	0.8	11.1	0.2	0.2	13.7
Warrington	4.7	15.0	2.1	4.8	1.3	1.3	10 0	4.6	1.6	11.4
Runcorn	7.0	19.8	—	—	—	0.2	7.0	—	—	8.4
Altrincham	10.3	19.6	—	4.3	1.2	0 1	6.5	3.2	0 5	11.1
Congleton	7.6	12.5	4.0	1.0	10 9	0.4	8.3	0.6	14.0	6.7
Northwich	7.3	10.9	—	—	0.1	0.3	10.7	—	0.1	8.5
Nantwich	10.8	22.6	—	0.2	—	3.3	3.6	0.3	—	11.0
Great Boughton	5.7	16.2	1.6	0.2	0.1	0.5	6.9	0.1	—	13.5
Southern Region	7.6	16.8	1.1	1.5	1.7	0.9	7.4	1.3	2.0	10.6
North Western Division	3.4	5.6	3.2	15.1	2.3	1.8	6.7	13.7	2.6	9.3

TABLE XXV.

Civil Condition of Adult Population in 1851.

Registration Districts.	Per centage of Males aged 20 yrs. & upwards who were			Per centage of Females aged 20 years & upwards who were			Number of Adult Females to 100 Adult Males in similar condition.			
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Total living.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
Ulverstone	38.5	54.4	7.2	29.5	57.8	12.6	94.6	72.7	100.6	166.9
Lancaster	35.3	56.6	8.0	33.7	53.4	13.0	106.9	101.9	100.8	172.2
Garstang	37.7	54.0	8.3	30.7	58.8	10.5	91.7	74.6	100.0	115.9
Fylde	34.7	57.5	7.8	34.4	55.0	10.6	108.3	107.2	103.5	148.5
Clitheroe	36.3	54.6	9.1	33.7	55.0	11.3	98.5	91.3	99.3	122.7
Northern Region	36.5	55.5	8.0	32.5	55.6	11.9	100.8	89.9	100.9	150.3
Burnley	29.4	63.0	7.6	27.9	61.6	10.5	102.8	97.5	100.6	142.2
Haslingden	27.7	64.0	8.2	26.0	62.5	11.5	104.1	97.6	101.6	145.9
Blackburn	27.6	65.3	7.1	27.0	62.4	10.5	105.8	103.5	101.1	157.5
Preston	31.0	61.7	7.3	32.5	56.5	11.0	111.7	116.0	101.2	168.1
Chorley	34.7	57.7	7.7	32.5	57.4	10.1	99.9	93.7	99.4	131.4
Wigan	31.6	60.8	7.7	27.6	60.8	11.6	99.8	87.2	99.8	151.5
Leigh	31.6	59.5	8.9	31.8	57.5	10.7	103.7	104.4	100.3	124.3
Bolton	28.5	61.3	7.2	23.9	61.1	12.0	105.8	99.9	100.6	175.7
Bury	28.6	64.4	7.0	28.5	60.9	10.6	106.7	106.3	101.9	162.2
Rochdale	28.9	63.6	7.5	27.5	61.3	11.2	104.5	99.7	100.6	155.7
Oldham	26.7	66.0	7.3	25.1	64.0	10.9	103.7	97.5	100.5	151.8
Manchester	30.4	63.3	6.3	28.7	56.8	14.5	112.8	106.5	101.2	258.5
Salford	27.7	66.4	5.8	28.8	58.4	12.8	115.2	119.7	101.4	251.5
Chorlton	28.7	65.7	5.7	30.9	56.7	12.4	118.0	127.0	101.0	258.8
Barton-upon-Irwell	30.9	61.6	7.5	32.7	56.6	10.7	110.1	116.5	101.2	156.6
Ashton-under-Lyne	27.5	65.8	6.8	28.4	60.0	11.7	111.1	124.7	101.3	192.4
Stockport	24.7	67.7	7.6	28.0	59.3	12.7	116.5	132.4	102.0	194.3
Macclesfield	28.9	63.0	8.1	29.2	58.7	12.1	107.9	108.9	100.5	162.3
Eastern Region	28.9	64.0	7.0	28.7	59.3	12.0	109.0	108.0	101.0	186.1
Ormskirk	35.2	56.9	7.9	32.1	56.2	11.7	102.5	93.5	101.2	152.2
Prescot	32.3	61.6	6.2	25.1	63.1	11.8	95.8	74.5	98.2	184.2
West Derby	28.8	65.2	6.0	32.1	54.5	13.4	125.3	139.6	104.6	281.3
Liverpool	38.2	56.4	5.5	30.8	54.7	14.5	105.5	85.2	102.3	280.0
Wirral	32.2	65.3	4.6	32.9	55.9	11.2	116.1	118.8	102.6	283.5
Western Region	34.5	59.8	5.7	31.0	55.6	13.4	110.3	99.1	102.4	259.0
Warrington	32.6	60.0	7.4	28.2	59.0	12.8	102.2	88.3	100.4	177.9
Runcorn	33.6	59.9	6.5	23.5	64.2	12.3	95.3	66.7	102.1	181.7
Altrincham	35.0	57.1	7.9	33.3	54.7	12.0	103.6	98.5	99.3	157.3
Congleton	28.6	63.4	8.0	28.0	61.2	10.7	103.6	101.6	100.1	138.2
Northwich	29.2	63.0	7.8	24.5	64.4	11.1	100.5	84.4	102.8	142.6
Nantwich	30.0	62.4	7.5	27.1	61.7	11.3	99.7	89.8	98.4	149.0
Great Boughton	32.9	59.5	7.6	31.3	55.4	13.3	108.0	102.9	100.6	187.5
Southern Region	31.8	60.6	7.6	28.5	59.4	12.1	102.5	91.9	100.4	163.3
North Western Division	30.9	62.3	6.8	29.4	58.3	12.3	108.2	103.0	101.3	195.4
England and Wales	30.3	62.6	7.1	28.3	58.7	13.0	108.1	101.1	101.3	198.2

TABLE XXVI.

AGES.—POPULATION OF EACH SEX AT THE HIGHER AGES TO EVERY 100 CHILDREN UNDER TEN YEARS OF AGE IN 1851.

REGISTRATION DISTRICTS.	MALES.					FEMALES.					Total Population, all ages.
	10–25	25–40	40–55	55–65	65 and upw.	10–25	25–40	40–55	55–65	65 and upw.	
Ulverstone	58.7	41.2	25.5	11.2	9.5	53.0	37.4	24.0	11.5	11.9	383.9
Lancaster	59.6	41.8	28.4	11.8	10.1	60.9	43.0	29.2	13.2	12.0	410.0
Garstang	61.8	39.6	29.1	12.0	12.6	57.2	38.1	25.4	10.8	10.7	397.3
Fylde	58.1	37.0	26.6	11.0	9.6	57.1	41.4	27.5	10.8	10.5	389.6
Clitheroe	64.1	40.2	27.7	12.3	10.5	56.4	40.3	26.5	12.7	10.1	400.8
Northern Region	60.1	40.3	27.2	11.6	10.2	57.0	40.3	26.7	12.0	11.2	396.6
Burnley	57.4	40.5	23.5	8.7	5.8	57.8	41.2	24.2	9.0	6.3	374.4
Haslingden	62.5	40.9	25.0	9.0	5.9	63.2	44.1	25.1	9.1	6.0	390.8
Blackburn	59.9	38.9	22.9	8.3	5.9	61.1	41.2	24.3	8.5	6.1	377.1
Preston	63.5	41.9	25.9	9.7	6.9	67.9	46.5	28.3	10.1	7.3	408.0
Chorley	58.4	36.8	27.0	9.4	7.6	56.2	38.1	25.0	9.7	8.2	376.4
Wigan	58.5	38.4	23.5	8.5	6.2	55.3	38.1	23.4	8.9	7.0	367.8
Leigh	59.7	40.6	27.1	10.5	8.2	63.1	43.4	26.1	11.1	9.0	398.8
Bolton	59.1	39.8	24.9	8.8	5.9	61.0	41.9	25.8	9.4	6.9	383.5
Bury	61.0	42.6	25.8	9.1	5.9	64.1	45.5	26.1	9.8	7.0	396.9
Rochdale	64.7	44.6	26.9	9.9	6.3	66.0	47.0	26.9	10.4	6.9	409.6
Oldham	61.5	43.6	26.8	9.2	5.6	64.9	44.6	26.5	9.9	6.6	399.2
Manchester	65.2	48.8	31.1	8.9	5.0	71.3	54.6	33.0	10.3	6.6	434.8
Salford	61.3	46.4	28.3	7.6	4.1	67.1	51.9	31.3	9.1	6.2	413.3
Chorlton	59.6	49.2	26.7	6.9	3.7	67.7	56.7	29.8	8.9	5.3	414.5
Barton-upon-Irwell	63.4	41.1	27.6	10.4	7.0	68.8	46.5	28.1	10.5	8.1	411.5
Ashton-under-Lyne	64.9	44.6	26.9	8.7	5.2	70.1	50.1	29.4	9.6	5.8	415.3
Stockport	65.5	43.0	28.8	9.7	6.3	74.8	50.2	31.8	11.1	7.0	428.2
Macclesfield	64.9	44.3	30.8	11.0	7.7	68.4	49.3	30.3	12.4	8.0	427.1
Eastern Region	62.0	43.5	26.9	8.9	5.7	65.7	47.4	28.1	9.8	6.7	404.7
Ormskirk	58.9	36.9	23.6	9.0	7.9	57.4	37.7	23.8	10.0	8.6	373.8
Prescot	57.2	40.8	23.2	7.5	4.9	54.6	37.6	21.4	8.0	5.8	361.0
West Derby	51.4	42.7	24.5	6.5	3.8	62.2	52.6	27.1	8.7	5.8	385.3
Liverpool	66.5	57.8	34.2	8.1	3.9	71.1	59.1	32.6	9.3	5.8	448.4
Wirral	49.9	45.1	23.4	7.3	4.0	61.7	49.8	25.1	8.1	5.9	380.3
Western Region	58.7	48.6	28.2	7.6	4.3	64.6	52.2	28.3	8.9	6.0	407.4
Warrington	60.9	42.6	25.0	9.0	6.5	59.6	41.4	25.4	10.3	8.2	388.9
Runcorn	58.3	39.2	25.9	10.0	6.9	54.5	37.6	24.4	9.7	7.6	374.1
Altrincham	63.0	43.8	29.5	11.2	8.5	62.9	45.1	28.9	12.1	10.3	415.3
Congleton	59.0	40.4	26.5	11.0	9.1	65.0	41.2	26.2	10.9	8.8	398.1
Northwich	55.5	35.5	25.1	9.9	8.6	54.3	35.9	23.8	10.3	8.7	367.6
Nantwich	57.2	39.9	26.1	10.8	9.8	55.7	40.1	24.1	11.0	10.5	385.2
Great Boughton	62.5	42.6	27.9	10.9	9.3	62.5	44.1	29.1	12.5	12.1	413.5
Southern Region	59.7	40.7	26.6	10.4	8.5	59.4	41.1	26.2	11.1	9.7	393.4
N. Western Division	61.0	44.2	27.2	8.9	5.9	64.4	47.5	27.9	9.8	7.1	403.9
England and Wales	59.3	41.7	27.3	10.9	8.5	60.9	44.7	28.4	11.8	10.2	403.7

TABLE XXVII.

Estimated Population of England and Wales, and of the North Western Division, at the beginning of each year from 1839 to 1858; and ratios of Births, Deaths, and Marriages occurring in each year, to Population at its commencement.

Years.	England and Wales.					North Western Division.				
	Estimated Population on 1st Jan.	To 1000 persons living at beginning of year.				Estimated Population on 1st Jan.	To 1000 persons living at beginning of year.			
		Marriages.	Births.	Births, illegitimate.	Deaths.		Marriages.	Births.	Births, illegitimate.	Deaths.
1839	15,479,000	7.96	31.82		21.90	1,978,000	8.89	37.15		28.97
1840	15,660,000	7.83	32.08		22.97	2,015,000	8.60	36.79		30.19
1841	15,830,000	7.74	32.35		21.72	2,049,000	8.56	36.28		25.76
1842	16,025,000	7.41	32.31	2.17	21.81	2,091,000	7.84	35.92	3.20	25 62
1843	16,221,000	7.63	32.51		21.36	2,133,000	8.93	36.06		25.26
1844	16,429,000	8.05	32.92		21.73	2,177,000	9.61	37.62		24.21
1845	16,640,000	8.64	32.66		21.00	2,227,000	10.47	37.67		24.45
1846	16,861,000	8.64	33.96	2.29	23.15	2,277,000	9.93	39.17	3.11	30.48
1847	17,071,000	7.96	31.63	2.12	24.80	2,317,000	8.43	36 53	2 82	34 17
1848	17,214,000	8.03	32.71	2.13	23.23	2,343,000	8.90	36.08	2.76	27.34
1849	17,405,000	8.15	33.22	2.26	25.33	2,384,000	9.53	36.42	2.81	29.65
1850	17,569,000	8.69	33.78	2.29	21.00	2,421,000	10.43	37.55	2.85	24.41
1851	17,821,000	8.65	34.56	2.36	22.19	2,473,000	10.06	38.30	2.84	26.07
1852	18,069,000	8.79	34.53	2.35	22.53	2,524,000	10.29	37.91	2.72	28.18
1853	18,313,000	8.98	33.44	2.17	22.99	2,569,000	10.34	37.46	2.61	27.34
1854	18,531,000	8.62	34.23	2.20	23.63	2,616,000	9.92	38.01	2.58	26.38
1855	18,755,000	8.11	33.86	2.17	22.70	2,667,000	8.81	37.40	2.57	26.11
1856	18,991,000	8.39	34.62		20.56	2,718,000	9.19	37.18		24.00
1857	19,286,000	8.25	34.38		21.77	2,774,000	9.00	36.94		25.63
1858	19,556,000	7.99	33.53		23.01	2,826,000	8.56	35.22		26.33
Mean 1839–58	17,386,000	8.24	33.31		22.48	2,379,000	9.33	37.09		26.97

Note.—The actual increase of population both in England and Wales and in the North Western Division exceeded, in 1841-51, the excess of Births over Deaths. Allowing for the different periods of the year at which the two Censuses were taken, it was found that this excess over natural increase averaged in the two cases, respectively, 27,185 and 20,600 per annum. It has been assumed that these numbers, respectively, immigrated every year into England and Wales and the North-Western Division, in addition to the natural increase. The populations are brought up to January 1st in each year, by a proportional calculation; and do not include "Persons on board vessels."

TABLE XXVIII.

Numbers of Marriages in Remarkale Years.

Registration Districts.	Marriages.					
	1842	1845	1847	1850	1853	1855
Ulverston	145	201	176	232	212	226
Lancaster	218	238	253	296	310	282
Garstang	57	72	80	76	80	73
Fylde	92	147	161	158	156	124
Clitheroe	129	201	129	159	146	150
Northern Region	641	859	799	921	904	855
Burnley	396	625	416	628	564	515
Haslingden	241	359	339	411	533	558
Blackburn	567	847	631	999	1,051	891
Preston	608	881	633	1,035	1,015	988
Chorley	179	317	162	251	269	231
Wigan	475	694	608	775	708	761
Leigh	*103	*273	244	264	309	278
Bolton	626	1,017	798	1,142	1,156	945
Bury	467	764	555	763	772	746
Rochdale	572	690	640	899	893	788
Manchester, Salford, Chorlton, and Barton	4204	6,057	4,865	6,301	6,332	4,954
Oldham	883	1,208	950	598	643	594
Ashton-under-Lyne				855	1,140	1,009
Stockport	392	681	451	1,007	1,091	914
Macclesfield	399	568	429	630	629	497
Eastern Region	10,112	14,981	11,721	16,558	17,105	14,669
Ormskirk	153	224	235	210	275	274
Prescot	268	356	422	453	478	455
Liverpool, West Derby, and Wirral	3,652	5,191	4,683	5,185	5,701	5,306
Western Region	4,073	5,771	5,340	5,848	6,454	6,035
Warrington	*496	*490	274	371	469	387
Runcorn			166	241	215	194
Altrincham	124	163	136	151	197	201
Congleton	194	219	244	228	251	258
Northwich	167	160	166	193	190	151
Nantwich	167	245	238	231	†257	233
Great Boughton	414	433	439	497	†517	524
Southern Region	1,562	1,710	1,663	1,912	2,096	1,948
North Western Division	16,388	23,321	19,523	25,239	26,559	23,507

* Twenty marriages have been transferred by estimate from Warrington to Leigh for 1842 and 1845, as the townships of Golborne and Kenyon were then included in the former district.

† Both these districts have been somewhat diminished, in order to form the district of Whitchurch.

TABLE XXIX.

Registration Districts.	In the years 1841-50 inclusive.					Actual increase between Censuses 1841-51.		Actual compared with Natural Increase.			
				Excess of Births over Deaths.				Males.		Females.	
	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Excess.	Deficiency.	Excess.	Deficiency.
Ulverstone	1844	9069	5019	2112	1938	2064	1631		48		307
Lancaster	2489	10840	7879	1576	1385	— 190	155		1766		1230
Garstang	740	3759	2106	899	751	— 189	— 123		1088		877
Fylde	1305	6702	3843	1453	1406	— 17	986		1470		420
Clitheroe	1544	6872	4265	1361	1243	— 233	— 416		1597		1659
Northern Region	7922	37242	23112	7404	6726	1435	2233		5969		4493
Burnley	5173	22043	13559	4409	4075	4901	4765	492		690	
Haslingden	3342	17265	10188	3529	3548	4406	4728	877		1180	
Blackburn	7583	32652	20881	5829	5942	7431	8219	1602		2277	
Preston	7757	30692	21827	4948	3917	9542	9745	4594		5828	
Chorley	2297	13891	8318	2967	2606	— 835	— 300		3802		2906
Wigan	6076	27366	19885	3710	3771	6273	5241	2563		1473	
Leigh *	1970	11021	7318	1880	1823	1950	2232	70		409	
Bolton	8671	43781	28434	7403	7944	7904	9279	501		1335	
Bury	6240	31621	20657	5673	5291	5381	5931		289	643	
Rochdale	7112	24848	16214	4391	4210	5798	6139	1404		1929	
Manchester, Salford, Chorlton & Barton	53714	155764	123738	17050	14976	49726	55606	32676		40630	
Oldham	11272	30436	20535	5133	4768	7101	7279	1968		2511	
Ashton-under-Lyne		41080	29131	6132	5817	8747	8817	2615		3030	
Stockport	6405	30424	22237	4398	3789	1647	2883		2751		906
Macclesfield	4954	20011	15491	2642	1878	3586	3706	944		1828	
Eastern Region	132566	532895	378443	80097	74355	123561	134306	43464		59951	
Ormskirk	2061	12604	7456	2719	2429	1636	1696		1083		733
Prescot	3536	18186	11541	3277	3368	6117	6218	2840		2850	
Liverpool, West Derby and Wirral	44926	153334	135313	9780	8241	56295	64380	46515		56139	
Western Region	50526	184124	154310	15776	14038	64048	72294	48272		58256	
Warrington and Runcorn *	5166	21519	14663	3406	3450	3302	2729		104		721
Altrincham	1399	10077	6780	1691	1606	1362	1662		329	56	
Congleton	2229	7739	6541	741	457	528	947		213	490	
Northwich	1727	10581	6357	2269	1955	1103	1082		1166		873
Nantwich	2173	11520	7591	2027	1902	2062	2083	35		181	
Great Boughton	4469	12567	12025	293	249	2505	1610	2212		1361	
Southern Region	17163	74003	53957	40427	9619	10862	10113	435		491	
North-Western Division	208177	828264	609822	113701	104738	199906	218916	86202		114208	

* Twenty marriages, forty-two male and thirty-eight female births, thirty male and twenty-five female deaths, in each year, 1841-5, are transferred by estimate from Warrington to Leigh, Golborne and Kenyon townships being in those years included in Warrington.

TABLE XXX.

Registration Districts.	Annual Average proportions in 1841–50. to 1000 Persons living. Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Actual increase of Population.	Births to one Marriage.	Annual Average proportions in 1850–2. Births to one Marriage.	Births. To 100 women aged 20–45.	To 100 married women.	Marriages to 100 adult unmarried Males.	Per Cent. on Natural Increase 1841–51. Males. Nett Immigration.	Nett Emigration.	Females. Nett Immigration.	Nett Emigration.
Ulverstone	6.45	31.72	17.55	12.9	4.9	4.5	20.9	22.4	7.1		2.3		15.8
Lancaster	7.20	31.34	32.78	— .1	4.4	3.9	18.2	21.4	8.8		112.1		88.8
Garstang	5.76	29.25	16.39	—2.4	5.1	5.3	18.9	20.1	5.4		121.0		116.3
Fylde	6.09	31.28	17.94	4.5	5.1	4.8	18.4	21.8	7.7		101.2		29.9
Clitheroe	6.80	30.28	18.79	—2.9	4.4	4.6	19.4	22.2	7.2		117.1		133.5
Northern Region	6.59	31.00	19.24	3.1	4.7	4.5	19.2	21.7	7.5		80.6		66.8
Burnley	8.76	37.34	22.97	16.4	4.3	4.1	21.5	24.5	12.8	11.2		16.9	
Haslingden	7.29	37.65	22.22	19.9	5.2	4.2	19.9	22.6	12.7	24.9		33.3	
Blackburn	9.15	39.38	25.18	18.9	4.3	3.9	22.6	25.6	15.7	27.5		38.3	
Preston	8.93	35.34	25.13	22.2	4.0	3.4	19.2	23.8	14.0	92.8		148.8	
Chorley	6.00	36.30	21.74	—3.0	6.0	5.3	21.5	24.9	7.8		128.1		111.5
Wigan	8.46	38.12	27.70	16.0	4.5	4.5	24.4	27.5	11.8	69.1		39.1	
Leigh	6.43	35.97	23.88	13.6	5.6	4.3	20.8	24.2	10.7	3.7		22.4	
Bolton	8.17	41.26	26.79	16.2	5.0	4.2	22.6	25.8	14.0	6.8		16.8	
Bury	7.50	38.03	24.84	13.6	5.1	4.3	19.6	22.7	12.0		5.1	12.2	
Rochdale	10.69	37.34	24.41	17.9	3.5	3.2	19.5	22.3	15.7	32.0		45.8	
Oldham	5.93	38.24	25.80	18.1	6.3	5.9	21.2	23.3	9.7	38.3		52.7	
Ashton-under-Lyne		37.21	26.39	15.9		4.6	18.4	22.3	11.6	42.6		52.1	
Manchester	12.83	37.20	29.55	25.2	2.9	3.1	18.3	23.3	16.8	191.6		271.3	
Salford							18.5	22.9					
Chorlton							17.8	23.6					
Barton-on-Irwell						2.4	17.0	20.7	17.4				
Stockport	7.28	34.60	25.29	5.2	4.8	3.1	17.9	21.3	19.1		62.6		23.9
Macclesfield	8.30	33.53	25.96	12.2	4.0	3.6	17.4	20.3	12.3	35.7		97.3	
Eastern Region	9.29	37.33	26.51	18.1	4.0	3.7	19.6	23.5	54.3	54.3		80.6	
Ormskirk	5.63	34.40	20.35	9.1	6.1	5.6	21.1	24.7	7.2		39.8		30.2
Prescot	7.09	36.44	23.13	24.7	5.1	5.0	22.7	25.4	9.6	86.7		84.6	
West Derby	11.13	37.97	33.51	29.9	3.4	3.2	16.4	22.2	12.1	475.6		681.2	
Liverpool							15.6	21.5					
Wirral							16.2	21.6					
Western Region	10.30	37.55	31.47	27.8	3.6	3.4	16.8	22.3	11.5	306.0		415.0	
Warrington	8.76	36.51	24.88	10.2	4.2	3.9	21.8	25.1	11.8		3.1		20.9
Runcorn						4.4	22.2	22.7	9.5				
Altrincham	4.30	30.98	20.84	9.3	7.2	6.6	18.3	21.9	5.4		19.5	3.5	
Congleton	7.49	25.99	21.97	5 0	3.5	4.5	18.3	20.0	9.9		28.7	107.2	
Northwich	5.74	35.14	21.11	7.3	6.1	5.7	22.2	22.4	8.6		51.4		44.7
Nantwich	6.05	32.08	21.14	11.5	5.3	5.2	19.8	20.8	8.2	1.7		9.5	
Great Boughton	8.74	24.57	23.51	8.0	2.8	2.9	15.1	17.5	11.0	755.0		546.6	
Southern Region	7.20	31.04	22.63	8.8	4.3	4.4	19.2	21.2	9.3	4.2		5.1	
North-Western Division	9.14	36.38	26.79	18.4	4.0	3.7	18.9	22.9	12.7	75.8		109.0	
England & Wales	8.02	32.48	22.31	11.6	4.0	3.9	18.2	20.4	10.9	6.4		23.3	

TABLE XXXI.

AVERAGE ANNUAL DEATH RATES PER CENT. IN THE YEARS 1850-1-2, FOR EACH SEX AT FIVE PERIODS OF LIFE.

REGISTRATION DISTRICTS.	Age 0–5 Years.		Age 5–10 Years.		Age 10–45 Years.		Age 45–65 Years.		Age 65 Years upwards.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Ulverstone	4.78	3.82	.95	.94	.96	.93	2.03	1.97	8.59	9.00
Lancaster	6.69	5.69	1.26	1.57	1.11	1.11	2.42	2.52	10.33	8.27
Garstang	4.43	3.19	1.30	.99	.62	.78	1.71	1.44	7.20	7.51
Fylde	5.55	4.75	.86	1.00	.75	.85	1.84	1.86	9.09	7.73
Clitheroe	5.43	4.92	1.09	.74	.73	1.15	1.62	1.93	8.99	7.71
Northern Region	5.53	4 63	1.08	1.09	.88	.99	2.00	2.06	9.04	8.21
Burnley	10.24	8 66	1.31	1.15	.89	1.07	2.09	2.05	10.47	9.88
Haslingden	8.25	6.35	1.06	1.07	.85	.95	2.15	2.49	9.55	9.94
Blackburn	10.24	8.61	1.36	1.31	.93	1.13	2.60	2.34	8.89	9.69
Preston	10.55	9.06	1.23	1.10	.96	1.09	2.67	2.58	9.28	9.86
Chorley	7.22	6.16	1.59	1.09	1.06	1.11	2.13	2.16	9.51	8.92
Wigan	10.05	8.27	1.41	1.11	1.05	.98	2.33	2.24	9.69	8.99
Leigh	9.68	8.18	1.31	.96	.92	1.02	1.97	2.09	10.04	8.66
Bolton	11.39	9.19	1.59	1.47	.96	1.04	2.61	2.27	10.92	9.15
Bury	9.14	7.67	.93	.80	.81	1.02	2.37	2.17	9.69	9.56
Rochdale	9.36	7.99	1.15	.98	1.05	1.13	2.74	2.25	10.11	9.21
Oldham	10.28	8.59	.84	.99	.84	1.10	2.91	2.72	10.57	9.66
Manchester	13,26	11.41	1.29	1.12	1.16	1.09	3.85	3.39	11.59	10.46
Salford	11.39	9.18	1.05	.85	.91	.90	3.24	2.63	10.89	9.67
Chorlton	10.34	9.09	1.01	.91	.88	.88	2.90	2.75	10.16	8.93
Barton-upon-Irwell	7.41	6.36	1.04	.74	.95	.92	2.06	2.09	8.55	8.51
Ashton-under-Lyne	11.14	9.43	1.24	1.20	.97	1.09	2.76	2.61	10.85	10.94
Stockport	10.40	8.48	.74	.80	.88	1.03	2.70	2.64	10.83	10.17
Macclesfield	8.81	7.57	1.21	1.20	1.02	1.28	2.41	2.51	9.69	10.83
Eastern Region	10.53	8.87	1.19	1.07	.97	1.05	2.78	2.58	10.23	9.73
Ormskirk	5.54	5.16	.87	.89	.84	.91	2.25	2.10	8.96	7.35
Prescot	8.59	7.81	1.37	1.09	1.02	.97	2.63	2.39	10.39	9.78
West Derby	9.15	7.95	1.15	1.27	.89	.88	2.80	2.38	10.14	8.82
Liverpool	14.06	12.94	1.56	1.57	1.29	1.13	3.73	3.05	13.68	10.69
Wirral	6.57	5.89	.98	1.02	.78	.74	2.39	2.00	10.86	8.32
Western Region	10.58	9.58	1.31	1.32	1.08	.99	3.15	2.63	11.42	9.47
Warrington	8.67	7.54	.98	1.12	1.05	1.01	2.80	2.27	9.65	9.66
Runcorn	6,43	6.04	.90	.83	.92	.91	2.63	2.38	9.71	9.47
Altrincham	6.01	4.93	.94	.94	.87	.95	2.14	1.85	8.69	8.52
Congleton	6.70	5.96	1.17	1.26	.88	1.23	2.03	2.23	8 17	9.99
Northwich	7.89	7.50	1.41	1.10	.85	.99	1.88	1.88	8.29	8.75
Nantwich	6.12	5.27	.76	.95	.64	.81	1.86	1.69	8.32	8.47
Great Boughton	6.63	6.12	.81	.75	.88	.96	3.07	2 26	8.96	8.28
Southern Region	6.93	6.20	.98	.98	.87	.98	2.39	2.08	8.76	8.86
North Western Division	9.93	8.56	1.19	1.12	.98	1.03	2.77	2.51	10.10	9.44
England and Wales	7.18	6.18	.87	.85	.85	.89	2·26	1.98	9.22	8.67

ON A SYSTEMATICALLY ARRANGED BORDER FOR PLANTS.

By the Rev. H. H. Higgins, M.A.

(Read 15th December, 1859.)

The success which attended the efforts of my respected friend Mr. Ward, to extend the instruction and pleasure derived from the study and love of plants, suggested to me the advantage of having, in gardens of public resort, flower borders so arranged as to illustrate simply and agreeably the succession of orders and families in the natural system.

Botanic gardens are confined to a few of the principal towns in the kingdom. The expenses attending their formation and maintenance are so considerable that wealthy communities alone are able to possess them; and it seems probable that their number in England will never be greatly increased.

On the other hand few populous towns are without gardens of public resort attached to bath-rooms, pump-rooms, or charitable institutions; and at the present time numbers even of small towns are being provided, under the "Cemetery Act," with spaces of ground in which the public has an interest, and to which free access is granted.

From these considerations it became my object to shew that with very moderate space, with little outlay, and requiring the care only of a single cultivator, it was possible to exhibit to the public, and maintain in efficient order, an intelligible and an attractive grammar of Botany.

For this purpose I selected in my own garden a plot of ground, one hundred and eight feet in length, by twelve feet in breadth, divided by walks eighteen inches wide, into twenty beds each three and a half feet in

width. The beds, walks, and forty lines of stone edging about two inches in thickness, occupied the whole length of the border. A single bed, being twelve feet long by three and a half feet wide, allowed a space fourteen inches square to be given to each of thirty plants disposed in cross rows of three, ten such rows reaching from back to front.

It was determined to confine the series to flowering plants, to exclude trees, shrubs, plants exceeding five feet in height, and water plants, and to admit species requiring protection in winter, annuals, and plants of little interest or beauty, only very sparingly.

The next step was to fix upon a system of arrangement. Dr. Lindley's "Alliances" of flowering plants, fifty in number, forty of which are capable of being suitably illustrated in an open border, offered a tempting correspondence with the twenty beds to be occupied; but the plan of the "Vegetable Kingdom" appeared to be scarcely adapted for a popular grammar of Botany.

Mr. Bentham's "Handbook of the British Flora" presented many advantages; but to have confined the series to British plants would have interfered very materially with the attractive aspect of the border. This, however, was not requisite, even whilst following Mr. Bentham's plan; so with the assistance of De Candolle's "Prodromus" for exotic genera and species, and for the few suitable exotic orders, it was decided to arrange the border as nearly as possible in correspondence with the "Handbook of "the British Flora."

General arrangement of the Border.

BED.

No. 1. Ranunculaceæ. Berberideæ.
2. Papaveraceæ. Cruciferæ, &c.
3. Caryophyllaceæ. Linaceæ.
4. Malvaceæ. Geraniaceæ, &c.
5. Leguminosæ.
6. Rosaceæ.
7. Onagraceæ. Saxifragaceæ, &c.
8. Umbelliferæ, &c. || Rubiaceæ, &c.
9. Compositæ.
10. Compositæ.
11. Campanulaceæ.

12. Ericaceæ. Gentianaceæ, &c.
13. Borragineæ. Solanaceæ.
14. Scrophulariaceæ.
15. Labiatæ.
16. Plumbagineæ, &c. || Polygonaceæ, &c.
17. Iridiæ. Amaryllideæ. Hypoxidæ.
18. Hemerocallideæ. Asphodeleæ. Convallarieæ.
19. Liliaceæ.
20. Cyperaceæ. Gramineæ.

For the sake of keeping the arrangement distinct and obvious, entire beds were given to each of five of the principal orders, and two to the compositæ. With none of these was there any difficulty; thirty plants carefully selected from half or two-thirds as many genera, were found to illustrate fairly the hardy herbaceous perennials even in a large order. It was, however, necessary to make the internal arrangement of the bed correspond with the sub-divisions of the order. Thus in the Labiatæ to Salvia and Monarda was assigned a place at the head of the bed; below them came Mentha and Nepeta, and other genera, down to Teucrium and Ajuga at the foot of the bed.

In some instances several natural orders had to be represented in a single bed. The transverse rows of three answered very well for this purpose; two or three such rows were given to orders of moderate extent, as Violaceæ and Hypericineæ; one to Linaceæ, Cornaceæ, &c.; whilst single spaces sufficed for Frankeniaceæ and some others. The eighth and sixteenth beds were divided in the middle by a transverse walk, the upper portion of the eighth containing the concluding orders of the Calyciflores, the lower portion the orders of monopetalous plants preceding the Compositæ: the upper portion of the sixteenth bed terminating the monopetalous plants, the lower portion constituting the whole of the room that could be spared for the Monoclamydeæ.

These two transverse walks, though occupying valuable space, were found useful in inviting attention to the important groups at the termination of which they were made. For the same purpose it would be well to have a broader walk between the fourth and fifth beds, dividing the Thalamiflores from the Calyciflores; and between the sixteenth and seventeenth a walk of some material of a different colour, to denote the change from Dicotyledonous to Monocotyledonous plants.

Experience seems to point out, in all arrangements of natural objects for public exhibition, the expediency of having a classification not only accurate but obvious, and even conspicuous. In a lengthened series, to distinguish the commencement of a family or a genus by a label may be sufficient for the guidance of a student, but for the public it is better to mark the change in such a way as to invite attention, and even to provoke enquiry.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the importance of selecting for the border such plants as are striking in their appearance, or remarkable for beauty. Yet an enthusiastic botanist might probably conclude that the order and accuracy of his series would ensure attention. No chance, however, should be thrown away. A beautiful flower illustrates a genus as well as one less ornamental, and with far better chance of being observed. Persoon was won to the study of Mycology by the beauty of Peziza coccinea. If, then, the border be made attractive in appearance, as well as scientific in its arrangement, the former quality may often lead to the appreciation of the latter.

Too great a proportion of very familiar plants should be avoided. A set of British grasses, though equally beautiful, would not be noticed once in a hundred times in comparison with a series of foreign kinds, such as may readily be procured, and constitute, even to an ordinary observer, one of the most attractive and interesting beds in the whole border.

In order to look well the taller plants must be placed in the middle row of the bed, and, as far as may be compatible with the arrangement, the plants should decrease in height from the back to the front.

Each plant should be set exactly in the centre of the space allotted to it; for this purpose it was found useful to employ a frame of wood fourteen inches square, inside measurement, and four inches deep. With the aid of a rod, marked so as to divide it into ten fourteen-inch lengths, it was easy to set the frame upon the exact spot to be occupied, and the soil for the whole of the space within the frame was then prepared to the required depth for the reception of the plant.

For plants with rapidly spreading roots it was found convenient to use slates, not quite fourteen inches long by six broad: these were pressed into the ground until their upper edges were nearly on a level with the

soil, forming a quadrilateral, surrounding and very effectually confining the plant. The bed for grasses was divided in this way throughout.

The names of the natural orders were exhibited on pieces of plate glass, one foot long by three inches broad. These were obtained from the waste edges cut off in squaring large plates of glass, and may be purchased at about sixpence per square foot. The glass is ground on both sides, and is a highly ornamental and beautiful material. The slips of glass were made more opaque by being painted white at the back; the letters were put on in front with black paint mixed with varnish or turpentine instead of oil: a year's exposure has not injured their appearance. These labels, when used, were supported horizontally in a leaning position by two slight props of wood, iron being found to stain the glass.

A very useful implement, which may be termed a sun-board, is formed by two pieces of wood, each a foot square, placed and joined like two sides of a box. Set upon its edge, with the rectangle turned towards the South, it forms a sheltered corner in which slips or cuttings may be protected from the sun and wind, whilst left open to the air and rain; and they are thus neither drawn up nor weakened as when under a hand-glass. Set with the rectangle uppermost, the sun-board forms a kind of penthouse, under which the stocks of plants may be sheltered from the rough weather in winter.

An obvious consequence of so limited a space as fourteen inches square being given to each plant, is the necessity of affording to most of the taller flowers the means of support. Garden sticks tapering upward appear much lighter, and are stiffer in the ground than the ordinary kind. Iron rods as thick as a cedar pencil, with one end fixed in a short stout wooden pin, are also useful.

In commencing the formation of a systematically arranged border, the first question will naturally relate to the space it is desirable to occupy. If the series is to be confined to hardy perennials, it seems probable that accommodation for six hundred plants will be sufficient: these however, in double rows with walks between them will require a larger space than one hundred and eight feet by twelve. If triple rows are adopted and more than fourteen inches square given to each plant, the central row in each bed will be found inconvenient to manage without disturbing the side rows.

A sufficient number of plants may readily be obtained. I rarely had to purchase, yet within the first year my border was furnished with five hundred and ninety species, illustrating most of the principal, and many of the smaller genera of hardy perennials. For the greater part of them I am indebted to the kindness and liberality of the Curators of the Liverpool, Edinburgh, Dublin and York Botanic Gardens. The late Mr. Nuttall, of Rainhill, Mr. Leeds, of Manchester, Mr. Skirving, of Liverpool, Mr. Stubbs, of Frodsham, Mr. Holcroft, of Upholland, and Mr. Williams, of Ormskirk,* also kindly contributed many valuable plants.

In conclusion I may refer to some of the advantages likely to be derived from systematically arranged borders of plants in gardens of public resort.

The Study of Botany may be promoted.

In many schools receiving assistance from the Committee of Council on Education, and in nearly all the higher class of schools, more or less of botany is taught. But from books alone, even the theory of botany is seldom learned to any purpose, much less can the love of plants be encouraged. It is not indeed, contended that the border can be a substitute for the fields and lanes, and woods and hills: but in how few schools can time be spared for rambling beyond the barren pavement or the dusty road. Moreover, even a ramble amongst the wild flowers leaves something to be done in a visit to the border. It is better a child should love a primrose than know the names of all the natural orders; but why may not something of both be attained? Now a hundred natural orders in the pages of a book with their hard names and harder descriptions are a formidable difficulty; but let the natural arrangement be seen displayed from beginning to end in a border of living plants, and the difficulty vanishes. The vexatious distinctions of stamens hypogynous, epigynous, perigynous, or isomerous, are found after all to mean only what may be seen in this bed, or in that, or in the other, and thus a great step is gained in the removal of difficulties attending the commencement of the study.

Indeed for purposes of instruction, the border may have some advantage over even the Botanic Garden; for in a large collection of plants it is rare to find the whole series so arranged as to make the succession of the

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* Lists of Plants at very moderate prices are published by Mr. Skirving, of Liverpool; Mr. Holcroft, of Upholland, Wigan; E. G. Henderson and Son, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, London, &c., &c.

natural orders distinctly visible throughout. Linear succession does not, it is true, obtain in nature, but it is inevitable in lessons and in books; and so wondrous an assistance is the eye to the memory, that after a few visits to the border, the position of a plant in the vegetable system is almost as readily remembered as the place of a letter in the alphabet: it is, in fact, hard to forget the position of a family with its alliances, when it is once observed in living illustration on a systematically arranged border.

Private Gardens may be improved.

It is quite possible the number and variety of beautiful plants seen in the border, may suggest to many who have gardens of their own, a far better and more delightful use of them than is commonly made at present. Everywhere the same flowers are now cultivated without even the slightest regard to the size or situation of the garden. The noble contrasts of colour presented to the eye in the gardens of the Crystal Palace, are supposed to be suitable for imitation in a plot of ground a few feet square. I confess when I have seen a gardener doing a bit of Chevreul in Petunias, and Eschscholtzias, where he had barely room to turn his wheelbarrow, I have longed to see in his place the lady of the cottage cherishing a good old cabbage rose, or caressing some modest alpine on her bit of rock-work.

The present aim, it seems to me, is too much at effect, a term which implies that flowers are desired to decorate a garden, instead of a garden being delightful as the home of sweet flowers; hence the favourites are now of few species, but of very rich and showy colours, yet who ever really loved a Petunia or an Eschscholtzia? It is admitted that many more species of flowers were to be found in private gardens twenty or thirty years ago; yet rare plants were then valued, just as prize Pansies or Picotees are now, in proportion to the exclusiveness with which they were possessed by their cultivators. But it is our own fault if we have no higher kind of value for floral treasures now; in fact, at no former period has it been possible to enjoy a garden with anything like that intelligent acquaintance with the natural history of plants, which is now easily attainable. The literature of botany has made us familiar with particulars historical, poetical, geographical, economical, meteorological, physiological, some of which distinguish every flower, and add to its beauty an interest, a little corresponding with the charm investing a yet higher order of loveliness, when combined with an intellectual education. It must increase the

pleasure to be derived from the cultivation of an Androsace to know something of the scenery and varying altitude of the snow line. Camassia loses nothing of its great beauty seen in the character of the staff of life to thousands; and the pale pure glories of Œnothera taraxacifolia beam in the twilight best appreciated by the beholder whose imagination has wandered in the valleys of Peru, and dwelt upon scenes depicted by the historian of the Incas. To exchange such plants as these for Mr. A's Defiance, Mr. B's Delight, and Lady C's Incomparable, is a very questionable advantage.

Too little is known in this country of the capabilities of an open garden. Flower shows have made almost every one familiar with magnificent Heaths and Azaleas and Pelargoniums, &c., &c., plants which cannot be grown in perfection except by the professional cultivator or by the wealthy; whilst there are hundreds of species of perennials, beautiful and perfectly hardy, needing only to be seen to be desired; and, there can be no doubt, if a demand should arise for them, they would soon be generally cultivated for a supply.

A systematically arranged border may afford much encouragement to botanical amateurs.

The border in fact may, in comparison with the botanic garden be what a popular manual is to a scientific treatise: and let not this be thought an unworthy object, for after all it may be quite as effectually to promote the highest and most worthy aims of science, to afford to greater numbers the means of an intelligent acquaintance with the elements of botany, as to decide some knotty long-disputed point in botanical physiology. It seems certain that in any science popular knowledge will advance *pari passu* with the progress of the science itself; always of course at a respectful distance from the van, but never left entirely behind. This is as it ought to be. The explorations of the foremost men are not to be emulated by the multitude; but a more humble class of labourers soon follow and prepare at least a portion of the new territory for all who choose to settle in it. No doubt the discoverers have the best title to do the honours of their acquisitions, but few discoverers will thus far condescend; few very learned men will write popular works: yet, happily, a communicative spirit is greatly on the increase; *philosophers are no longer a sect;* men who devote themselves to the investigation of scientific truth, giving their labours and their lives to profound researches, can no longer be said to

be *absorbed* in their pursuit; together with a more just appreciation of nature has arisen a far more practical recognition of a truth, which may be expressed in words not wholly unlike those of the great INSTRUCTOR Himself, and as I think, in full accordance with His mind, that science was made for man, and not man for science.

The following table is copied from a page in the quarto catalogue of the border in my own garden: it would, however, be far more convenient to have the catalogue made in oblong folio.

BED No. 6.—ROSACEÆ.

N. America. 1. Spiræa Lobata. Mur.	Spiræa Kamtschatica. Pal.	*Britain.* Spiræa filipendula. L. sp.
Britain. 2. Dryas octopetala. L. Sp.	*Alpine Europe.* Sieversia montana. Spr.	*Bithynia.* Geum coccineum. Smih.
N. America. 3. Gillenia trifoliata. Mœnc.	*Louisiana.* Sieversia triflora. R. Br.	*Hungary.* Waldestenia geoides. Wil.
N. America. 4. Dalibarda fragarioides. Mi.	*N. America.* Potentilla floribunda. Poi.	*Nipaul.* Fragaria Indica. H. K.
Britain. 5. Potentilla argentea. L.	*Britain.* Potentilla rupestris. L.	*Europe.* Potentilla alba. L.
Calabria. 6. Potentilla Calabra. Ten.	*Piedmont.* Potentilla pedata. Poir.	*Hybrid.* Potentilla Russelliana.
var. maxima. Britain. 7. Sibbaldia procumbens. L.	*S. Europe.* Potentilla recta. L.	*Canada.* Potentilla tridentata. Sol.
Hybrid. 8. Potentilla Tongii.	*Nipaul.* Potentilla insignis. Royle.	*From Edinb. Botanic Garden.* Potentilla dubia.
9. Agrimonia, species?	*New Zealand.* Acæna Sanguisorbæ. Vahl.	*Europe.* Potentilla opaca. L.
Britain. 10. Rosa pimpinellifolia. L.	*Britain.* Alchemilla alpina. L.	*Caucasus.* Alchemilla sericea. Wil.

Explanatory Note on the Paper entitled EL SAKHRA, published in Vol. X., Page 131. *By the Author, Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, D.C.L., President of the Society.*

In the sketch map (annexed to the above paper) of the presumed site of the Temples of Solomon and Herod at Jerusalem, there is named—"A void space at the time of the "second Temple presumed to be a cemetery of the Jews, and called Golgotha." This would appear from Lightfoot to be a mistake, for he says "it was a place of a skull, not "a place of graves;" and many annotators consider that the name was derived from the supposed resemblance of the form of the ground to a human skull. It is, however, important that it was never a cemetery. The fact has been probably altogether lost sight of, that the ground originally comprised in Solomon's Temple, and not covered by the second Temple, in which outer ground, as will be seen, El Sakhra was included, was in the time of Herod and at the period of our Blessed Lord's crucifixion covered with a new town called Bezetha, which contained the tower of Antonia, the Prætorium or Hall of Judgment, and the splendid palace built for himself by Herod. Whatever supposed sanctity might have attached to the locality which had been occupied by the Temple of Solomon, it is very probable that during the interval succeeding the government of the Maccabees, in which directly or indirectly the Roman rule had prevailed in Jerusalem, their soldiery had established itself in this very quarter, and accordingly all their military business had come to be transacted in this part of the city, while the Jewish government was established at Zion and in the Temple precincts; this would be an additional ground for the belief that the place of public execution was adjoining to the same vicinity, and will so far corroborate the position assumed that El Sakhra was the site of the crucifixion of Christ. This supposition is almost necessary to enable it to be possible to unite in so short a space of time as three hours all the several transactions that ensued after the death of Jesus—the petition of Joseph of Arimathæa, the taking down from the cross, the embalming, the entombment. If these several acts required a backward and forward transit of half a mile or so, the interval of time could have been scarcely sufficient for the purpose of so much movement, and therefore everything must have occurred within a very limited extent of ground; it was scarcely possible to carry it beyond the gates of Jerusalem. It must therefore be sufficient to fulfil the Scriptures that Christ suffered outside the gate of the Temple.

ON THE POPULAR CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF LANCASHIRE.

By T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S., &c.

(Read 5th January, 1860.)

Part II.

Whether monotheism or polytheism is the more ancient form of belief is a proposition which has not yet received a satisfactory solution. Able advocates have ranged themselves on both sides; but the acknowledged want of an actual proof still leaves the question undecided. Independently of revelation, no people or tribe, respecting whom we possess authentic accounts, has ever presented us with the example of a belief in *one* all-powerful and undivided Being. The most uncivilised tribes of Africa, America or Australia, appear to have made several steps beyond this simple form, and hence the difficulties which present themselves at the very outset of the enquiry. *Practically*, the question may not admit of a definite solution, since we should require the most intimate knowledge of the least civilized race as a fundamental datum; but, *theoretically*, we may arrive at a position from which we shall not easily be removed. The *simple* must of necessity precede the *complex*, and consequently the idea of *one* supernatural Being must be anterior in point of time to that of *two* or more. Under this view, the good and the evil would form the second stage of development—a necessary consequence of increased observation—and, accordingly, we find the Great Spirit and his Adversary among the prevailing notions of some of the least civilised communities.

A gradual progression from one to many appears to have been the natural process by which all known mythologies have been formed. The tendency of observation to multiply causes, real or ideal; and to personify ideas; may be ranked as one of the tendencies of unassisted human nature; and the operation of this natural force must have been equally efficient at all times and in all countries. In the early stages of social improvement,

man would be very forcibly affected by natural phenomena. The regular succession of day and night—the order of the seasons—the heat of summer—the cold of winter—storms and tempests on sea and land—the sensations of pleasure and pain, hope and fear—would each impress him with ideas of effects for which he could assign no adequate causes; but having become susceptible of supernatural influences, the addition of imaginary beings to his mythology would keep pace with his experience, until every portion of the heavens, the earth and the sea, was peopled with, and presided over, by its respective deity or demi-god.

Thus it was that the rolling thunder and the "lightning's vivid flash" suggested the idea of a Jupiter grasping his destructive bolts, or of a Thor wielding his ponderous hammer. The "raging tempest" and the "boiling "surge" gave birth to a Neptune or a Njörd, each endowed with attributes suited to the aspects of the locality where the observations were made, and specially adapted to the intellectual condition of the community which first deified the conception. The all-powerful monarchs of the north may perhaps contrast unfavourably with their compeers of the south; but each supplied an adequate cause for an observed effect—each being sufficiently powerful to wield the elements at will, and thereby manifest his displeasure both to gods and men.

As society progressed in civilization, so did the study of philosophy and religion. The poets and the priests, however, did not entrust their speculations to the judgment of the people; they were too sensible of the power which secrecy conferred upon their occult pursuits, and hence they allegorised their conceptions of supernatural agencies, and also their ideas of the ordinary operations of nature and art. They founded systems of Cosmogony, Theogony &c., which were clothed in terms only to be fully understood by the initiated. The elements were spoken of as persons, and the changes which these underwent were regarded as the actions of individuals; and these in the lapse of ages, by losing their esoteric meaning, came to be considered as realities, and so passed into the popular belief. This is eminently the case with the northern mythology, respecting which we are at present more particularly concerned; for by far the greater portion of these highly poetical, though rugged myths, admit of a very plausible and rational explanation, on astronomical and physical principles.* Whether

* See Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, vol. i., pp. 118—231.

this was equally the case with the Greek and Roman mythologies is now, perhaps, more difficult to determine. We only know them after their elaboration into almost perfect systems by intelligent communities, and when many of the most striking traces of their adaptation to natural and local phenomena had been eliminated by the ingenuity of their poets and their priests. Enough, however, remains in the etymology of the names to prove that both these and the northern systems had much in common. The fundamental conceptions of each possess the same leading characteristics; and both are probably due to the conquering tribes who migrated into Europe from the fertile plains of central Asia.*

During these early ages, war was considered to be the most honourable occupation. Valour constituted the highest virtue; and in the absence of all written records, tradition, in course of time, would add considerably to the prowess of any daring chieftain. A mighty conqueror would be considered by his followers as something more than human. The fear of his enemies would clothe him with attributes peculiar to their conceptions of inferior deities; and this, together with the almost universal "longing "after immortality" which seems to pervade society in all its stages, sufficiently accounts for the origin of the heroes and heroines—the demigods and goddesses of every mythology. Hence Hercules—the younger Odin—and a numerous train of minor worthies to whom divine honours were decreed in the rituals of Italy and the north.

On the introduction of Christianity, a powerful reactionary force was introduced into the popular belief, and many of its grosser portions were speedily eliminated. The whole of the mythological creations were divided into two distinct classes, according to the attributes for which they were more particularly distinguished. Those whose tendencies inclined towards the benefit of mankind were translated to heavenly mansions, with God as supreme; whilst the wickedly disposed were consigned to the infernal regions, under the dominion of the Devil. The festivals of the gods were transformed into christian seasons for rejoicing, their temples became churches, and the names of Christ, his apostles, the Virgin Mary, and the saints, took the places of those of Jupiter, Mercury, Thor, Frega, and Woden. All the inferior deities that presided over the woods, the mountains, the seas and the rivers, were degraded into demons, and were classed

* See Mallet's *Northern Antiquities;* also, Keightley's *Mythology of Greece and Rome.*

amongst those fallen spirits who are employed by the evil one to harass and deceive mankind. Our early missionaries, however, had studied human nature too well to attempt too violent a change. They contented themselves, for the most part, with diverting the current of thought into different channels; they gave *new* names to *old* conceptions, and then left their more rational and more powerful faith to produce its known effects upon the superstitions of the masses. But the habits and opinions of a people, who have long been under the influence of any mythological system, have become too deeply rooted to admit of easy eradication; and hence, in our own country, as in others, the transition from heathenism to christianity was effected by almost imperceptible steps. In spite of church establishments and comparatively intelligent instructors, the old belief continued to influence the minds of many generations; and although we have now been accustomed to the sway of a most rigid christianity for many centuries, we are still able to detect some interesting specimens of fossilized heathenism in the undisturbed nooks and corners of our own county. A glance at our history will suffice to remind us that we have been subjected to the influences of both the Romans and the Northmen; but since the rule of the latter has predominated, we shall not be surprised to find that some of the most interesting remains are either Scandinavian or German. They may have been somewhat modified by the contact of our early settlers with the Roman legions previously to their irruptions into Britain; but the main features of the sprites and demons which are said to occupy our hills, guard our rivers or haunt our houses, induce us to look to the Northmen for their introduction.

There are, however, many points of resemblance between the early Scandinavian and the Roman mythologies. Both had probably a common origin, but each became modified by increased civilization and the character of the localities occupied by each succeeding wave of a migratory population. "Every country in Europe," says the learned editor of Warton's *History of Poetry*, "has invested its popular belief with the same common marvels: "all acknowledge the agency of the lifeless productions of nature; the "intervention of the same supernatural machinery; the existence of elves, "fairies, dwarfs, giants, witches, wizards and enchanters; the use of "spells, charms and amulets." The explosions and rumbling sounds occasionally heard in the interior of Etna and Stromboli were attributed, in ancient times, to the rage of Typhon, or the labours of Vulcan: at this

day, the popular belief connects them with the suffering souls of men in the infernal regions. "The marks which natural causes have impressed "upon the unyielding granite were produced, according to the common "creed, by the powerful hero, the saint or the god, and large masses of "stone, resembling domestic implements in form, were the toys or the tools "of the demi-gods and giants of old. The repetition of the voice among "the hills of Scandinavia is ascribed by the vulgar to the dwarfs mocking "the human speaker; in England the fairies are said to perform the same "exploits; while the more elegant fancy of Greece gave birth to Echo, a "nymph who pined for love, and who still fondly repeats the accents that "she hears. The magic scenery occasionally presented on the waters of "the Straits of Messina is ascribed by popular opinion to the power of the "Fata Morgana; the gossamer threads which float through the haze of an "autumnal morning are [in our own county] supposed to be woven by the "ingenious dwarfs; the verdant circlets in the dewy mead are traced "beneath the light steps of the dancing elves; and St. Cuthbert is said to "forge and fashion the beads that bear his name, and lie scattered along "the shores of Lindisfarne."* If we draw our parallels a little closer, we shall find, as Mr. Roby well observes, that "the Nereids of antiquity are "evidently the same with the Mermaids of the British and northern shores:— "the inhabitants of both are placed in crystal caves, or coral palaces, beneath "the waters of the ocean; they are alike distinguished for their partialities "to the human race, and their prophetic powers in disclosing the events of "futurity. The Naiades differ only in name from the Nixens of Germany, "the Nisses of Scandinavia, or the Water-elves of the British Isles. The "Brownies are of the same kindred as the Lares of Latium, [and these "agree exactly with the Portuni mentioned by Gervase of Tilbury in his "*Otia Imperialis.*] The English Puck, [the Lancashire Boggart,] the "Scotch Bogle, the French Goblin, the Gobelinus of the Middle Ages, and "the German Kobold, are probably only varied names for the Grecian "Khobalus,—whose sole delight consisted in perplexing the human race, "and evoking those harmless terrors that constantly hover round the minds "of the timid. So, also, the German Spuck, and the Danish Spogel, "correspond to the more northern Spog; whilst the German Hudkin, and "the Icelandic Puki, exactly answer to the character of the English Robin

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* Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*, pp. 2—3.

"Goodfellow."* Our modern devil, with his horns and hoof, is derived from the Celtic Ourisk and the Roman Pan.

Some of our elves and satyrs are arrayed in the costumes of Greece and Rome; and the Fairy Queen, with her attendants, have at times too many points of resemblance to escape being identified as Diana and her nymphs. The Roman Jupiter, by an easy transformation, becomes identical with the Scandinavian Thor—the thunder-bolt and chariot of the former corresponding to the hammer and wagon of the latter. Odin takes the place of Mercury. Loki is the same as Lucifer, for like him he was expelled from heaven for disobedience and rebellion. Hother encountered Thor, as Diomede did Mars. "The Grendels of the north answer to the "Titans of the south; they were the gods of nature to our forefathers—"the spirits of the wood and wave." Jupiter's eagle, the war-sign of the Romans, is similar in character to Odin's raven amongst the Danes; both nations considered that if the bird appeared to flutter its wings on the banners, conquest was certain; but if they hung helplessly down, defeat would surely follow. Warcock hill, on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire, has probably derived its name from the unfurling of this terrible ensign during the conflicts between the Saxons and the Danes for the possession of Northumbria;—the local nomenclature of the district attests the presence of colonists from both nations, and extensive traces of their fortifications still remain as evidence that our slopes and hill-tops formed at once the battle-fields and the strongholds of the country.

Among the more prominent of the demon superstitions prevalent in Lancashire, we may first instance that of the Spectre Huntsman, which occupies so conspicuous a place in the folk-lore of Germany and the north. This superstition is still extant in the gorge of Cliviger, where he is believed to hunt a milk-white doe round the Eagle's Crag in the vale of Todmorden on All-Hallow's Eve. His *hounds* are said to fly yelping through the air on many other occasions, and under the local name of "*Gabriel Ratchets*," are supposed to predict death or misfortune to all who hear the sounds.† The Lubbar Fiend still stretches his hairy length across the hearth-stones of the farm houses in the same district, and the feats of the Goblin Builders form a portion of the popular literature of almost every locality. They are

* *Traditions of Lancashire*, p. xiv.

† See Roby's *Traditions of Lancashire*, and Hamerton's *Isles of Loch Awe*; also, *Choice Notes, Folk-lore*, pp. 247-8.

said to have removed the foundations of Rochdale church from the banks of the river Roach up to their present elevated position. Samlesbury church, near Preston, possesses a similar tradition. The demon pig not only determined the site of St. Oswald's church at Winwick, but gave a name to the parish. The parochial church at Burnley, it is said, was originally intended to be built on the site occupied by the old Saxon Cross in Godly Lane; but however much the masons might have built during the day, both the stones and the scaffolding were invariably found where the church now stands, on their coming to work next morning. The local legend states that on this occasion also the goblins took the form of *pigs*, and a rude sculpture of such an animal, on the south side of the steeple, lends its aid to perpetuate and confirm the story.

But the labouring goblins do not always confine themselves to the removal of churches to more eligible situations; for they are by turns both useful and troublesome to the farmers of the district where they choose to reside. One example, out of many, may suffice for illustration. Syke Lumb farm, near Blackburn, is reputed to be still visited by one of these anomalous beings, and many of his mad pranks still pass current in that neighbourhood. When in a good humour, this noted goblin will milk the cows, pull the hay, fodder the cattle, harness the horses, load the carts and stack the crops. When irritated by the utterance of some unguarded expression or mark of disrespect, either from the farmer or his servants, the cream mugs are then smashed to atoms; no butter can be obtained by churning; the horses and other cattle are turned loose, or driven into the woods; two cows will sometimes be found fastened in the same stall; no hay can be pulled from the mow; and all the while the wicked imp sits grinning with delight upon one of the cross beams in the barn. At other times, the horses are unable to draw the empty carts across the farm-yard; if loaded they are upset; whilst the cattle tremble with fear, without any visible cause. Nor do the inmates of the house experience any better or gentler usage. During the night the clothes are said to be violently torn from off the beds of the offending parties, whilst by invisible hands they themselves are dragged down the stone stairs by the legs, one step at a time, after a more uncomfortable manner than we need describe. Hothersall Hall, near Ribchester, was formerly the scene of similar exploits; but the goblin is understood to have been "*laid*" under the roots of a large laurel tree at the end of the house, and will not be able to molest the family so

long as that tree exists. It is a common opinion in that part of the county that the roots have to be moistened with milk on certain occasions, in order to prolong its existence, and also to preserve the power of the spell under which the goblin is laid.

None but the Roman Catholic priesthood are supposed to have the power of "laying an evil spirit," and hence they have always the honour to be cited in our local legends. Sometimes, too, as in Norway and Sweden, they have the credit of outwitting the goblins; and many an old farm residence has the reputation of having been freed from their presence until they can spin a rope from the sands of the Ribble. The mansion at Towneley does not escape the imputation of having its Boggart, although its visits are now limited to once in seven years, when its thirst for vengeance has to be satisfied by the untimely death of one of the residents at the Hall. There appears to be more than the usual show of reason for the presence of this goblin. Sir John Towneley is supposed to have injured the poor of the district, nearly four hundred years ago, by "laying "in" a considerable portion of common to his park, and as a punishment for this offence, his soul is said to haunt the scenes of his oppression. The peasantry still aver "that the old knight's spirit, being unable to rest, "wanders about the mansion, and may be heard over the very parts taken "in, crying in most piteous tones—

> "Be warned! lay out! Be warned! lay out!
> Around Hore-law and Hollin-hey clough.
> To her children give back the widow's cot,
> For you and your's there is still enough."*

The popular story of "the boggart flitting" is common to both Lancashire and Yorkshire. Under exactly similar forms it may be met with in other counties, and it is in fact the common property of all the nations in the north of Europe. Keightley gives the tradition, in his *Fairy Mythology*, as prevalent in Denmark; and Thorpe adduces several instances of its occurrence in the folk-lore of Germany and Scandinavia.

The power of the Devil, his personal appearance and the possibility of bartering the soul for temporary gain, must still be numbered among the articles of our popular faith. Repeating the Lord's Prayer backwards is said to be the most effectual plan for causing him to rise from beneath; but when the terms of the bargain are not satisfactory, his exit can only be

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* Pictorial *History of Lancashire*, p. 189; Whitaker's *History of Whalley*, p. 342.

secured by making the sign of the cross and calling on the name of Christ. In the neighbourhood of Blackburn, a story prevails to the effect that two thrashers once succeeded in raising him through the barn floor; but on their becoming alarmed at their success, he was summarily dismissed by means of a vigorous thrashing on the head with their flails. His partiality for playing at cards has long been proverbial, both in this county and on the continent. A near relative of my own firmly believed that the devil once visited their company when they had prolonged their play into Sunday. How he joined them they never rightly knew, but, as in the Danish legend respecting a similar visit,* his presence was first suspected in consequence of his extraordinary "run of good luck;" and a casual detection of his *cloven foot* completed the dispersion of the players. It is not always, however, that he obtains the advantage; for he has more than once been outwitted by a crafty woman. In the Netherlandish versions, two thrifty matrons contrive to save their husbands' souls by taking advantage of weak points in one of the conditions of sale. The Danish legend gives the credit of contriving such a deliverance to a Jutland priest "who knew "something more than his pater-noster." In the Lancashire tradition we find the poor tailor of Chatburn stipulating for *three* wishes, and, on the advice of his wife, consulting the "holy father of Salley" in his extremity. When the fatal day arrived, he freed himself from the bond by expressing, as his last wish, that his tormentor "were riding back to his quarters on a "dun horse, never to plague him more." The devil, it is said, gave a yell which was heard to Colne, on finding that he had lost his man. Mr. Roby, in his *Traditions*, and the author of the *Pictorial History of Lancashire*, give humorous engravings of this noted ride; and the sign of "The Dule "upo' Dun," over the door of the wayside inn, attests the popular belief in the local tradition. From these and many other instances which might be adduced, it is evident that we have derived many of these superstitions from the Saxon and Danish settlers in Northumbria. The essential parts of each are identical, and as regards these particular bargains, it may be added, as a curious circumstance, that in no case is the bond held to be binding unless it be signed with the blood of the persons contracting.

From a statement made by Mr. Crofton Croker, in the dedicatory letter to the Brothers Grimm, affixed to his *Fairy Legends of the South of*

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* See Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, vol. ii., p. 179—188.

Ireland, it might be inferred that the belief in Elves is well nigh extinct, and that in a very short time "no traces of English fairies will remain, "except those which exist in the works of Shakespere, Herrick, Drayton, "and Corbet." He, however, presently admits that he was somewhat surprised to receive an account of the appearance of an actual fairy within three miles of the metropolis. This circumstance appears to have led him to doubt his preceding statement; and very properly so; for had he been privileged to mix with the rural population of those districts where trade and manufactures have as yet scarcely penetrated, he would have found ample reasons for qualifying his previous assertions.* Traditions respecting the hill folks yet live amongst our rural peasantry. Antique tobacco pipes, formerly belonging to the fairies, are still occasionally found in the corners of newly-ploughed fields. They themselves still gambol on the grassy meads at "dewy eve;" and their revels are yet believed to be occasionally witnessed by some privileged inhabitant of our "calm se- "questered vales." It is generally stated that in order to be enabled to see one of these diminutive beings, the use of ointments, four-leaved clover or other specific preparations are necessary; but a near relative of my own, not more imbued with superstition than the majority, most firmly believed that he once saw a real dwarf, or fairy, without the use of any incantation. He had been amusing himself one summer evening on the top of Mellor Moor, near Blackburn, close to the remains of the Roman encampment, when his attention was arrested by the appearance of a dwarf-like man, attired in full hunting costume, with top-boots and spurs, a green jacket, red hairy cap, and a thick hunting whip in his hand. He ran briskly along the moor for a considerable distance, when leaping over a low stone wall, he darted down a steep declivity, and was soon lost to sight. The popular opinion of the neighbourhood is that an underground city exists at this place—that an earthquake swallowed up the encampment—and that on certain evenings in the year the hill folks may be heard ringing their bells and indulging in various festivities. Considerable quantities of stone, which still remain around the ditches of this rectangular speculum, may have suggested the ideas of a city and an earthquake; but the rest is only the common opinion of the north of Europe respecting Christian observances by the fairy population. On other occasions, they are supposed

* See Bamford's *Early Days*, for a very interesting picture of Lancashire country life; its sports, pastimes, and superstitions.

to exhibit themselves in military array on the mountain sides; their evolutions conforming in every respect to the movements of modern troops. Such appearances are believed to portend the approach of civil commotions, and are said to have been more than usually common about the time of the rebellion in 1745-6. This would suggest an explanation of a more rational character, but we have no desire to do such violence to an interesting local tradition, since the "Death of Walter Selby," one of Allan Cunningham's most beautiful *Traditionary Tales of the English and Scottish Peasantry*, owes its principal charms to Dame Eleanor's "account of the spectre "horsemen of Soutra Fell."

The Water Sprites believed in by our ancestors in the north of Europe, still form a portion of the folk-lore of Lancashire and Yorkshire. There is scarcely a stream of any magnitude to be found in either county which does not possess a presiding spirit in some part of its course. The stepping-stones at Brungerley, near Clitheroe, are said to be haunted by a malevolent sprite, who assumes almost as many shapes as Proteus of old. He is not known by any particular designation, nor are there any traditions to account for his first appearance; but at least *one* life in every *seven* years is required to appease the anger of the spirit of the Ribble at this place. We derive the familiar epithet "Old Nick" from the Norwegian Nök, the Norse Nikr, or the Swedish Neck;—and no further proof of their identity is required than a comparison between the attributes possessed in common by all these supernatural beings.

The Nök is said to require a human sacrifice once a-year; and some one is therefore annually missing in the vicinity of every pond or river where one has taken up its abode. The males are said to be very partial to young maidens, whom they seize and drag under the water; whilst those of the opposite sex are quite as attractive and dangerous to the young fishermen who frequent the rivers. The German Nixes possess the same attributes. Both sexes have large *green teeth;* and the male wears a *green* hat, which is frequently mistaken by his victims for a tuft of beautiful vegetation. He is said to kill without mercy whenever he drags a person down, and a fountain of blood which shoots up from the surface of the water announces the completion of the deed. A perfect identification of this with our own popular belief is now easy. Nothing is more common at present than for children who reside in the country to be

cautioned against venturing too near the water's brink, lest "Green Teeth" or "Bloody Bones" should pull them in. "Old Nick" is said to lurk under the shady willows which overhang the deep water; and the bubbles of gas which may be observed escaping from the bottoms of quiet pools, are attributed to the movements of the water sprites which lurk beneath. Our sailors have not yet been schooled out of their belief in Mermen and Mermaids. These semi-human inhabitants of the water have preserved their characteristic attributes through all changes of race, country and religious opinion. They everywhere possess their double nature—they ever float on the glassy stream or bask in the summer sun on the shores of our seas and lakes. Even the early colonists of America did not fail to carry with them the details of the same attractive superstitions, which they have transmitted to their posterity, who still cherish the supernatural as fondly as their relatives in the mother country. Our local literature possesses Roby's tradition of "The Mermaid of Martin Mere," which has given permanence to the popular notions respecting mermen and mermaids; and we find the same thing effected across the Atlantic by a more amusing, but not less significant, account of Jack Tar's adventures amongst these interesting inhabitants of the deep.

The Schrat, or Schretel, of the German nations, is identical with the more ancient Skrat of the Scandinavians. He is noted for making game of persons who are out late at night. Occasionally he places himself on a cart or other vehicle, which then becomes so heavy that the horses are unable to move the load. They begin to tremble and perspire, as if sensible of the presence of something diabolical, but after a short time "Old Scrat" slips off behind, and disappears with a malicious laugh. In Lancashire we are no strangers to Old Scrat and his doings. With many, the name is merely a synonym for that of the devil; but our country carters are able to mark the distinction, and have besides a goodly store of anecdotes respecting the heavy loads which their horses have sometimes been compelled to draw, when nothing could be seen except the empty cart. One of them assured me that on such occasions his horses reared and became almost frantic; their manes stood erect, and he himself could see the wicked imp actually dancing with delight between their ears. Another very respectable person affirms that not many years ago, as a funeral was proceeding to church, the coffin suddenly became so heavy that it could not be carried. On this being made known to a clergyman who was pre-

sent, he offered up a short prayer, and commanded "Old Scrat" to take his own. This was no sooner done, than the excessive weight was felt no more, and the corpse was carried forward to the place of interment. Similar superstitions prevail in the more northern countries, with but slight variations; and hence sufficiently indicate their common origin.

The Barguest, or Barnghaist, of the Teutons, is also reported to be a frequent visitor in Lancashire. The appearance of this sprite is considered as a certain death-sign, and has obtained the local names of "Trash" and "Skriker." He generally appears to one of the family from which death is about to select his victim, and is more or less visible according to the distance of the event. I have met with persons to whom the barguest has assumed the form of a white cow or a horse; but on most occasions "Trash" is described as having the appearance of a large dog, with very broad feet, shaggy hair, drooping ears, and eyes "as large as saucers." When walking, his feet make a loud splashing noise, like old shoes in a miry road, and hence the name of Trash. The appellation Skriker has reference to the screams uttered by the sprite, which are frequently heard when the animal is invisible. When followed by any individual, he begins to walk backwards, with his eyes fixed full on his pursuer, and vanishes on the slightest momentary inattention. Occasionally he plunges into a pool of water, and at other times he sinks at the feet of the person to whom he appears with a loud splashing noise, as if a heavy stone were thrown into the miry road. Some are reported to have attempted to strike him with any weapon they had at hand, but there was no substance present to receive the blows, although the skriker kept his ground. He is said to frequent the neighbourhood of Burnley at present, and is mostly seen in Godly Lane and about the Parochial Church; but he by no means confines his visits to the churchyard, as similar sprites are said to do in other parts of England and Wales.

I here terminate the second portion of my essay; not because my materials are exhausted, but simply because I must have regard to the pages of your Transactions. On another occasion I hope to lay before you the miscellaneous customs and superstitions of our county, which I apprehend will be found no less curious and interesting than the preceding.

Postscript.

[Throughout the whole of these papers it is to be understood that there exists a corresponding Lancashire opinion, or ceremony, for every instance here adduced, whether expressed or implied. To give illustrations of all these, at length, would require a volume, not an essay. I may also state, that in comparing our Lancashire superstitions with those of other nations my object is two-fold :—firstly, to note their existence here ; and secondly, to indicate the probable source whence they may have been derived. Several general deductions, which have cost me much labour, are, I find, almost identical with conclusions arrived at by Dr. Dasent in the *Introduction* to his *Popular Tales from the Norse ;* but I had not the opportunity of seeing that interesting work until Whitsuntide 1860, more than six months after this paper was wholly written.]

THE CHIMERAS: AN ATTEMPT TO SHOW THAT THE COMPOUND ANIMALS OF THE ASSYRIAN MARBLES ARE REPRESENTATIONS OF THOSE ERECTED BY SOLOMON AND JEROBOAM.

By Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir E. Cust, D.C.L., President.

(Read 1st and 8th December, 1859.)

By the word *chimera* is understood a mere creature of the imagination, composed of such contradictions and absurdities as cannot possibly exist anywhere but in thought.*

In mythology it was a fabulous monster, as old as Homer and Hesiod, which had the composition of lion, goat and dragon, and breathed a fire fierce, menacing and unextinguishable. Bellerophon was commanded to destroy this monster, and with the assistance of the flying horse, Pegasus, he slew the chimera. But the fable was supposed to have had a foundation, which was this—that there was a burning mountain of the name in Lysia, the top of which, being desert, was the abode of lions; the middle, having good pastures, was inhabited by goats; and the marshy ground below abounded with serpents. As Bellerophon was the first who caused this mountain to be inhabited, it was feigned that he slew the chimera.

Dr. Johnson calls chimera "a vain and wild fancy, remote from reality."

Let us now quit the fabulous history of the creature Chimera, to enquire into the "vain and wild fancies, remote from reality," which have arisen as "creatures of the imagination," and notwithstanding their "contradictions and absurdities" have amused the credulity of mankind in all ages. The following are the best known chimeras, personified by various combinations of man, beast, bird and reptile:—

First, we must name Cherub, Cherubim and Seraphim and the Evil Angel.

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* Encyclopædia Britannica, *in loco*.

Second, the Sphinxes, Andro-Sphinxes and Griffins.

Third, the Centaurs, Minotaurs and Hydra.

Fourth, the Griffins, Dragons, Harpies and other heraldic inventions.

Fifth, the Fauns and Satyrs, Sirens, Tritons and Mermaids.

The first notice we receive of a "fancy remote from reality" is derived from the Bible. The Almighty commanded Moses, then setting up the tabernacle in the wilderness, to "make two cherubims of gold, of beaten "work, in the two ends of the mercy-seat. And make one cherub on the "one end, and the other cherub on the other end: even of the mercy-"seat shall ye make the cherubims on the two ends thereof. And the "cherubims shall stretch forth their wings on high, covering the mercy-"seat with their wings, and their faces shall look one to another; toward "the mercy-seat shall the faces of the cherubims be."* Here is express mention of a winged human-faced figure, of a form unknown to man—in fact, that of an angel. The nations who acknowledged one Almighty Creator, and repudiated with scorn a plurality of gods, were nevertheless willing to accept some objects of intermediate homage, whom they imagined to be placed between their humanity and the awful supremacy of an unseen God. The belief in such superior beings we find to be very ancient, and authorised by a variety of passages in scripture. The bodily forms assigned to them are various, none allowed to be actually impossible, but being "remote from reality," they were deemed to be merely allegorical. Still, the co-existence of orders of beings superior in nature to ourselves and never instigated by human passions, had been recognised in the messengers or agents of the mercy or wrath of the Almighty Creator. It has never been called in question by any religion, and has been as extensive as the belief of a God. Nevertheless, such beings constitute, according to the definition, a chimera.

Without pursuing our enquiry into the nature and order of these heavenly creatures, it is sufficient here to notice that the Divine command given to the lawgiver recognises and admits a chimera in the composition of cherubim and seraphim. The actual shape of these celestial creatures is no where given to us: the general opinion has been, that they were spiritual substances, that might at any time assume bodies, and

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* Exodus xxv., 18, 19, 20.

appear in any shape they pleased. The Jewish doctors have always represented them as winged heads, but the scriptures have never described any particular form under which they have been therein related to have appeared to man. After the period of the captivity, the Jewish ideas concerning angels were modified by admixture with the Chaldaic belief on the same subject; but from the first we hear of an impersonated fallen angel, with the mission of making mischief and counteracting good. The Mosaic account described this fallen angel as a serpent, but subsequent representations of Satan were that of the dragon, soon changed to a more elevated character, the star-bright apostate, who drew after him the third part of heaven. After numberless representations of this terrible being, Raphael fixed the proportions of the demon as human, giving him a swarthy red colour, with horns, hoofs, a serpent tail, and wings like those of a bat. The original conception of a superior angel, however, always remained the same, that of a human face with wings; and the prophet Isaiah makes seraphim to have six wings, Ezekiel gave the cherubim four, and St. John described those he saw as having "six wings, full of eyes within."

The several descriptions, therefore, which the scripture gives of cherubim differ from one another. They are first named in the Bible as guarding Paradise, but without any description whatever of their form.* In the later writings they are described in the shapes of men, eagles, oxen, lions, and in a composition of all these together. It would appear that they were more commonly regarded as containing in their composition the parts of an ox; for which this reason has been given—that the word cherub has its root from a word in Arabic, Syriac and Chaldee, signifying "to plough;" from thence the inference seems to have been deduced that as the animal most usually employed in ploughing in all Eastern countries was the ox, therefore the cherub consisted of the ox and man united, and this interpretation has been strengthened by the fact, that the word which the prophet Ezekiel in one place calls the face of a *cherub*, he employs in another to mean the face of an ox. Grotius says, that cherubim were figures like a calf. Bochart thinks they were very nearly of the figure of an ox. The representations of cherubim have always erred in two extremes—some, considering them as very near humanity, have designed them as angelic men; others have imagined them as winged calves or oxen. Josephus

* Calmet.

says that cherubim were extraordinary creatures unknown to mankind, and that in his day no one could tell, or even conjecture, what was their shape.

Leaving thus in uncertainty the original form of cherubim, we next come to their representation at the construction of the temple. King Solomon made "within the oracle two cherubim of olive-wood, each ten "cubits high." These were altogether distinct from the Mosaic figures already mentioned, which were placed upon the ark of the covenant within the vail: they were small and of beaten gold, while Solomon's were of a greatly increased size, and were made of wood overlaid with gold. It is not stated that they were placed there by any Divine command, and therefore they may have been merely added for the greater ornamentation and glory of God's house, but nevertheless they were conspicuously manifest right and left of the holy of holies. It is perfectly understood from Grotius and others, that these two cherubim had the parts and properties of man, lion, ox and eagle, expressly to show the dispensations of Providence—by the lion, the severity of his justice; by the man, his goodness and mercy; by the ox the slowness of punishment (according to the Greek proverb, *βοειν ποτι*); by the eagle's wings, his ubiquity;—thus representing the activity, wisdom, boldness, patience and knowledge of the angel messengers through whom the world is governed.

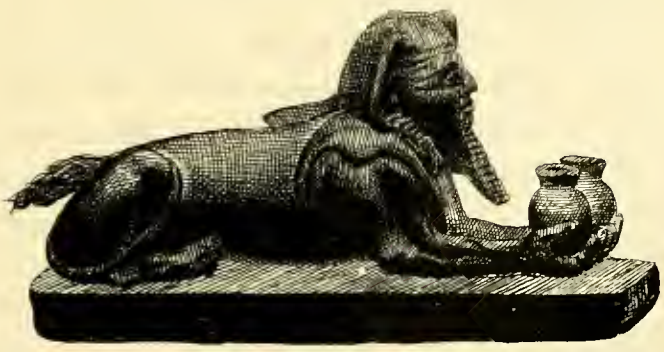
The existence of these figures of a "fancy remote from reality" in Solomon's temple at Jerusalem must have been known to all the Jewish people, and must have been continually present to their sight in the temple worship. The God that "dwelled between the cherubims" was present to the eye of faith behind the vail, which was suspended between and behind these symbolical, chimerical colossi. That in their composition they were not offensive to the Almighty may be devoutly and reverently inferred from the position they were permitted to retain throughout the existence of the first temple, and from the visions of his Almighty presence which it subsequently pleased the Deity to convey to Ezekiel and St. John, under the form of these mystical creatures. But it is no part of our subject to follow the cherubim beyond the temple, into those sublime habitations where they have not been further made known to us; and we therefore proceed to consider other remarkable chimera.

Clement of Alexandria believes that the Egyptians imitated the cherubim of the Hebrews in the creation of their Sphinxes and other hieroglyphical

Front View

Inscription.

Three Quarter View.



Side View.

EGYPTIAN SPHINX IN BASALT.

The Property of The Lady Marian Alford.

Chalcraft & Lawson
16, North John St

animals. It is very remarkable that no mention whatever of the sphinx should occur in scripture history; for when we consider how intimate was the relation between the Israelitish people and the Pharaohs, if sphinxes had at that period abounded in their palaces and temples, to the extent that the remains of them in that land would lead us to suppose, it is singular that neither the records of their history, nor the poetic language of their prophets, should (however incidentally) have alluded to this remarkable chimera. The literati are not agreed as to the antiquity of the sphinx, or as to the country in which it was first known. In the "Asiatic Researches" a claim is set up for its early existence in Judea, where it is called "Feugh." Hesiod says—

> "From Orthos and Chimera's foul embrace
> Is Sphinx derived—a monster, to the race
> Of Cadmus fatal."

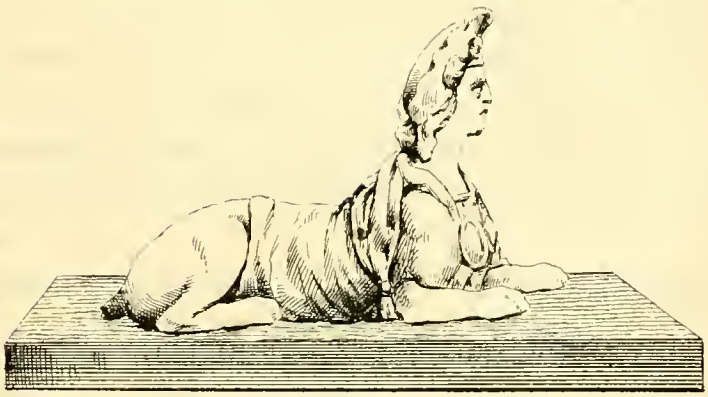
Orthos was a dog belonging to Geryon; and therefore Sphinx originally had the body of a dog, but it had the claws and tail of a lion, with the human head and the wings of a bird. In heathen mythology she is said to have been sent into the neighbourhood of Thebes by Juno, who wished to punish the family of Cadmus. She inhabited Mount Sphincius, and created continual alarms in the country round about, by proposing dark and enigmatical questions to the inhabitants, which if they did not explain, she tore them to pieces. The Thebans in this dilemma consulted their oracle, who told them that the Sphinx would destroy herself as soon as any one could be found to explain her enigmas. Œdipus, allured by the reward held out to him of marrying the sister of the king, undertook the solution of the well-known riddle of Sphinx, which described man, and she, enraged at this explanation, dashed herself against a rock and died. Some, to explain this fable, have supposed that one of the daughters of Cadmus, who had been cheated of a portion of her possessions, infested the country about Thebes and committed continual depredations. It was said that the lion's paws expressed her cruelty, the body of a dog her lasciviousness, her enigmas the snares she laid for travellers and strangers, and her wings the dispatch she used in her expeditions.

The sphinxes are said to have been used by the Egyptians to show the rising of the waters of the Nile, but I know not in what manner. The Egyptian sphinx always represented the portrait of the Pharaoh whose

name in a cartouche was inscribed upon the breast. The form adopted most generally combined the human head with the body of a lion, to show the union of intellect and physical force. They were never rendered female in Egypt; but the sphinx of the Greeks had the head and breast of a woman. With that elegant people the combination was probably made rather to please the eye than to convey any sentiment, excepting that by reason of its mysterious character it came to be rendered the symbol of religion, both with the Greeks and after them with the Romans; for the latter certainly always placed a sphinx in the pronaos or porch of their temples, which must have been, therefore, introduced into their mythology. The Greeks had also, indeed, other combinations, that were merely the creations of a distempered fancy, such as the criosphinx, which had the head of a ram, and the hiemeosphinx with the hawk's head, and others. All these had also wings, which the Egyptian sphinx had not.

Before the pyramids at Memphis stands a huge rock, which has been carved into a colossal sphinx—a marvellous work, far surpassing every other artificial creation, both in size and height. It is cut from a vast mass, and is believed to have been formerly polished. The paws are distinct blocks which have been added, and between them stood a temple. The circumference of the head of this monster is no less than 100 feet, and its height, from the belly to the crown of the head, upwards of 60 feet. It is said to have covered the body of Amadis, who is believed to have been the Pharaoh who expelled the shepherd kings, about the time of Moses, and began the dynasty of those great Theban monarchs, whose temples, statues and obelisks have for more than three thousand years made the valley of the Nile a place of such exceeding archæological interest, and prove that Egypt was, at this time, the most highly cultivated country in the world. Rameses covered the walls with the most spirited sculptures, commemorating his conquests, and erected Karnac and Luxor, as also the Dromos, an avenue 1600 feet long, within a double row of sphinxes, which connected these two temples The date of their erection is believed to have been about the time of the exodus of the Israelites. Nothing is certainly known of Thebes subsequently, but it is believed that it passed into obscurity somewhere about the time of the reign of David, when Lower Egypt comes into the story of the grandson of that great king, Rehoboam, king of Judah, whom Shiskah conquered. An Ethiopian race of sovereigns afterwards arose as kings of the Sais, who, in later times,

Three quarter View



Side View.

GRECIAN SPHINX IN ITALIAN ALABASTER

The Property of Simon Yorke Esq. Eskrigg

struggled with the Babylonians for the dominion of Judea. About this period arose the fable of a chimera called Phœnix, of which bird it was imagined that there was but one at a time in the world, who lived 500 or 600 years, producing its own successor out of fire. But we hear no more of the sphinx during these years, and it is not even once named again as we descend to the reign of the Ptolemies. Layard, indeed, found sphinxes entire at Nimroud, who were crouched and winged, about five feet in height and length, with the human head and horned caps, like the winged bulls of Khorsabad; but being beardless, they were possibly derived from the Greeks.

We now pass to the chimeras of Greece, which was comparatively to Assyria a late settled country, civilized by colonies from different nations. This people attained to a very great excellence in artistic invention, and possessed the most exquisite talent for form in every thing. Their temples, within and without, were models of beauty in architectural decoration, and no nation has ever yet reached to their perfection in statuary; their paintings are believed to have been also excellent, but they have not remained to us. Vases, personal ornaments and objects of taste and luxury which we have recovered are all equally excellent in their way. The Centaurs, Minotaurs, Fauns, Dryads, Satyrs, Naiads, Sirens, Tritons, Harpies, and the Hydra, were chimeras of Greek imagination. The fable of the existence of centaurs, monsters half men, supported upon the four legs of a horse, arises from the Thessalians having early distinguished themselves by their application to horsemanship, in which they excelled all the Greeks. In acquiring this dexterity, they frequently contended with bulls, and thence obtained the name of Centaur. The great strength of men on horseback making these people formidable, especially in the war with the Lapithœ, occasioned them to be regarded as creatures of a monstrous nature, and as this idea favoured the marvellous, it was eagerly adopted by their poets.

The minotaur, half man and half bull,—thus named by Ovid,

"Semibovemque virum—semivirumque bovem"—

was a favourite subject of the poets. The fable represented that the wife of Minos had conceived a passion for a bull, and that the artificer Dædalus so far prostituted his art as to make it instrumental to her gratifying this horrible passion; the fruit of which was the Minotaur, who, to save the honour of her family, was shut up by her husband in the Cretan labyrinth,

until he grew to be a monster, when he was let loose upon the world. Some suppose that the truth of the story was, that the lawgiver's wife had become enamoured of one of the courtiers, named Taurus, and that Dædalus favoured the intrigue, the effect of which was that after a while the queen was delivered of twins, one of which resembled her husband, Minos, and the other her lover, Taurus—whence originated the compounded name of Minotaur.

The Dryads, Fauns and Satyrs were inferior chimeras, supposed to reside in the woods, and are therefore represented as having the legs, feet and ears of goats, with the rest of the body human. They were the representatives of the lowest view of men, and were monsters of lust and followers of Bacchus. Briareus was a chimera of the poet Virgil, and was represented as having fifty heads and a hundred arms, and it is said of him that he was one of the giants that stormed heaven. The Naiads and Sirens were fabulous beings, with the faces of women and tails of fishes. The Tritons were male compounds of the same varieties, but sometimes with the fore feet of a horse, and the body covered with small scales. Mermen and Mermaids are modern fancies of these same combinations, and these, it has been gravely asserted by many historians, have at times been actually met with living. The Harpy was a winged monster, who had the face of a woman, with the ears of a bear, the body of a vulture, with human arms, and feet armed with the talons of a carnivorous bird. These emitted an infectious smell, and spoiled whatever they touched, by their filth and excrements. This chimera is thought to have had its original in Egypt, and to have been an emblematic representation of the locust and other troublesome insects from the shores of the Red Sea, which were called Harop or noxious reptile. Moreover, the word *arpi* signifies, in Arabic, a locust. Hydra was a formidable serpent, with a hundred heads. Sometimes it was represented as a dragon, with a human head with serpents upon it instead of hair. It is said to have been subdued by Hercules. The fable is explained by supposing Lerna to have been a marsh infested with serpents, where there was a chief or leader called Hydra, whom the indomitable hero extirpated.

There remains yet to speak of Dragons, Griffins, Wyverns and Cockatrices. The first was an imaginary creature, represented with four feet, two wings, and a serpent's tail. It is said to have been the emblem of vigilance and safeguard, and was celebrated by the first poets of antiquity as the great conquest of their heroes. It has also been introduced into the

poetry of the moderns in some of the most splendid achievements of knight-errantry. The griffin is merely an heraldic chimera, denoting strength and swiftness, and is said to have been generated between the lion and the eagle, and to participate of both. A wyvern is a compound of a bird and serpent, having two fore feet, and is also exclusively heraldic. The cockatrice was something between a chicken and an adder, and receives more consideration than it otherwise merits, from being named by the prophets in a word that has been so translated. Shakspeare also speaks of the " death-darting eye of cockatrice."

The Andro-Sphinx is a term of modern application, to describe the class of chimeras which have been only found in Assyria and which have been also spoken of as bull-men ; they are however found of two varieties, the one having the body and limbs of an ox, and the other those of a lion. They were first noticed by Sir John Chardin, in his travels through Persia in the middle of the 17th century, and more lately by Ouseley, Morier, Ker Porter and Alexander. " On reaching " the grand platform on which the palace of Persepolis stood, the first " objects that strike the traveller are the lofty sides of an enormous portal, " the interior faces of which are sculptured into the forms of two colossal " cubs. The proportions of these animals are admirable, and although the " manner of their execution is dry, there is a grandeur in their forms that " perfectly accords with the prodigious scale on which all around them is " designed. They have the body and legs of a bull, but an enormous pair " of wings project from the shoulders, high over the back, covering the " breast, whence they might indeed seem to spring, as the whole chest is " carved with the plumage. The huge feathers that compose the wings are " exquisitely cut in the marble. The heads of the animals look direct to " the mountains, and show the faces of men. The expression of the human " countenance is severe, and a long and carefully curled beard adds to the ma- " jesty of their general air. The ears are sometimes human and sometimes " those of a bull, and from them hang often large drop ear-rings, of a very " elegant form. The height, from the top of the crown to the hoof of the " animal, measures 19 feet. These were, at the time of their first discovery, " thought to be the only specimen of the human and bestial form united, " but very soon other examples came to light." An agate seal brought by Niebuhr from Basrah, is engraved with the winged bull and human head. A similar device was discovered on a cornelian brought by Ouseley from

Shiraz, as well as on some Greek medals, gems and bronzes. De Hancarville regarded this symbolic figure as "of prodigious antiquity," and anterior to any Grecian statue. The old travellers were indeed much embarrassed at the first discovery of these sphinxes; and various opinions were entertained of their meaning. M. Argentil de Perron regarded them, *on cogent reasons*, as a representation of Noah; and other learned men have attributed them to Cyrus, as an emblematic chimera or reference to his just sovereignty.

When Layard first discovered at Nimroud, in February and March, 1846, the winged human-headed bulls and lions of the Assyrian palaces, he "contemplated for hours these mysterious emblems, and mused over their "interest and history. What more sublime forms," he exclaims, "could have "ushered a people into the temples of their gods! What more sublime images "could have been borrowed from nature by men who sought, unaided by the "light of revealed religion, to embody their conception of the wisdom, "power and ubiquity of a Supreme Being! They could find no better "type of intellect and knowledge than the head of a man, of strength "than the body of a bull or a lion, of ubiquity than the wings of a bird. "These human-headed chimeras were not idle creations, the offspring of "mere fancy—their meaning is written upon them: they awed and "instructed races which flourished 3000 years ago." They are indeed wonderful creations, and we may also notice the very valuable aid given to history by their discovery, in consequence of the annals of the Assyrian Empire being written on these marbles in the Cuneiform character, and the wonderful skill of Sir J. Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks in decyphering them is entitled to our hearty praise.

Having now passed in review all the various chimeras that are known to our immediate reading (excluding the monstrous combinations of Indian and Chinese mythology), I am desirous of showing that the dates assigned to the late discoveries at Nineveh, considered in connexion with the dispersion and captivity of the race of Israel, give fair and reasonable ground to conclude that there may be derived a common origin to the first and last of the chimeras we have described as Cherubims and Andro-sphinxes. This idea struck the most celebrated Bible commentators, immediately after the discoveries at Persepolis, who saw that the colossal creatures there found appeared to personify the mystic creations of Ezekiel more exactly than anything previously

described; but there was no connexion at that time known between the Israelites and the Persians sufficiently intimate to justify a decided opinion. From more recent discoveries I would attempt to show *that the chimeras of the Assyrian marbles are representations of the calves of Jeroboam, and that these were themselves derived from the colossal figures we have named as having been erected by Solomon at the entrance of the oracle of the temple.*

The Scripture informs us that Pul, king of Assyria, invaded the land of Israel, and put Menahem, the king of the ten tribes, to a grievous and heavy tribute. This Pul is supposed to have been that king of Assyria who repented with all his people at the preaching of the prophet Jonah, and is thought to have been the father of Sardanapulus, otherwise called Sardan-pul. After the death of this mighty sovereign, there arose two considerable kingdoms out of his vast dominions—one of which came under the rule of Arbaces, one of his generals in Media, and the other under Belesir, another of his generals at Babylon. The former is the same as Tiglath-Pileser—that is, Lord of the Tiglath or Tigris—who fixed his royal seat at Nineveh. The other is the same with Nabonasar—the Baladan of Scripture (from which monarch dates the celebrated era of Nabonaser, that is, B.C. 747)—and he fixed his residence at Babylon. It was at this time that we read of Ahaz, king of Judah, who being closely pressed by the kings of Israel and Syria, applied in his distress for the assistance of the Assyrian monarch. Tiglath-Pileser gladly availed himself of the opportunity of extending his frontier westward; and having taken Damascus and slain the king of Syria, he turned his arms on Pekah, king of Israel, whom having also conquered, he carried off the trans-Jordanic tribes of Israel into captivity. Soon after this, Shalmaneser, the son and successor of Tiglath-Pileser, beseiged Hoshea, who had become king of Israel by the murder of his predecessor, in Samaria, and after a siege of two years, took the capital, and transported the king and all the remaining tribes into captivity in Media. A curious record of this transaction has been "graven with an iron pen, and lead in the rock for ever." Upon the perpendicular surface of a smooth mountain, on the road leading to Hamadan, in Persia, there still remains a remarkable piece of sculpture, representing a king in his royal dress, and distinguished by his colossal stature, attended by his generals, having ten captives before him, on the neck of one of whom he places his foot. The captives have that peculiar cast of physiognomy

by which the Jews have ever been distinguished, and one of them bears a mitre, which was possibly the emblem of a priesthood; though it will be remembered that the tribe of Levi did not form one of the captive ten, and during the far greater part of the schism adhered to the kingdom of Judah. On the same mountain are to be seen two tablets, inscribed with the arrow-headed writing of Persepolis, which have not yet been decyphered.

Senacherib, called Sargon in Scripture, succeeded Shalmaneser. This sovereign is now known to have builded the palace at Khorsabad, which was the earliest public building discovered among the Assyrian ruins by M. Botta, before Layard went to Nimroud. In the ruins have been found inscribed on stones, in the cuneiform character, the most detailed and ample annals of the conquests of Sargon and his father. Unfortunately, one inscription, containing the account of the campaign against Samaria has been so injured by the fire which destroyed this palace, that it cannot be made out, but in others the sovereigns are styled "conquerors of Samaria and of the "circuit of the house of Omri." This title is remarkably appropriate to the known history of Israel, for Omri is the king who is named as "he who "brought the hill of Samaria from Shamar"—and thus conferred the name. On another monument mention is made of Jehu the son of Omri, and Hazael king of Syria, and on a stone, happily preserved and sent to Paris, it is recorded that 27,280 Israelites were carried into captivity from Samaria and the several districts and provincial towns dependent on that city. Esarhaddon succeeded Senacherib, and constructed the south-west palace at Nimroud. He is thought to have been the father of Nabuchodonosor, the Assyrian king of Judith's history.

The names of all the several Kings of Assyria who builded the palaces of which the ruins have been recently discovered by Botta and Layard have been recorded in the cuneiform character on the stone sculptures at Khorsabad, Nimroud and Kouyunjik, and having been deciphered by Rawlinson and Hincks, a complete genealogy of these Kings, for the space of 300 years, has been determined on. The question as to the great space allotted to the city of Nineveh by Jonah, and during the time of its greatest prosperity, may not be considered quite set at rest; but it is thought that all these palaces, of which the ruins have been lately discovered, formed the vast group of buildings popularly known as the capital of Assyria. It is not, however, considered that all these spacious edifices were existing at the same time: on the contrary, as the palace of

one King was destroyed or fell into decay, another was raised by the succeeding monarch. But it was a common custom among the ancients to erect their new buildings out of the ruins of former ones and to transport all works of art or celebrity from the old building to the new.

Thus the N. W. palace at Nimroud had been originally founded by one of the earlier Kings, and had been deserted and suffered to fall into ruin. Sargon rebuilt this palace as well as the one at Khorsabad, and in both of these structures were first found the Andro-sphinxes. In the annals over the gates it is written "he made a palace of his dwelling, and placed "pillars at the gates," but we find no evidence that the colossal chimeras had been constructed prior to the time of the monarch who conquered the ten tribes; we will, however, shew that by the language of prophecy, it would seem that the "calves of Beth-haven" were to be given as a present to the conqueror; and we will proceed to enquire what is known of those chimeras that were certainly set up for worship by king Jeroboam, on the confines of his kingdom of Israel.

It is (as is well known) recorded of this king of Israel, that he had reason to apprehend his subjects might return to the allegiance of the house of David, if they were permitted to go up thrice every year to worship at Jerusalem, and that addressing himself to the personal convenience of the votaries resident at a considerable distance from that city, as well as to secure the dominion he had usurped, he set up two images, one at Dan and one at Bethel, where he also established a chapter of spurious priests, who offered their accustomed sacrifices to the God of Israel. These images were called *calves* in derision; but it is difficult to conceive how a calf or any other animal could of itself, in the condition of religious advancement that the Israelites had at this time attained, have been deemed a symbol of the deity, and have been worshipped as God. It is the opinion of many learned men that the golden chimeras called calves which Jeroboam made were copies of the cherubim of Solomon's temple. They were certainly allied to them in form and import, if not actually imitations.

Several Rabbis and the generality of interpreters, ancient and modern, agree in the supposition that the colossal Cherubims, which upheld the porch of the Holy of Holies, were of human form, with the addition of wings, and made in some sort to resemble flying oxen. Faber says that

"there were in the temple at Jerusalem two compound figures of the eagle, "man, lion and bull, in which the latter form most chiefly prevailed." The porch of the oracle of the Temple appears to have resembled in form the doorways of the chamber of the Assyrian palaces; in these latter the bull-men were on the side of the wall, and their wings like those of the Cherubim. The space or room called the oracle was a cube of about 35 feet. The colossi, made of wood and placed therein, stood 17 feet high. The Assyrian bulls are from 12 to 15 feet high. Nothing of course has been ascertained of the form or magnitude of the calves of Jeroboam, but it is said distinctly that the king erected, at two different spots in his dominions, two golden calves, in exact imitation of the cherubic emblems in the sanctuary, and that he placed them in open view, so that all might through them worship the God of Jacob, without repairing to the temple at Jerusalem.

From hence we proceed to give a probable account of Jeroboam's idolatry in setting up two figures resembling those at Jerusalem, and now, as we believe, exactly pourtrayed in the Chimeras or Andro-Sphynxes of Nimroud in our own British Museum. It must appear to every reflecting mind, in reading of the great sin of Jeroboam, "who made Israel to sin," that it would have been too stupid in the Israelitish people if they who, not above thirty years previously, had witnessed the dedication of Solomon's temple with great signs and wonders, should have so readily fallen into the old senseless idolatry "of a calf that eateth hay." And some misconception of the symbol employed by Jeroboam has, perhaps, arisen from connecting it with the golden calf set up by Aaron in the wilderness, which there is every reason to believe was the representation of the god Apis, whom, perhaps, many of the Children of Israel at that period might have already worshipped in Egypt. How could Jeroboam think of making those who had habitually gone up to Jerusalem all their lives stop and worship these dumb idols as those "who had brought them "out of Egypt?" It relieves our conceptions, however, very much if we consider these "calves" as the very representation and copy of the cherubim which stood on either side of the oracle of God. For thus they were the same figures that would always have met their gaze in the Temple,—as they could not have ever been admitted "within the vail"—so that Jeroboam, with much more worldly wisdom than he has ever received the credit of, desired to establish a continuance of the worship of the true God, and

adopted for that purpose the same symbols of the Divine presence to which the people had been accustomed to look in their worship at Jerusalem. It ceases, then, to be any wonder that they so generally fell in with him in the alterations he required as to the place of their accustomed sacrifices, especially if we attend to the consideration of the many plausible things he might allege on this head. He might have shewn his people that the ancient and usual practice of the holy patriarchs, their forefathers, was to build altars, and to worship God wherever they came to make any stay. Abraham had thus sacrificed at Bethel—nay, the ark itself was for many years at Shiloh before David removed it to Jerusalem, and he and his people had sacrificed there, and their sacrifices had been accepted by God. He could urge that the whole land, therefore, was alike holy, and that it was mere superstition to imagine that the presence of the Almighty was limited to one place more than another. Moreover, he might have alleged that if Jerusalem had been expressly set apart by Divine appointment, "when the glory of the Lord filled the sanctuary," yet that Solomon had so defiled the land by his idolatries that any other place might be equally pure and proper for solemn worship. It has never indeed been supposed by commentators that the sin of Jeroboam was the worship of another God than Jehovah, but rather the bold impiety of setting up a scheme of his own, without any divine appointment, and for reasons of a purely secular or political character.

We may from these considerations conclude that the "calves" set up by Jeroboam were the same Andro-Sphinxes that Solomon had erected, if not by command, at all events by permission, in the temple of Jerusalem. The worship thus set up by Jeroboam continued to be the sin of Israel till the destruction of that separate kingdom by the Assyrians, when the people were carried away captive to Media and Nineveh. What then became of the "calves" in the deserted land? The prophet Hosea had distinctly predicted that "the calves of Beth-aven should be carried unto "Assyria for a present for the king," and we know that it was the custom of eastern nations to carry away as trophies the gods of conquered countries. Doubtless, therefore, they were conveyed to Khorsabad or Nineveh, where the conqueror resided, and where he was at the very time building his mighty palaces: what, then, so illustrative of the pompous inscriptions that he there set up to record his victories, as these wondrous colossi

that he had brought away with him as trophies, and now set up in the porches of his palace! Within a very few years of the removal of the calves, the mighty Temple of Jerusalem itself was destroyed, and it is remarked of the Assyrian halls where the winged bulls were, that in many of the decorations about the doors of the chambers there were carved the same patterns of palm leaves and open flowers, the pomegranates and lilies, that had adorned the building of Solomon. This fact very much corroborates the notion that Sargon drew from the Holy Land the designs for the adornment of his new palace, and thus the human headed bulls were again allied at Nineveh with the decorations with which they had been surrounded in their original position at Jerusalem, from whence, however, we do not hear that the cherubim were removed, but being of wood they were probably burned in the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar.

Although it is no part of my object to allude to the mystic language of prophecy, further than by the slightest possible allusion to it in corroboration of my arguments, yet it cannot fail to strike every one that there is something in common between the Andro-Sphinx and the creatures mentioned by Ezekiel and St. John. That when once the fashion of the cherubim of the Temple had passed into Assyria and Persia, through the similitude of these chimeras, they should be re-adapted into the imagery of the prophetic vision may not appear extraordinary, when we observe how very generally the taste for them had spread among these mighty oriental architects. Thirteen pairs of these gigantic sculptures, and several fragments of others, have been discovered at Nimroud, besides those found by Botta at Khorsabad, and by Chardin and others at Persepolis. It must be remembered that kings and conquerors have frequently borrowed from their neighbours matters of design and decoration, as confirmed from the Bible account of Ahaz, king of Judah, who when he went to meet Tiglath Pileser, at Damascus, "saw an altar" which he copied, "and set up the fashion of the altar at Jerusalem." But to the minds of the conquerors of Judah and Israel nothing was conveyed of a religious character by the imitation of the colossal chimeras. They were simply decorative trophies recording their glories. In the same manner they seem to have introduced into their palaces the Sphinx which had been found at Nimroud, but as this may have been derived to them from Greece, it opens a question whether Greek workmen may not have been employed to work the

Assyrian Andro-sphinxes, for the bodies of the bulls and lions found there are exquisite in their proportions, and the beauty of the details in the accompaniments and in the wings is elaborated to the utmost. The heads, also, are exceedingly expressive and fine, and though the muscular expression is coarsely marked, the limbs are not deficient in indications of anatomical knowledge.

The doubts that had existed amongst all Bible commentators as to the form of the cherubim and the mystical prophetical representations of the Deity, may be almost set at rest, by the discovery of the Andro-Sphinx, as found at Nimroud and Persepolis. A combination of man, lion, ox and eagle has now been pourtrayed with satisfactory clearness from the chimeras of the Assyrian people who conquered and led captive the Jews. We now see how they could stand upon the earth, and be made to support the vaults of the sanctuary, or attain to the proportions and magnitude assigned to them. The "calf" set up by Jeroboam is also rendered more intelligible if we believe that it was only an imitation of cherubim, and in the wisdom of God we are now enlightened in all these matters by the remains that have been so wonderfully preserved for our own observation and instruction.

The time of the discovery of the sculptures at Nimroud has been singularly opportune. Had they been earlier exposed to observation, the inhabitants of the land would probably have destroyed them. Had they been found later there might have been insurmountable obstacles to their removal. Now we have them safe in the museums of Europe, where they can be seen and valued. They supply the most convincing evidence of the magnificence and power that made Nineveh the wonder of the ancient world and her fall the theme of the prophets. They are most useful in elucidating, in a remarkable degree, many dark things in Scripture history and in corroborating its truth in its ordinary details. The name of Senacherib as the conqueror of Israel is now found recorded in the cuneiform character on these masses of stone, and the accounts of his wars in Israel and Judah. The chimeras at Khorsabad, though much injured by the fire that had destroyed the palace in which they were found, are covered with inscriptions on the lower portions of the animal figure, so that some of the most precious discoveries that the monuments of the ancient world could supply will doubtless soon reward the labour of the learned antiquary.

On the four bull-men brought from the palace of Kouyunjik were two inscriptions that have been now deciphered by Hincks and Rawlinson. They contain the annals of six years of the reign of Senacherib: they describe the conquest by that mighty king of Hezekiah king of Judah, and name to a shilling the amount of the tribute in gold which it is stated in the book of Kings had been raised upon that sovereign; and a slab in the museum of the East India Company in like manner records the annals of king Nebuchadnezzar, and breaks off for a space, where it is stated he was afflicted with a mental disease that had interrupted his course of glory. In the Assyrian marbles there is a representation of the raising into its place of one of these mighty chimeras. The king is seated on his throne, while thousands of slaves are working at the machinery; and in another palace there are two majestic human-headed bulls, fourteen feet long, which were left unfinished, as if the murder of Senacherib by his sons "as he worshipped" had put a sudden stop to his great undertaking.

It must be confessed that there is always something inexpressibly interesting in thus fitting together, as it were, the record of past times, by the light of contemporaneous history, and it is doubly gratifying when these labours can be brought to explain and adorn Scripture history. Since, after all the pleasures of learned study, it is the Bible which illustrates all other books, and her enlightenment accompanies us to the utmost goal of our existence with the satisfactory conviction that its sublime truth has been given to man to smoothe his departure to that world where all chimeras and mysteries shall have an end.

Note.—The illustrations in Plate II consist of copies, from various points of view, of a sphinx in black basalt, 2¼ inches long, the property of the Right Honourable the Lady Marian Alford. It is almost as perfect as when it left the sculptor's hands, probably 3300 years ago, and is believed to be quite unique. In each of the fore feet is a wine-cup; the human face is the portrait of *Mer-en-ra*, a king of the sixth dynasty, as set forth in a minute cartouche between the fore legs and in a larger cartouche at the bottom of the plinth, the hieroglyphics of which read as follows:

"King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
"Mer-en-ra,
"Who loves the God
"Lord of the Temple."

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC MUSEUMS FOR HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

By C. Roach Smith, Hon. Mem.

(Read 19th January, 1860.)

I feel much pleasure in availing myself this evening of the privilege conferred upon me by the Historic Society, in addressing, personally, my fellow-members ; and particularly so, as the subject which I have ventured to introduce into this evening's proceedings is one which, as members of a Historic Society, we must all consider worthy every attention at all times and seasons. At the present moment, its discussion appears to me to be especially called for and opportune, when the people of the town of Liverpool are about to assert their claims to intellectual as well as to mercantile eminence, by the establishment of a public museum ; because caution and judgment at an early stage, in the process of distribution and arrangement, may obviate the necessity of making those troublesome and expensive alterations which are often, from want of foresight, forced upon the directors of such institutions.

Allow me to congratulate you and the citizens of Liverpool on so laudable a measure being resolved upon by the Corporation, and, as I understand, with so much liberality. In a country where public museums and public libraries are rare, it is honourable to be thus foremost in extending the means of education ; admitting, what would seem in other places to be disputed, that business and commerce are not incompatible with science and literature. It seems only as yesterday, in fact it was only a few years since, that the metropolis of Great Britain, as represented by the citizens of London, rejected with scorn and indignation the efforts of Mr. Ewart, Colonel Sykes and others, to give them a museum and public library. In a large meeting in the Mansion House, the Lord Mayor in the chair, they scouted with derision and insult the advice and services of those who suggested what the people of Liverpool are now so anxious to obtain ; and upon the unworthy and selfish pretence that the trifling tax required could not be conveniently paid, stamped, in the open daylight and unblushingly, their

own ignorance, and publicly endorsed their desire to remain as they were. Thus the ancient city of London, the antiquity of which its citizens find it convenient on certain occasions to boast of, remains without a public library, and without a public museum for those monuments which would justify its claims to an ancient origin and illustrate its early history. The people of Liverpool are doing spontaneously what the citizens of London would not be persuaded to do; and with the advantage of a Society established for purposes analogous to, if not identical with, those which the Corporation must have in view in founding such an institution, there is every reason to expect that the undertaking will be conducted in an enlightened and liberal spirit, and be guided by experienced counsel, such as so many of the members of the Historic Society are eminently qualified to give.

I look upon public museums as schools for supplying, on a broad and comprehensive scale, those means for the completion of education which are not afforded in the ordinary course of scholastic training. They should be academies both for youth and for man, in which they may, without cost and labour, obtain easy reference to collections of works of art and of nature, which are indispensible to the successful prosecution of the various arts and sciences, such as their tastes or their necessities may incline them to study. If a youth be born to fortune, he is morally bound, if he would not be a lounger in society, and pass out of the world with but few more ideas than when he entered it, to follow some industrial employment, some art or some science. If his destiny be physical labour and, possibly, mental toil combined, he should not be debarred, by negligence or indifference in the wealthier classes, from cultivating intellectual pursuits, and from readily securing that assistance in the study of any branch of learning or science to which his organization, his tastes or his aspirations may direct him. Society expects much of its members; but it often expects unreasonably. To say nothing of absolute criminals, how many do we find in all ranks and every where, profligate of money and of time, addicted to frivolous and vicious amusements, without character for anything good, and mere drones in the industrial hive! And yet perhaps many of these were meant by nature for something better: some, probably, were endowed with capabilities which, had they been fostered and directed in earlier life, might have

> "Raised them from a coachman's fate
> To govern men and guide the state;"

or at least, might have helped them to better positions in society, in which

they could have contributed something to the general store of human knowledge, and to their own permanent happiness. It is particularly in great and flourishing communities, in prosperous and wealthy cities, that the incentives to mental culture can be best displayed, and are most needed: there the rulers hold in their hands the intellectual destinies of the rising and future generations; they should therefore feel that popular education is one of their most sacred duties, a duty which their wealth and their power make them responsible for discharging actively and generously.

When I say that every branch of human knowledge should be represented in a great public museum, the degrees in which they are to be represented will have to be considered. Man, the lord of creation, stands first:

"Heaven's hallowed image stamp'd upon his face."

Man, endowed with reason, to whom all earthly things are subject, but who is wholly dependent upon education for being raised much above the higher classes of some other animals; who without education is a savage and a cannibal; but trained, and placed under conditions favourable to the development and full play of reason, capable of moral and physical achievements to which, it would seem, it is difficult to set limits. From the ground upon which I now stand, let us throw but a glance around: we need not look to the pyramids, and to what were the other wonders of the ancient world; let us look upon your own town, its buildings, its institutions; and chiefly its spacious docks and shipping, through which you subjugate the distant ocean, and bring the produce of remote countries, as from your own fields, into your garners and storehouses. Contemplate Liverpool—what it *was* and what it *is;* and we need not go further to illustrate the power of man.

As examples and models of museums, in our own country, which hold the highest position for their historical monuments, we must cite those of Caerleon (in South Wales), York and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The first two are devoted to inscriptions and other monuments discovered in and around those ancient towns; the last takes a wider range, and embraces the long line of the Roman Wall, and the great military stations which flanked it on either side. Caerleon (*Isca Silurum*), the Itinerary of Antoninus informs us, was the permanent station of the second legion. The monuments, as may be supposed, bear a direct reference to the soldiers and officers of

this legion, and their relatives. A similar historical and monumental connection exists between the sixth legion and York. On the other hand, the inscriptions deposited in the museum of Newcastle-upon-Tyne contain records of all the legions serving in Britain; and moreover, of the numerous auxiliary troops so frequently summoned from distant parts to defend the frontiers from the incursions of the Caledonians and the Picts, and to build and repair that masterpiece of engineering skill, the great Roman Wall, its chain of walled camps and watch towers, its military way and other subsidiary works. But for these lettered stones, which in the middle ages and in modern times often did service as building material, we should have been quite ignorant of the full amount of the Roman forces in Britain and of what was really their composition, for historians supply but little of detail in their reference to events in Britain. Nevertheless, what statements have come down to us are fully confirmed by this monumental evidence and frequently amplified in a manner as satisfactory as unexpected. Unaided by these revelations, which the tutored eye and good feeling of a few studious persons have recognised, saved from utter destruction and made public property under safe guardianship, the historians of England have been compelled to dismiss in a few pages the momentous events of four centuries; and thus the annals of this long period remain almost excluded from popular education. By these inscriptions we may not only learn how the military occupation of Britain was maintained, but also the names of the various bodies of troops drafted from all parts of the empire, their commanders and the works they were employed upon in peace as well as in war. In them we also find sources of other curious and valuable information. They contain an epitome of the popular mythology of Britain, which we should seek for elsewhere in vain. Besides the divinities of the Pantheon, with which the classical scholar is acquainted, we read the names of a multitude of unknown gods and goddesses, whose appellations are almost always derived from localities, often from the places in or near which the dedications are found; but not unfrequently from far distant countries, in consequence of vows, implied or expressed, made by the adventurous travellers whom war or commerce had induced to seek remote and often inhospitable shores. The ancients were not content with the supervision of the gods of Olympus; they sought their special interference for towns, villages, districts and fields, by surnaming them from the places themselves, precisely as in after times the Virgin and Saints were and still are invoked.

In numerous instances the divinity was addressed as the god or goddess of such and such a place; and in these cases we often recover the ancient names of places.* The continental museums have of late years gathered together a considerable number of this interesting class of monuments.

In France most of the public museums, and there it is rarely found that any town is without one, are exclusively appropriated to historical collections. The small towns enable the visitor to read in their monuments something at least of their condition in past ages. The larger towns and the cities take a wider range. Lyons may be briefly mentioned as one of many. There the spacious arcades of the public Exchange are entirely filled with the ancient monuments discovered in the city and its surrounding districts; and the merchants who daily assemble there are surrounded by memorials of those who exercised their respective callings upon the same spot fifteen centuries since. There are preserved inscriptions recording the wine-merchants of the Roman city, the glass-makers, the saga or cloth-makers, the corn-dealers, the plasterers, the masons and other trades and professions; the names of streets and public buildings, magistrates and other civic functionaries; and the ancient bronze tablets, containing a copy of the speech made in the Senate at Rome by the Emperor Claudius, proposing that the men of Lugdunum (Lyons) should be admitted to the rights of Roman citizenship. Opening into these arcades are rooms filled with minor works of art of the most precious kinds; the whole being a vast assemblage of monuments of the former opulence and trade of the city, and of the arts, the religion, the habits and customs of the inhabitants; the whole of which might easily have been destroyed or lost, had Lyons been as indifferent to her ancient history as London has been; and had her merchants and rulers wholly concentrated their thoughts upon the time present, and disabled their minds from the power of comprehending and estimating ought beyond the sphere of their mere worldly vocations.

But nearly all the towns of France have museums of local antiquities: the larger, such as Toulouse, Marseilles, &c., on a scale so grand that they can only be appreciated by being seen. The smaller towns all equally possess museums, devoted to remains of antiquity found in and about them. They differ from our English museums in their pure historical character.

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* Horsley's "Britannica Romana;" "Antiquities of Caerleon," by J. E. Lee; "Eburacum," by Rev. C. Wellbeloved; Hodson's "Northumberland;" "The Roman Wall," by Rev. Dr. J. C. Bruce; "Collectanea Antiqua;" &c.

They are not mere assemblages of stuffed birds and beasts, South Sea Island and Chinese curiosities, and other heterogeneous matters which make up the old-fashioned and approved English museum. In its proper place, the French honour Natural History as much as we do. But they admit, as all who reflect must admit, that the proper and the chief study of mankind is man, as he is and as he was, in all his relationships with his fellow-men, in the present and in past ages, for it is impossible to dissociate them if we would study properly. The blessings and advantages which knowledge and industry have secured for us can only be estimated by an acquaintance with the past, as the traveller can only tell how far he has progressed by calculating from the starting-point. The advantages we possess in worldly comforts, the institutions under which we live and flourish, the liberty we enjoy and the force of mind we possess to maintain it, are only in a small degree due to our own efforts: they are an inheritance bequeathed by our ancestors and predecessors, who through long ages of toil and sacrifice have slowly accumulated knowledge and power, to which we have added; but without which our times might have been like those dismal primeval days,

"When wild in woods the mighty savage ran."

It being conceded, as I think it must be, that the province of History should occupy the chief place in every public museum, its divisions are easily indicated. I have ever advocated that every museum should exhibit the antiquities of the neighbourhood, because they often bear the influence of local circumstances; and dissociated from the place which gives them a marked character and meaning, they are often shorn of their highest interest. Here is an instance in illustration:—At Cambridge is an altar, reading, as it seemed, *Apollini Aponio*. Various interpretations were made of this surname of Apollo, but none were satisfactory. I suspected that a solution might be found in the ancient name of the place where the altar was discovered. Luckily, (for it is not always the case, after a long separation, that the origin of antiquities can be ascertained,) there was a record of its having been obtained, many years since, from the neighbourhood of Carlisle. Finding, from an ancient list* of Roman towns and places in Britain, a town or military station called *Maponi*, I immediately inferred from analogy that the word upon the altar was *Maponio*; and so, upon a

* Anonymi Ravennatis Britannica Chorographia.

close examination, it proves to be. The signification is palpable, and we are authorised in assigning the name *Maponi* to the locality where the altar was found, from which the inhabitants had surnamed the deity. But many equally striking exemplifications can be adduced for other classes of antiquities. Where should we, for instance, look for specimens of the works of great artists more naturally than in the places where they lived and wrought them? Take Wedgewood, for example: where should we seek, if not at Liverpool, for a complete collection of his elegant and beautiful pottery?

In the next grade should stand the general antiquities of the country; and, extending the circle, those of the neighbouring countries from which our ancestors emigrated, and whose relationship is reflected in the objects themselves. Here our Saxon remains, which reveal in so remarkable a manner the true condition of the successors of the Romans in Britain, plead an ancestral claim to our regard. Who can survey the arms, the ornaments, the rich jewelry, the glass drinking-cups and their other funereal accompaniments, without feeling that he has something to unlearn and much to learn of the peoples who populated Roman Britain, from whom we so largely draw our existence, and derive so much of our customs, laws, institutions and national character? Followed by the Norman and Mediæval series the eye will read much of the spirit of the various ages they represent, and will perceive, in their juxta-position with the Roman, how much they were all influenced by the types of that section.

As we sail up the stream of time, we approach the shores of the nations of classical antiquity; the Romans and Greeks, whose poets, orators, philosophers and historians supply, and ever will supply, so long as depth of thought, elegance of language, genius and morality are prized, the rich pabulum of classical education; whose artistic works are studied as the only models of perfection by our painters and sculptors, if indeed they would arrive at excellence in their profession. Your own eminent Gibson, were he here, would acknowledge that his taste and genius spring wholly from the high and pure ancient school in which he studied. The architect, whatever style he may subsequently adopt or favour, must found the basis of his education upon the refined taste of the ancients: the builder and mason do not study the materials used by the ancients, and their bricks and mortars are consequently void of tenacity and durability. Where can models of statues, of temples, of theatres, of bridges, and such like, be studied by those young

artists who cannot afford to travel, unless it be in public museums? The French Government, with provident care, furnishes the chief public museums of the provinces with casts from the finest statues and architectural models; and the result has been not only that the arts and artists have been encouraged to good effect, but that the public taste has been improved and elevated, as will be apparent to every one who visits the towns and cities which make science and literature part of their municipal constitution.

When we survey the monuments of the land of the pyramids, and those of Babylon and Nineveh, we are, as it were, in another world, filled with marvellous works, the great historical importance of which has only in modern times, and mostly at the present day, been fully revealed by the successful researches of men, whose published labours are hailed throughout the world as triumphs of energy, self-sacrifice and sound learning. It surely is only right that in all countries where the Bible is read and taught, the public museums should aid the teachers by giving access to monuments which illustrate its historical portions. There is no book which takes firmer hold of the youthful fancy, or more strongly excites the curiosity and imagination; and therefore the mind is open and prepared to receive that instruction which would elucidate much that is obscure and mysterious, and by the simple exposition of ocular and tangible objects set the seal of verification upon doubted passages or statements, and make assurance doubly sure.

I have referred to some of the more bulky monuments of antiquity, such as demand space even when assisted by reduced models. Sculpture, architecture, inscriptions, the monuments of Egyptian and Assyrian art, and the various classes of minor antiquities, such as the works of the potter, the jeweller and the war-smith, require a wide extent to be properly exhibited, and a reserve of room is most necessary for new acquisitions. The object of the directors of a public museum should be, not hastily to fill the apartments, but to arrange and classify in a correct and judicious manner; because the public will ever appreciate a liberal and enlightened spirit, and valuable donations will be constantly filling the vacancies.

I now direct attention to a class of monuments of a different kind, which does not require but a very limited space, although it will necessarily claim other indulgences and privileges. From its costly character, only public museums supported by liberal funds can do full justice to its peculiar

requirements. It is the cabinet of ancient coins. In these small objects we fortunately possess a rich and inexhaustible mine of the most valuable historical materials. They may be indeed considered as histories in themselves; as histories which have come down to us fresh from the hands of the writers, free from errors, interpolations and those injuries of time and barbarism which have so much destroyed or defaced the larger monuments of antiquity. The study of them has accordingly engaged the entire lives of scholars in most countries since history and literature have been appreciated; ponderous volumes prove the fertility of this field of research; novel discoveries and investigations yearly feed the press; and three periodicals, the "Numismatic Chronicle," the "Revue Numismatique," and the "Revue Numismatique Belge," show that the science of numismatics, while it is acquiring popularity, is daily developing new discoveries, of more or less historical importance. I shall not here attempt to discuss the merits of ancient coins, when individual specimens may be selected by thousands, which contain themes for essays; they not only illustrate written history, but they frequently are the only records of events of great moment, of which no information is furnished elsewhere. Gibbon, before he commenced his great historical work, included in his studies that of ancient coins; and the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" is evidence of the assistance which the Roman series afforded the illustrious historian. If all other monuments of the Greeks and Romans had perished, coins would have perpetuated their artistic skill and genius, their conquests, their alliances, their public works, their mythology and much of their general history. Considered merely as works of art and fancy, how much of fine poetic imagery is displayed in the personifications with which they abound! What models they afford to the painter, the sculptor, and the architect! And they are the more precious as supplying frequently the only representations of public edifices and of historical personages which time has spared. In the words of Pope—

> "Ambition sighed: she found it vain to trust
> The faithless column and the mouldering bust;
> Huge moles whose shadows stretched from shore to shore,
> Their ruins perished, and their place no more!
> Convinced, she now contracts her vast design,
> And all her triumphs shrink into *a coin*.
> A narrow orb each crowded conquest keeps;
> Beneath her palm see sad Judea weeps.
> Now scantier limits the vast arch confine,
> And scarce are seen the prostrate Nile and Rhine;

A small Euphrates through the piece is rolled ;
And little eagles wave their wings in gold.
The medal, faithful to its charge of fame,
Through climes and ages bears each form and name ;
In one short view, subjected to the eye,
Gods, emperors, heroes, sages, beauties, lie."

The Pembroke and the Devonshire cabinets of coins gave reputation and honour to two noble families ; but like most other large private collections, they have been dispersed by the auctioneer and for purposes of reference are lost to the public. Public museums, such as the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, and the British Museum, are the only establishments which can be relied upon by the student to assist his numismatic inquiries ; but these are far apart, and no place could be better selected than Liverpool for a collection of ancient coins, lying, as it does, midway between the two. The constant dispersion of private collections renders their attainment comparatively easy ; but, as previously observed, they are often of high price, and require great experience in selecting.*

In claiming for the works of man the first place and the widest space in our public museums, we base our claims upon their absolute necessity for educational purposes in the highest branch of human knowledge ; upon the comparative difficulty with which they are obtained ; and upon their tendency to be injured by time and accidents. Unlike most of the objects in natural history, they are costly, and when destroyed cannot be replaced. In nature the process of regeneration is always going on : her creations are boundless and endless, and comparatively accessible. They can often be best understood in their peculiar habitats, and the exertion required in there studying them is but a healthy and pleasurable excitement. It is not so with the works of ancient art : they know no second youth, no renovation, they can only be individually preserved ; and if destroyed, like the sibyl's leaves, may be regretted, but cannot be recovered.

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* The historical importance of a collection of coins, when formed with judgment, is evidenced by Admiral Smyth's "Descriptive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Large "Brass Coins," and by Mr. Hobler's recently published catalogue of his cabinet, entitled "Records of Roman History," in 2 vols. 4to. Mr. Hobler, anxious that his collection should be preserved in its integrity for reference, offered it to the City of London, and to several of the chief towns, but in vain, and it was consequently dispersed by the auctioneer's hammer. The printed volumes show how valuable it would have been in a public museum, and how difficult it would now be to gather together so many rare specimens. The work is also a proof of the exhaustless information that is to be obtained from the study of ancient coins. This remark applies with equal force to Admiral Smyth's volume.

ON THE FLORA OF PRESTON AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Part II.*

By Mr. Charles Joseph Ashfield.

Read 16th February, 1860.

Pinguicula vulgaris, Linn.—On the north side of Beacon Fell, by the footpath to Bailey Hey; plentiful on Nateby Moss, Mr. Jas. Pearson of Rochdale.

Lemna polyrhiza, Linn.—Near Euxton, Mr. Henry Scott of Chorley.

Fedia olitoria, Vahl.—In many dry fields near Rufford, in the direction of Martin Mere; upon a bank by the road side at Stainall.

——— *dentata*, Vahl.—Abundantly in a corn field on the south side of Rufford Park, and also in a corn field between Cockerham and Glasson Dock. Corn fields near Poulton Railway Station.

Crocus vernus, Willd.—At Many Brooks, Moon's Mill.

Iris fœtidissima, Linn.—In Whinny Lane, in Euxton.

Scirpus sylvaticus, Linn.—In many places by the Salwick brook, near Cottam Mill, and from thence towards Lea.

Eleocharis pauciflora, Link.—Moors in Heath Charnock, Mr. H. Scott.

Eriophorum vaginatum, Linn.—Farington Moss.

Melica uniflora, Linn.—Ravine above Greenhalgh Castle, Mr. Pearson.

Galium Mollugo, Linn —I am inclined to think that this is an error: I have searched the neighbourhood of Beacon Fell twice this year in vain for the plant.

Parietaria officinalis, Linn.—Plentifully upon walls at Wardless.

Potamogeton pusillus, Linn.—In the canal between the first and second bridges, above Preston.

Myosotis collina, Hoffm.—Occasionally in dry sandy fields above Rufford, in the direction of Martin Mere.

——— *versicolor*, Lehm.—Occasionally in dry places on Croston Moss.

Borago officinalis, Linn.—Common, as a weed in gardens at Garstang and Saint Michael's, Mr. Pearson.

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* See vol. x., p. 143.

Primula farinosa, Linn —Mr. Pearson informs me that the Rev. J. Ducker, a friend of his, has found this plant upon Kitchem Hill, near Whitewell.

Hottonia palustris, Linn —Ditches near the footpath from Cockerham church to the sea; plentifully in ditches about Marton Moss, near Lytham. Ditches at Croston Moss.

Lysimachia vulgaris, Linn —Ditches near Greenhalgh Castle; Winmarley Moss, Mr. Pearson.

——— *nummularia*, Linn.—Very abundant upon a bank below a wood at Lower Brockholes.

Anagallis cærulea, Sm.—Mr. Pearson tells me he found a few plants of this species on the embankment of the Wyre, opposite Preesall, in 1851.

Convolvulus Soldanella, Linn —In many places between Blackpool and Fleetwood, and occasionally between Fleetwood and Wardless.

Campanula hederacea, Linn.—Nickey Nook, sparingly; Nateby Moss, Mr. Pearson. He says he has not found it in the former locality since 1854, although he has looked for it repeatedly since.

Euonymus Europæus, Linn.—In a hedge by the side of the road from Clitheroe to Sabden, near the Four-Lane-Ends.

Viola odorata, Linn.—Watery Lane, Fishwick; bank near Hollinhead Fold, on the road to Wood Plumpton; abundantly by the side of a lane leading from Walton Bridge towards Melling's Wood.

Verbascum virgatum, With.—I have this year (1859) found a few plants of this species between Wardless and Fleetwood.

Datura Stramonium, Linn.—Occasionally on the beach at Lytham, near the Clifton Arms Hotel.

Erythræa pulchella, Hook.—On a bank at Bispham, near Blackpool, sparingly.

Rhamnus catharticus, Linn —On rocks at Ridding Hey, near Clitheroe, and in hedges in that neighbourhood; near Clitheroe Castle.

——— *Frangula*, Linn.—Near Beacon Fell, by the side of the road from the Derby Arms, a single shrub, 1859.

Ribes alpinum, Linn.—Hedge at Hollinhead Fold; in the hedge on the right hand side of the road from Longridge to Chipping, just beyond the bridge over the Loud; in Rib Lane, Longridge.

—— *nigrum*, Linn.—In a corner of a field near Ribbleton Moor, on the side nearest the cemetery.

Chenopodium maritimum, Linn.—Abundantly on Ashton Marsh, and in many places from thence to Lytham.

Scandix Pecten, Linn.—Corn fields near Poulton-le-Fylde.

Sium inundatum, Wigg —Lane leading from Stainall to Stalmine, Mr. Pearson; Whinny Lane, Euxton, Mr. H. Scott.

Œnanthe crocata, Linn.—In a ditch by the side of the lane from Avenham to Walton; in ditches by the road to Wood Plumpton; plentifully in a ditch at Grimsargh, on the road to Longridge; in several other places near Preston; in great abundance in many places between Rufford and Marton Mere.

Apium graveolens, Linn.—Between Greaves' Town and Ashton Marsh; banks of the Wyre, abundantly, from Skippool and Rawcliffe Marsh to the sea.

Angelica sylvestris, Linn.—Frequent in moist woods and by the sides of streams; between the tramroad and Penwortham bridge, on the south side of the Ribble; Cuerden woods, near the footpath from Clayton Green to Leyland.

Bupleurum rotundifolium, Linn.—Mr. H. Scott says that he has been informed by Mr. George Ward, a gardener at Feniscowles, that he has found this plant in that neighbourhood.

Pastinaca sativa, Linn.—Very abundantly on copse at Bispham near Blackpool.

Statice reticulata, Hook.—Plentifully on the marshes between Skippool and Fleetwood, and between Wardless and Fleetwood.

——— *Limonium*, Linn.—Very abundant in the same localities as the last.

Linum perenne, Linn.—Very sparingly in a stubble field at Stalmine, 1851, Mr. Pearson.

——— *usitatissimum*, Linn.—In a field at Linguet, near Garstang, Mr. Pearson.

Galanthus nivalis, Linn.—Plentifully in Seed Park at Samlesbury, and in several places by the side of the Bezza brook in that township. Mr. Pearson informs me that it grows under hedges at St. Michael's, Rawcliffe, and Stalmine; on hedge banks beyond Broughton, on the left hand side of the road to Lancaster.

Narcissus Pseudo—Narcissus, Linn.—Meadow near St. Michael's Hall; meadow at Stalmine, Mr. Pearson.

Fritillaria Meleagris, Linn.—Abundantly in a meadow at Stainall, at present in the occupation of Mr. John Hastewell.

Juncus maritimus, Sm..—Frequent by the side of the Wyre at the Shard, Wardless, and other places in that neighbourhood.

Luzula congesta, Sm.—Valley at Nickey Nook; by the side of the road near Beacon Fell; fields at the back of the factory, Roach Bridge.

Rumex maritimus, Linn.—Occasionally between the Naze Point and Lytham.

———*Hydrolapathum*, Huds.—Bank bridge in Tarleton, Mr. H. Scott.

Alisma ranunculoides, Linn.—Canal near Garstang, plentifully, Mr. Pearson.

Epilobium angustifolium, Linn.—Farington Moss, near the railway, sparingly.

Chlora perfoliata, Linn.—Wyre bank between Skippool and Wardless, Mr. Pearson.

Vaccinium vitis-idæa, Linn.—Anglezark Moor; Longridge Fell, on the further side of the road leading from White Cross to Jeffrey Hill, abundantly.

Butomus umbellatus, Linn.—Canal side in several places at Rufford.

Saxifraga tridactylites, Linn.—By the road side, within forty yards of Ashton Church, Mr. Lawrence Lucas. I have not found it nearer to Preston than Overton, near Glasson Dock, where it grows abundantly on walls.

Saxifraga umbrosa, Linn.—I believe this should be *Saxifraga hirsuta*.

Stellaria glauca, With.—Brook side between the tram road and Walton.

Arenaria rubra, Linn.—Plentifully between the road and the canal at Rufford.

Sedum Anglicum, Huds.—Plentifully on a bank at Sunderland, by the side of a lane leading from the ferry-house to the sea.

Agrostemma Githago, Linn.—In a corn field on the south side of Rufford Park; corn fields between Poulton and Bispham. Mr. Pearson says it grows amongst corn at St. Michael's, Rawcliffe, Stalmine, and Garstang.

Asarum Europæum, Linn.—Mr. Pearson says he has been informed that this plant is found in Barton.

Prunus Padus, Linn.—In Penwortham, by the side of a road leading from the tramroad under the East Lancashire Railway.

Pyrus communis, Linn.—In a hedge at Stainall, on the road to Stalmine.

Rosa Sabini, Woods.—I am not quite certain as to the correctness of this name.

Chelidonium majus, Linn.—Plentiful on a ditch side in Longmore Lane, near Garstang, Mr. Pearson; garden hedge at Fishwick, near Preston; occasionally near Rufford.

Glaucium luteum, Scop.—Occasionally between Wardless and Fleetwood.

Thalictrum minus, Linn.—Beach at Lytham.

———— *flavum*, Linn.—Croston Meadows; by the side of a water course between Rufford and Marton Mere.

Clematis vitalba, Linn.—Stated in Part I. to grow about Clitheroe: this is an error.

Ranunculus auricomus, Linn.—Watery Lane, Fishwick; lane beyond Many Brooks, Moon's Mill.

Trollius Europæus, Linn.—Near the Liverpool water-works in Heath Charnock; Plymouth bridge, Chorley.

Verbena officinalis, Linn.—By the road side at Wood Plumpton, opposite the church.

Mentha piperita, Sm.—Plentifully in a ditch in Howick, on the right hand side of the road to Liverpool, and also in the lane leading from Hutton Hall to the Liverpool road.

——— *rotundifolia* Linn.—Near Chorley, Dr. John Morris Rigby, Chorley.

——— *aquatica*, Linn.—Near Chorley, Dr. Rigby.

Lamium incisum, Willd.—Between the tramroad bridge and Walton Hall gardens; a weed in the garden of the Saddle Inn in Lea; occasionally about Rufford.

——— *amplexicaule*, Linn.—Between the tramroad bridge and Walton, occasionally; by the side of the road, and on a wall between the church at Rufford and the Hesketh Arms Inn; amongst corn at Garstang, Mr. Pearson.

——— *maculatum*, Linn.—Occasionally a weed in gardens at Rawcliffe, Mr. Pearson.

Stachys arvensis, Linn.—Corn fields at Rufford, on the south side of the park.

Scutellaria galericulata, Linn.—In several places by the side of the road between Howick and Longton; ditches at Stalmine; canal near Greenhalgh Castle, Mr. Pearson.

——— *minor*, Linn.—In Anglezark, on Winstanley's farm.

Bartsia viscosa, Linn.—Field at Lytham, at the back of the sand hills.

Draba verna, Linn.—In many places near Rufford, on sandy soil.

Arabis hirsuta, Br.—By the road side, near Ridding Hey, Clitheroe.

Brassica Monensis, Br.—On the Beach at Lytham, near the sand hills; marsh below Preesall.

Sinapis nigra, Linn.—In corn fields occasionally; plentifully in a corn field between Poulton and Bispham.

Geranium phœum, Linn.—In a meadow at St. Michael's Hall, orchard at same place, Mr. Pearson.

——— *lucidum*, Linn. Abundant on the rocks forming the west side of Clitheroe Castle Hill.

Malva moschata, Linn.—In several places on the coast between Sunderland and Heysham; in a lane at Overton; banks of the Wyre near Wardless; and on a brook side, about half a mile behind St. Michael's Hall, on the moss, Mr. Pearson; Common Bank, Preston, some years since, Mr. Lucas.

——— *rotundifolia*, Linn.—On the banks of the Wyre; at St. Michael's and Rawcliffe, Mr. Pearson.

Fumaria capreolata, Linn.—Preston Cemetery; hedges about Leyland; hedges by the side of the road from Lytham to Blackpool, just beyond the entrance to Lytham Hall.

Corydalis lutea, Lind.—A weed in a garden at Garstang, Mr. Pearson. On a wall at Whalley Abbey, Dr. Rigby.

Corydalis claviculata, D. C.—Not unfrequent on dry banks, and among stones near the Nab Wood, Chorley.

Trifolium suffocatum, Linn.—Beach at Lytham.

——— *medium*, Linn.—In bushy places occasionally; near the Drumhead in Walton; frequently in hedges between Poulton and Bispham.

——— *arvense*, Linn.—Beach at Lytham.

——— *fragiferum*, Linn.—Very abundant in many places between the Naze Point and Lytham.

Medicago minima, Linn.—This is an error.

——— *lupulina*, Linn.—By the side of the tram-road; road side between Walton and Bamber Bridge; and in many other similar places near Preston.

Hypericum Androsæmum, Linn.—Valley near Nickey Nook; in a ravine above the ruins of Greenhalgh Castle, Mr. Pearson; plentiful in Euxton, Mr. H. Scott.

——— *humifusum*, Linn.—Dry banks, Dimples lane, Garstang; in similar situations about Stalmine, Mr. Pearson.

Tragopogon porrifolius, Linn.—Near the canal bridge, Garstang; a few plants in 1851, Mr. Pearson.

Carduus acanthoides, Linn.—On hedge banks near Glasson Dock; banks near Cockersand Abbey.

——— *tenuiflorus*, Curt.—On banks at Bispham, near Blackpool.

Cnicus heterophyllus, Willd.—Mr. John Bibby of Preston informs me that some years since he found this plant plentifully in corn fields, by the side of the Ribble beyond Red Scar. I have this year (1859), searched the locality with him, but without success.

Bidens cernua, Linn.—At the edge of a pit, by the side of Toad Lane, Preston; by the side of the road from Penwortham to Longton.

—— *tripartita*, Linn.—In wet places among the coal yards at Preston.

Tanacetum vulgare, Linn.—Plentifully by the side of the Ribble, in Samlesbury, near the Bezza Brook.

Artemisia maritima, Linn.—Stainall marsh to the sea, Mr. Pearson.

Conyza squarrosa, Linn.—Frequently among the sand hills near Lytham.

Senecio Saracenicus, Linn.—By the river side in the field next beyond the Nab Wood at Red Scar plentifully.

Orchis viridis, Sm.—Field behind the factory at Roach Bridge, Mr. Lucas.

Gymnadenia conopsea, Br.—In the same locality as the last, Mr. Lucas.

Ophrys muscifera, Huds.—In the same locality as the last two, Mr. Lucas.

——— *apifera*, Huds.—On the Drumhead estate in Walton, Mr. Lucas. Several other persons have also told me that this plant grows in the locality named. One person who has been in the habit of gathering

it there says he has not seen it for four seasons, and on searching for it this year, at my request, could not find a single specimen.

Epipactis latifolia, Sm.—In a ravine about three quarters of a mile above Greenhalgh Castle; in a thicket on the way from Garstang to Nickey Nook; a single plant in Leathercoat Wood, Mr. Pearson.

Aristolochia Clematitis, Linn.—Field at Warton on the right hand side of the road to Lytham, Mr. Lucas.

Typha latifolia, Linn.—Pits and Ditches at Rawcliffe, St. Michael's, and Stalmine, Mr. Pearson.

—— *angustifolia*, Linn.—Rawcliffe moss, Mr. Pearson. The habitat given in Part I. should have been "Marton" instead of "Martin" Mere.

Carex sylvatica, Huds.—Plentifully in the Tunbrook Wood, and also in Melling's Wood.

—— *stellulata*, Good.—Marshy place by the side of the road from the Derby Arms to Beacon Fell; ditches and pools near the Wyre, at Preesall, Stainall and Stalmine.

—— *extensa*, Good.—I have been mistaken as to this plant. The plant I took to be "*Carex extensa*," I have sent to the Botanical Society at Todmorden, and it has been returned to me with the name "*Carex "Œderi.*"

—— *Œderi*, Ehrh.—Ribbleton Moor, plentifully; valley at Nickey Nook.

—— *intermedia*, Good.—By the side of the canal above Preston, occasionally; between the Naze Point and Lytham.

Bryonia dioica, Jacq.—Hedge at Wildboar, St. Michael's, Mr. Pearson; Town Green, Chorley, Mr. H. Scott.

Tamus communis, Linn.—In the Tunbrook Wood.

Hydrocharis Morsus ranæ, Linn.—Abundantly in ditches near the foot-path from Cockerham Church to the sea.

Atriplex portulacoides, Linn.—In great abundance in the marshes between Skippool and the sea.

—— *laciniata*, Linn—Occasionally between the Naze Point and Lytham.

—— *littoralis*, Linn.—Frequent between Stena and Fleetwood. Mr. Pearson says he has found it upon Rawcliffe and Hambleton marshes.

Aspidium angulare, Willd.—Plentiful in the hedge between Garstang and Bowgrave, Mr. Pearson; Nab Wood, Chorley

—— *Oreopteris*, Sw.—Very large and abundant in a ravine above Greenhalgh Castle, Mr. Pearson.

Osmunda regalis, Linn.—Nateby Moss, near Bowers's House; also on Winmarley Moss, Mr. Pearson; Croston Moss.

Botrychium Lunaria, Sw.—Mr. Henry Oakey, of Preston, informs me that he has had specimens of this plant given him, which grew in a field on the coast at Norbreck; plentifully on Moors in Wheelton.

Equisetum sylvaticum, Linn.—By the side of the footpath, near the Fell from Longridge to Chipping.

Grammitis Ceterach, Swartz.—On a wall at Whittle, on the left hand side of the road, leading from the Navigation Inn to Mr. Aitken's print works.

Allosorus crispus, Bernh.—Rivington Pike, Dr. Rigby.

Asplenium Adiantum nigrum, Linn.—Sparingly on a Hazel Bank near Skippool; on the banks of the Wyre, Mr. Pearson.

Lastrea fœniseeii, Watson.—In Grimeford Lane, near Chorley, Dr. Rigby.

Cystopteris fragilis, Bernh.—On a wall at White Coppice, Heapy.

ON THE ENGRAVED PORTRAITS AND PRETENDED PORTRAITS OF MILTON.

By John Fitchett Marsh, Esq.

Read 3rd May, 1860.

While volumes have been written on the portraits of Shakespeare, the information obtainable respecting those of Milton is confined to a few scattered notes of his biographers and commentators, the most copious account being one in Todd's Life, copied, with some additions, from Mr. Warton's note to Milton's Greek epigram, "In effigiei ejus sculptorem." The reason for this scarcity of information is not that less is known of the portraits of our greatest epic, than of those of our greatest dramatic poet, but that, on the contrary, more being known, less has been left to conjecture; but, unfortunately, the existing materials have been so used by successive commentators—each adopting and adding to the mistakes of his predecessors—as to produce an amount of confusion from which it is my hope to assist in extricating the subject. The objects I propose to myself in the present paper are, to examine the relation in which the usually received portraits stand to each other, to collect the scattered notices of them, and thus to render them available for the illustration of a connected series of representations of the poet's features. It is of ENGRAVED PORTRAITS only that I propose to treat, having no opportunities for making myself acquainted with the original pictures and drawings. The extent of the materials for a catalogue is greater than perhaps would be generally supposed: for while Granger's list comprises 37 portraits, Bromley's only 25, and Evans's 42, I have been enabled not only to compile a catalogue of 164, but to produce upwards of 150 for your inspection.

The portrait painted at the age of ten, now in the possession of Mr. Disney; that at the age of twenty-one, purchased from the executor of Milton's widow by Speaker Onslow; the print engraved by Marshal, for the first edition of the minor poems, in 1645; and that prefixed to the

first edition of the History of Britain, inscribed "Gul. Faithorne ad vivum "delin. et sculpsit, 1670," at the age of 62, form a series of unquestionable authenticity, taken at various periods of the Poet's life, and presenting such marked difference of feature as to create no risk of mistake or confusion among them. Their peculiarities and history will be more fitly noticed when we come to describe them in detail; but the name of Faithorne has been so unwarrantably mixed up with the mistakes and falsifications which I shall presently have to expose, that it will be convenient, before proceeding further, to describe the characteristics by which his celebrated engraving, and the large number of portraits derived from it, may be distinguished. If, in doing this, I say little about expression and features, it is because they are more easily conveyed to the mind by actual inspection than described by words, and because the caprice or incompetence of engravers may readily produce such a variation in them as effectually to disguise the source from which their subject has been derived; whereas peculiarities of dress and attitude, though in some respects secondary considerations, are usually found so persistently preserved as to furnish satisfactory evidence of a common origin. The Faithorne engraving, then, may be distinguished by the following characteristics:—The face is turned in the same direction as the bust. There is a broad Genevan band,* the nearer half of which lies quite straight, and the other half falls in several folds, beneath which is seen a tassel.

* As we shall have to mention the distinguishing costumes of the various portraits, it will be well to explain the sense in which several terms are used, especially as the name of the modern academic badge connects the idea of "bands", in popular estimation, rather with the Genevan band here referred to than with the article of dress to which the term "band" was originally applied. The circular ruff, with its ample plaits, is familiar to us in the portraits of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers. In the succeeding reign (*see Planché on British Costume, ed.* 1847, p. 350), "the *ruff*" was occasionally "exchanged for a wide stiff collar, standing out horizontally and squarely, made of the "same stuff, and starched and wired as usual, but plain instead of plaited or pinched, "and sometimes edged, like the ruff, with lace: these collars were called 'Bands'"—from which comes the term "band-box"—and Fairholt in the Glossary to his History of Costume defines the BAND as "a collar of linen or cambric, surrounding the neck, "and which was stiffened with starch, or underpropped; or else allowed to fall upon the "shoulders, when it was termed a 'falling-band'." The Janssen portrait and that described in the Gent. Mag. so closely resembling it (No. 4) furnish excellent illustrations of the "band" and "falling-band" respectively: it is an error to confound either one or the other with the "ruff." Deprived of their laced edges—the sides cut away that they might not fall over the shoulder—and the parts overhanging the chest cut square—the transition is easy from the "falling-bands" to the "Geneva bands," which, Mr. Planché observes, are "like those worn by our modern clergymen and councillors, "except that instead of being two small pieces worn for distinction merely, they were "bona fide collars, the ends of which hung negligently out over the waistcoat." (p. 390.) For a fair specimen of the transition here spoken of see the print numbered 151.

No. 1.

Janssen's Portrait.—From an Engraving by Cipriani.

No. 4.

Portrait from "Gentleman's Magazine," vol. LVII.

No. 5.

The Onslow Portrait.—From an Engraving by Vertue.

No. 21.

Marshal's Engraving, 1645.

The drapery, which falls so as to cover the vest except the two upper buttons, is drawn rather tight over the nearer shoulder. A thick fold, a little below, takes a direction more nearly approaching the horizontal; and below that, the edge or a thin fold of the material takes a peculiar curve from one side of the figure to the other.

Leaving these distinctive marks to be borne in mind when we come to compare the portraits with which this original has been confounded, I will proceed to notice the circumstances from which the confusion I refer to has arisen. Several applications seem to have been made to Deborah Clarke, Milton's youngest daughter, who survived him until the year 1727, for her opinion on the authenticity of supposed portraits of her father. The first is related in a letter from Vertue to Mr. Christian, the seal engraver, preserved in the British Museum,* and is as follows: "Mr. Christian—Pray inform my Lord Harley† that I have on Thursday "last seen the Daughter of Milton the Poet. I carry'd with me two or "three different Prints of Milton's picture which she immediately knew to "be like her father & told me her mother in Law (if‡ living in Cheshire) "had two pictures of him, one when he was a school boy & the other when "about§ twenty. She knows of no other picture of him because she was "several years in Ireland—both before & after his Death. She was the "youngest of Milton's daughters by his first wife and was taught to read "to her father several Languages. Mr. Addison was desirous to see her "once—& desired she would bring with her Testimonials of her being "Milton's daughter. But as soon as she came into the Room he told her "she needed none, her face haveing much of the likeness of the pictures "he had seen of him. For my part I find the features of her Face very

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* This letter has been printed in the Gent. Mag. (1831); in the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis; and in Ivimey's and Masson's Biographies, and perhaps elsewhere. In some of these the reference is to *Harl. MSS.* 7003, *f.* 176, and in others to *Add. MSS.* 5016*, *f.* 71. The fact is that the former is the original letter, and the latter a transcript of it in the handwriting of Dr. Birch, which, though nearly accurate, has, from its not being quite so legible as the original, led to inaccuracies in subsequent copies. Having stumbled on this fact at the Museum, I took the trouble of collating the two manuscripts; and the letter in the text is a literatim copy of the original.

† Lord Henley. (*Ivimey's Life of Milton, p.* 329.)

‡ The "if" is omitted in Birch's copy. Vertue had originally written "is," but altered it with the pen. The doubt expressed, though immaterial to our present purpose, is confirmatory of observations I have made elsewhere on the indifference with which Milton's widow was spoken of by his family.

§ "Above" in Birch's copy.

"much like the Prints. I showd her the Painting I have to engrave "which she believes not to be her Father's picture, it being of a Brown "complexion & black hair & curled locks—on the contrary he was of a "fair complexion a little red in his cheeks & light brown lanck hair. I "desire you woud acquaint Mr. Prior I was so unfortunate to wait on him "on Thursday morning last just after he was gone out of Town—it was "with * this intent, to enquire of him if he remembers a picture of Milton "in the late Lord Dorsett's collection—as I am told this † was—or if he "can inform me how I shall enquire or know the truth of this affair. I "shoud be much obliged to him—being very willing to have all certainty "on that account before I begin to engrave the Plate—that it may be the "more satisfactory to the Publick as well as to my self. The sooner you "can communicate this the better—because I have to resolve which "I cant well do till I have an answer, which will much oblige, Your "Friend to command, Geo. Vertue. Saturday, Aug. 12, 1721. To Mr. "Charles Christian."

The elder Richardson, in his "Explanatory Notes and Remarks on "Milton's 'Paradise Lost,'" published in 1734, inserted an etching "from "an excellent original in crayons," in his possession, and which he states in his introduction (p. ii.) he had reason to believe Milton sat for not long before his death. In a subsequent passage (p. xxxvi.) he relates, as an evidence of Deborah Clarke's tender remembrance of her father, that "this picture in crayons was shewn her after several others, or which were "pretended to be his. When those were shewn, and she was asked if she "could recollect if she had ever seen such a face, 'No, no'; but when this "was produced,—in a transport—'Tis my father—'tis my dear father— "I see him—'tis him;' and then she put her hands to several parts of her "face—'Tis the very man—here—here.'"

In the "Memoirs of Thomas Hollis," edited in 1780 by Archdeacon Blackburne, is inserted a print drawn and etched by Cipriani, from a portrait in crayons in the possession of Messrs. Tonson, which, at p. 619, is described as "a drawing in crayons by William Faithorne, now in the

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* "With" omitted in Birch's copy.

† "As I am told *there* was" (*Irimey's Life of Milton*, *p.* 329.) The difference in the sense is considerable; but the history of a portrait which turned out not to represent Milton is unimportant, except so far as it bears on the discussion respecting the Cooper miniature, to be mentioned hereafter.

No. 24.

Faithorne's Engraving, 1670.

No. 54.

Cipriani's Engraving after Tonson's Crayon Drawing.

No. 70.

Richardson's Etching from his Crayon Drawing, 1734.

No. 67.

Simon's folio Mezzotint after Robert White.

"hands of Messrs. Tonson, booksellers, in London;" and it is related that "about the year 1725 Mr. George Vertue, a worthy and eminent "British antiquary, went on purpose to see Mrs. Deborah Clarke, Milton's "youngest and favorite daughter, and some time his amanuensis, who then "lodged in a mean little street near Moorfields, where she kept a school "for children for her support. He took this drawing with him, and divers "paintings said to be of Milton, all which were brought into the room "by his contrivance, as if by accident, whilst he conversed with her. She "took no notice of the paintings; but when she perceived the drawing she "cried out, 'O Lord! that is the picture of my father—how came you by "it?' And, stroaking the hair of her forehead, added 'Just so my father "wore his hair.' This daughter resembled Milton greatly."

There is no excuse for confounding the first of these three alleged visits to Deborah Clarke—when, after confirming the authenticity of several prints produced by Vertue, she condemned a painting which it was the special object of his visit to shew her—with the interview related by Richardson, when his crayon drawing was shewn her by some person unnamed, and recognized with apparent emotion after she had failed to recognize the likeness of others. The third interview, as related in Hollis's Memoirs, is full of inconsistencies, which it will be more convenient to notice in another place. What I here wish to observe is, that Hollis's biographer, in alluding to Tonson's crayon drawing attributed to Faithorne, in no manner connects it with Richardson's; nor does Richardson attribute his own crayon drawing to Faithorne, or mention Vertue as the person who shewed it to Deborah Clarke. In fact, though Cipriani's pencil has taken sad liberties with the expression, the Tonson drawing, as represented by him, has the attitude and costume identifying it with the Faithorne engraving; and is likely enough to have been Faithorne's original drawing in crayons—a mode of execution he is known to have adopted. (*See Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers, 1st ed., p.* 58.) With Richardson's etching it has no one point of identity. In the latter the countenance is more upturned than in Faithorne's engraving; and the position of the head is such that the left shoulder and right cheek are nearest to the spectator; the collar, not at all partaking of any of the forms of a band, has the ends separating from each other at something less than a right angle, with cord and tassels between, the sides also approaching to straight lines; and the drapery falls from both shoulders so

as to form an angle a little to the right of the buttons, of which a row of five is exposed. But notwithstanding these marked distinctions, or rather this total absence of any point of similarity, the mention of two crayon drawings in connection with visits to Milton's daughter has led to a series of mistakes. Bishop Newton, at p. lvi. of his life of Milton (*Baskerville edition*, 1759), in a short notice containing another glaring mistake which I need not stop to point out, confounds them by speaking of the "portrait "in crayons, drawn when Milton was about sixty-two, and which was "in the collection of Mr. Richardson, but has since been purchased by "Mr. Tonson." This may be *literally* true; for Richardson's drawing, as well as the other, may have eventually come into the possession of Tonson: but the statement is not the less calculated to mislead. Accordingly Warton gets deeper into the error, for he not only states, in his note at p. 530 (ed. 1791), that Faithorne's original engraving, which he had stated in the preceding page to be from a drawing in crayons, "was copied by "Vertue, one of his chief works, in 1725," (though I shall endeavour to shew presently that Vertue's portrait of that date had a common origin with Richardson's etching, and little in common with Faithorne,) but in the following page he states that "the Richardsons, and next the Tonsons, "had the admirable crayon drawing above mentioned, done by Faithorne, "the best likeness extant, and for which Milton sate at the age of "sixty-two;" and after quoting, in relation to the same drawing, the interview between Vertue and Deborah Clarke, as told in Hollis's memoirs, adds, "This head by Faithorne was etched by Richardson, the father, about "1734, with the addition of a laurel crown to help the propriety of the "motto." Symmons repeats the error (pp. 515, 531, 1st ed.): and to make confusion worse confounded, Todd adopts verbatim the language of Warton, but adds that the drawing successively in the possession of Richardson and Tonson was then in the possession of Mr. Baker, who had allowed an engraving to be made from it for Todd's work. On turning, however, to the engraving last referred to, we find it to be without one point of identity with Faithorne or Cipriani's portraits, but with such marks of a common origin with Richardson's as I shall presently explain. Lastly, Mr. Cunningham, in a note to his edition of Johnson's "Lives of "the Poets" (I. 131), says—"The best portrait of Milton is that drawn "and engraved by Faithorne, prefixed to Milton's 'History of Britain,' "1670, 4to: Faithorne's original drawing is preserved, with other portraits

No. 75.

Anonymous Etching, attributed to Richardson.

No. 92.

Miller's Engraving for Tonson's Baskerville Edition, 1759.

No. 94.

Engraving from Mr. Baker's Crayon Drawing, for Todd's Edition, 1801.

No. 98.

Engraving for Heptingstall's Edition, 1799.

"belonging to Tonson, including the Kit-kat collection, at Bayfordbury, "near Hertford, the seat of Mr. Baker." I should create additional confusion if I were to go on repeating these statements in the language of successive commentators; but the errors of all of them are so completely condensed in a paragraph of a dozen lines by Mr. Keightley, that I may as well quote it:—"In 1670," he says, "was a portrait engraved by "Faithorne, *from a crayon drawing* by himself, with this legend, 'Gul. "'Faithorne ad vivum delin. et sculpsit. Johannis Miltoni effigies. "'Ætat. 62. 1670.' This engraving has been often copied, [he adds in "a footnote, "there is one by Cipriani in Hollis's Memoirs,"] but as it was "not in Faithorne's best manner, *a new copy* was made for the first edition "of Todd's Milton, from *the original crayon drawing in the possession of* "*William Baker, Esq.* This drawing had passed through the hands of "*the Richardsons and Tonsons* to those of *Mr. Baker.* It was at the "sight *of this,* when shewn to her by Vertue, the engraver, among other "paintings and engravings, that Deborah Clarke made the exclamation "above related. All the best portraits of Milton are taken from it." (*Keightley's Life of Milton, p.* 132.) I have seen none of the drawings: but if the slightest reliance is to be placed upon the engravings, a glance at those published by Richardson, from the crayon drawing in his possession—by Hollis, from the crayon drawing in the possession of the Tonsons (and likely enough, as I have stated, to have been Faithorne's original drawing)—and by Todd, from the drawing in the possession of Mr. Baker, would have shewn how distinct each was from the other, whatever of common origin there may have been between the first and third. It seems to me a most extraordinary fact, that a careless statement of Bishop Newton, upwards of a century ago, so far from being detected, should have gone on accumulating error as it passed through successive hands until the present time, without one of the gentlemen quoted thinking it necessary to compare the published portraits which they thus hastily assumed to have been engraved from a common original. In one instance it is curious to watch the effect of the mistake while two disputants are playing at cross purposes on the subject. In the discussion to which I shall have to make more particular reference in speaking of the Cooper miniature, and in which Sir Joshua Reynolds, under the signature of "R. J.," discussed with Lord Hailes its pretensions to be accepted as a portrait of Milton, the former writes (*Gent. Mag.*, LXI, 603):—"In regard to the drop serene we

"can assure your correspondent that it is not visible in the miniature, and "that he is mistaken in saying that it is visible in the crayon picture by "Faithorne." Lord Hailes replies (p. 886) with sarcastic ingenuity:—"It "is said that the gutta serena, or rather its consequence, is not visible in "Faithorne's drawing of Milton. I never saw it; but I supposed that it "represented Milton as blind, because Richardson's etching represented "him so: and if Richardson has misled me, I must regret that I put my "trust in a painter and connoisseur." The explanation is obvious. Reynolds, whether speaking from a knowledge of the crayon drawing in the possession of the Tonsons, from Cipriani's copy from it, or from Faithorne's engraving, was justified in describing it as giving no indication of Milton's blindness; whereas Hailes, imagining that he was speaking of the same drawing, had reference to Richardson's etching from another, one of the special merits of which was its rendering of the peculiar expression arising from the gutta serena, on which subject some observations of Richardson are quoted below.

What, then, was the "excellent original in crayons" from which Richardson made his etching in 1734, and which was recognized by Deborah Clarke as so striking a likeness of her father? In considering this question I have been led to attach an unexpected degree of importance to a folio mezzotint, inscribed "R. White ad vivum delin. J. Simon fecit," the precise date of which I have been unable to ascertain. I am told it is a rare print, though I find it marked at a trifling price in Evans's catalogue, but I was not aware of its rarity until after I had discovered its importance. I have seen no copy except my own. There is none in the British Museum; and it is not mentioned either in Granger or Bromley. Bryan, also, in his Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, fails to particularize it among Simon's works; but his editor, Stanley, mentions Milton's among the heads engraved by that artist. What I here wish particularly to remark, with reference to this portrait, is its exact correspondence with Richardson's etching of 1734. The former continues the drapery lower down the figure, so as, in fact, to constitute a half length; but with this exception, and the wholly unimportant one of the portrait being reversed, every word of the description I have given of Richardson's etching is precisely applicable to Simon's mezzotint. The laureate wreath, however, with which, in both, the head is encircled, and which at first seemed one of the most satisfactory points of identity, presents a difficulty: the elucida-

tion of it will depend in a great measure on the date of Simon's print, which I have not yet been able to ascertain. Richardson expressly says (p. ii.):—"The laurel wreath is not in the picture; the two lines under it "are my reason for putting it there—not what otherwise would be "imagined: all the world has given it him long since." The presence of the laurel wreath in both prints cannot be explained away as a coincidence: for leaf by leaf, with the exception of a single leaf inserted in Simon's (the highest of the further branch), but omitted in Richardson's, the one wreath is a servile copy of the other. If, then, Simon's mezzotint was published previous to 1734, how comes it that Richardson, thus proved to have been familiar with it, avoids all allusion to it, asserts the wreath to be his own idea, and does not attribute the "excellent original," which he says he "has reason to believe Milton sate for not long before his death," either to Robert White or to any other artist by name? If Simon's print was published subsequent to 1734, the identity of the wreaths proves *him* to have been the copyist; and if so, on what evidence did he inscribe his print with "R. White ad vivum delineavit?" These questions I am compelled to leave unanswered. Internal evidence would tend to the conclusion that Simon's had priority in date, from the fact that the continuation of the folds, as above noticed, accounts for the direction of the lines of drapery in Richardson's etching, which are otherwise unmeaning. The truth is worth arriving at, if possible.* The result would probably affect the question whether there is good ground for retaining the name of White as the original artist, as I have ventured to do below for distinction's sake: but it would leave untouched the fact that the two prints had a common origin in a portrait, the veracity of which was confirmed by the best authority—that of Milton's daughter.

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* The only clue I am aware of is the names of the two firms of publishers—"sold "by T. Bowles in Paul's Church-yard and J. Bowles in Cornhill." The period during which these two firms existed contemporaneously might possibly be ascertained; but it would only enable us to ascertain the minimum antiquity of the print; for one of our most eminent printsellers tells me he has an impression of having seen it with an earlier imprint than that of the firms of Bowles. The date of 1738 is assigned by Bromley to a folio mezzotint of Pope by J. Faber, from a picture painted by Kneller in 1721, which is stated to be "printed for Thos. Bowles in St. Paul's Churchyard, and John Bowles "*and Son* at the Black Horse in Cornhill." Simon's folio mezzotint of Shakespeare, from a picture attributed to Zoust, is supposed by Boaden and Wivell to have been published in or about 1725; and his folio mezzotint of Pope, from a painting by Dahl, is dated by Bromley 1728; but the first was by another publisher, and the second has no publisher's name. Bowles of the Black Horse is repeatedly mentioned in connection with the life of Hogarth; see the papers in the first vol. of the Cornhill Magazine.

I consider the same original to have been the source from which, with more or less artistic license, were derived Vertue's celebrated head of 1725; I. Vandergucht's folio; another engraving by Vertue, greatly altered in expression and costume, in 1750; and lastly, an engraving by Miller, inserted in an edition of Newton's Milton, published by the Tonsons in 1759, and of which I consider the original is likely enough to have been the drawing which passed from the possession of the Tonsons to Mr. Baker, as stated by Todd and Cunningham, or at least another drawing from the same original. All these portraits will be duly described below, and treated (to borrow a phrase from physical science) as *typical forms*, in connection with which I have thought it desirable to arrange the various prints to which they have respectively given rise. That all these are trustworthy representations of our great poet I am far from asserting. On the contrary, the extent to which various engravers have departed from the originals they professed to copy is absurd enough; but I have treated them as authentic to this extent, that their origin can be traced directly or remotely to portraits the history of which is satisfactorily shewn, or which have been vouched by the family of the poet.

To these succeed the prints which have been derived from monuments, busts and seals. There remain a remarkable variety of portraits, which have been published with the name of Milton, some of which may be—others cannot possibly be—and none, in my opinion, are satisfactorily proved to be from pictures intended to represent him. The history of these portraits, or pretended portraits, will more conveniently be noticed when we come to describe them; and I will now proceed with my catalogue in the order I have indicated.

Janssen's Portrait.

The name of this artist has been given by common consent—though I know not on what authority, prior to that of Cipriani, except the judgment of connoisseurs—to the picture referred to by Aubrey, in his notes written shortly after Milton's death (*p.* 337 *in Godwin's reprint*):—"A° D^{ni} 1619 "he was ten yeares old as by his picture and was then a poet: his school "master then was a Puritan in Essex who cutt his haire short," that is not his own hair, but the hair of his pupil, as explained by Professor Masson (p. 51, n.). It was one of the pictures which remained in the possession of Milton's widow until her death in 1727, and were enumerated

in the testamentary inventory of her effects, which I had the pleasure of bringing under the notice of the Historic Society in 1855. On the 3rd of June, 1760, it was purchased by Mr. Hollis, at the sale by auction of the effects of Mr. Charles Stanhope, who had mentioned to him, about two months before, that he had bought it of the executors of Milton's widow for twenty guineas. (*Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, p.* 95.) Warton mentions that the price at which it was purchased at Stanhope's sale was thirty-one guineas, and that Lord Harrington wishing to have the lot returned, Mr. Hollis replied that his lordship's whole estate should not repurchase it. (*Warton, p.* 530 *n., ed.* 1791.) It was this picture which Mr. Hollis was so careful to preserve on the occasion of his lodgings being on fire a few months subsequent to his purchase. The story is told in his memoirs, p. 106. The picture passed, with the other antiquities and curiosities collected by Mr. Hollis, to Mr. Thomas Brand Hollis, who left them by will to his friend Dr. Disney, and is now in the possession of his grandson, Edgar Disney, Esq., of the Hyde, near Ingatestone. It is described by Professor Masson as about twenty-seven inches by twenty in size, with the frame, the portrait set in a dark oval, and with the words "John Milton, ætatis suæ 10, Anno 1618" inscribed on the paint in contemporary characters, but no painter's name. This minuteness of description is important with reference to another portrait, to be mentioned shortly, which has been confounded with the present one. The first engraving from Mr. Disney's picture was that published in Hollis's memoirs :—

1. Iohn Milton. Drawn and etched MDCCLX by I. B. Cipriani, a Tuscan, from a picture painted by Cornelius Johnson MDCXVIII, now in the possession of Thomas Hollis, of Lincoln's Inne, F.R. and A.SS. Portrait enclosed in an oval wreath of roses ; and below, as in all the prints engraved under the direction of the Hollises, their favorite device of the Cap of Liberty. (*See Dibdin's Lib. Com.* 555 *n.*) Subjoined are some lines from "Paradise Regained," which Professor Masson considers were really written by the poet with some reference to his own recollections of himself as a child :—

> "When I was yet a child, no childish play
> To me was pleasing," &c.

The print is mentioned in Granger and Bromley.

2. Iohn Milton. Ætat. 10. From an original picture in the collection of Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq., near the Hyde, Essex. Cornelius Jansen pinxit.

W. N. Gardiner sculp.; an oval, 0.2×5.0 * in plate, 0.8×6.7; published June 4, 1794, by John and Josiah Boydell and George Nicol, in the sumptuous edition of the Poetical Works, in 3 vols. royal folio, known as Boydell's Milton.

3. Milton. Ætat. 10. After a photograph from the original picture, in the possession of Edgar Disney, Esq., of the Hyde, Ingatestone, Essex; engraved by Edward Radclyffe; a beautiful line engraving, forming one of the illustrations to the first volume of Masson's Life of Milton.

4. Anon. An engraving almost in outline, forming an illustration to the "Gentleman's Magazine" (1787), vol. lvii, p. 759, in which is printed a letter signed "Z. Z.," dated from Oxford, and sending the drawing from which this is engraved, and which it states "a friend, who lives there, has obligingly suffered to be taken "from a picture in his possession. It is on wood. At top is 'A° 1623. Æt. suæ "'12.' In the hands of the figure is a book with 'Homer's Iliads' on the leaves. "The hair is red. This drawing is very like, only perhaps somewhat older than "the picture." A correspondent, at p. 892 of the same volume, points out the identity of the portrait with that engraved by Cipriani in Hollis's Memoirs—adds that the dates correspond (which, however, is not the case)—and signs his communication "Q. E. D." This is getting on rather too fast, for it is evident there were two portraits in existence; but though, in addition to the discrepancies apparent from the above notice, the sketchy outline of the print shews a marked difference in costume (the square-fronted erect band of Mr. Disney's portrait being replaced by a falling-band of similar pattern †), the resemblance in feature between the two portraits is too close to have been the result of accident. That a copy of the original picture should have been taken while it was in the possession either of Mrs. Milton, her executor, Mr. Stanhope, or Mr. Hollis, is improbable, and we are driven to the conjecture either that the painter of Mr. Disney's portrait (whether Janssen or some one else) was tainted with a mannerism which would deprive his pictures of all claim to individuality, or that, being employed to paint another portrait of the young scholar at the age of twelve he had made free use of his original picture. This supposition would still leave an error of at least two years unaccounted for, if the date 1623 be correctly printed in the "Gentleman's Maga-"zine," and I scarcely dare offer it even as a conjecture: but if it should turn out to be correct, it would follow that there may yet be in existence an almost unknown portrait of Milton, with better claims to authenticity than some which have had their pretensions more loudly asserted.

The Onslow Portrait.

By this name is known the other of the two portraits enumerated in the inventory of Mrs. Milton's effects. Warton (p. 530, ed. 1791) says, that

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* The measurements are throughout in inches and tenths.

† See note on Ruffs and Bands, *ante*.

"by some it is suspected not to be a portrait of Milton." By whom suspected, or on what grounds, I know not. There are few portraits with a better authenticated pedigree. Its existence, in the custody of Mrs. Milton, was known to Aubrey, who wrote in 1681 (p. 337 of *Godwin's reprint*):—"His widowe has his picture drawne (very well and like) when "a Cambridge schollar: she has his picture when a Cambridge schollar. "which ought to be engraven; for the pictures before his bookes" [alluding to Marshal's in 1645 and Faithorne's in 1670] "are not at all like him:" and made a memorandum (p. 345,) to "write his name in red letters on "his picture with his widowe to preserve." In 1721 Deborah Clarke informed Vertue (see his letter above) that her mother-in law, if living, in Cheshire, had two pictures of him, one when he was a school-boy, and the other when he was about twenty. In 1731, only four years after Mrs. Milton's death, we find it in the possession of Mr. Speaker Onslow, and engraved by Vertue; and as late as 1794 it was stated in the inscription to the engraving in Boydell's Milton to be "in the possession of Lord "Onslow, at Clandon, in Surrey, purchased from the executor of Milton's "widow by Arthur Onslow, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons, as "certified in his own handwriting on the back of the picture." It is mentioned by Professor Masson (vol. I, p. 278) that the picture is not now in the possession of the present Earl of Onslow. The information I have obtained as to its history since it left his lordship's custody and present place of deposit is such as I do not feel warranted in making public. It is much to be desired that this relic should find a permanent resting place beside the Chandos Shakespeare in the National Portrait Gallery. It seems to have been known to Warton, who observes that "the picture "is handsomer than the engravings, and that the ruff is much in the neat "style of painting ruffs about and before 1628." The engravings from it are numerous:—

5. Joannes Milton. Æt. 21. Vertue, sc. Ex pictura archetypa quæ penes est præhonorabilem Arthurum Onslow, Arm: Vertue sc. 1731. 4to. I extract this description from Granger, having been unlucky in not meeting with a copy. He mentions that it differs from the next described only in the inscription. Bromley also mentions it.

6. Ioannes Milton. Ætatis XXI. G. Vertue sculp. 1731; in a square panel, with ornamented top, surmounting and partly concealing the top and sides of an oval. The name and age are on two ribands below, between which is a circular escutcheon charged with a single-headed eagle (in which Vertue's heraldic know-

ledge was at fault, for the eagle borne by Milton was double-headed, as proved by his two seals *), and beneath is a pedestal, on the two ends of which stand busts of Homer and Virgil; and on the front is inscribed "Nascuntur Poetæ, non fiunt." Published in Bentley's edition of "Paradise Lost," 4to, London, 1732. Mentioned in Granger and Bromley.

7. The same plate, with Dryden's lines substituted for the "Nascuntur Poetæ, "non fiunt," and the date badly altered from 1731 to 1747, is prefixed to Newton's edition of "Paradise Lost," 2 vols. 4to, London, 1749, which Hollis's biographer (see p. 117) supposed to be the original condition of the plate.

8. Ioannes Milton. Ætatis suæ 21. G. Vertue sculp. An oval, with slight scroll ornament at top, and below a riband, with name and age, above a plinth; size of plate 6×3.8; published in Newton's edition of "Paradise Regained," 8vo. London, 1773; mentioned by Granger and Bromley.

9. John Milton. In the collection of the Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, Esq. Speaker of the House of Common. I. Houbraken sculps. Amst. 1741. Impensis I. & P. Knapton, London, 1741. An oval, representing masonry, inscribed with name; at foot a pedestal; and in front of it ornaments consisting of a lyre surmounted by cherub head, a book, serpent with apple, &c.; size of plate 14.2×8.9. One of the series of folio plates known as Houbraken's heads; mentioned by Granger and Bromley.

10. Joannes Milton, Ætatis XXI. Andrew Miller fecit, Dublin, 1744; a copy of the last in mezzotint, including the ornaments, but reversed; and on the pedestal the motto "Nascuntur Poetæ, non fiunt;" size of plate 13.6×10.1.

11. John Milton. Drawn and etched MDCCLX by I. B. Cipriani, a Tuscan, at the desire of Thomas Hollis, F.R. and A.SS., from a picture in the collection of the Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament. Portrait enclosed in an oval, formed by intertwining boughs of laurel, and below Milton's sonnet—"How soon hath time," &c. The print is mentioned by Granger and Bromley, and forms one of the series in Hollis's Memoirs.

12. John Milton. In the collection of the Right Hon. Arthur Onslow, Esq., Goldar sculpt. Some further lettering has been badly erased. An oval, in a rectangular frame of tooth and egg pattern; size of frame 7.5×6.4.

13. John Milton. Published by R. Baldwin, at the Rose, in Pater Noster Row, 1752, for the London Magazine. An oval, representing masonry of four voussoirs, with name inscribed, and resting on a plinth; size of plate 5.7×4.1.

14. John Milton. An oval, representing masonry of six voussoirs, with segments cut off at top, bottom, and sides; no plinth; name at foot; size of plate 4.7×3.7; in the fifth volume of the British Biography, published by Baldwin, 7 vols., 8vo, London, 1766–72.

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* See Masson's Life, vol. i., p. 4.

15. John Milton. In same plate with Algernon Sydney, John Hamden, and Andrew Marvel; four ovals, in slightly ornamented frames, connected by interlacing ornament; size of each frame 2.5×1.8.

16. John Milton. In same plate with Ben Johnson, Robert Boyle, Esq., and John Locke, Esq.; four plain ovals, 2×1.8; I. June sc.

17. Iohn Milton. Ætat. 21. From an original picture in the possession of Lord Onslow, at Clandon, in Surrey, purchased from the executors of Milton's widow by Arthur Onslow, Esq., Speaker of the House of Commons, as certified in his own handwriting on the back of the picture; an oval, 6.2×5.9, in plate, 9.8×6.7; W. N. Gardiner sculpt.; published June 4, 1794, by John and Josiah Boydell and George Nicol; in Boydell's Milton.

18. John Milton. Ætat. XXI. Woolnoth sc.

19. Anon. Cornelius Jansen! W. C. Edwards. J. Yates, Printer. London, John Macrone, St. James's Square, and E. Graves, King William Street, Strand. In Macrone's edition, edited by Sir Egerton Brydges. The assigning of the picture to Cornelius Janssen has arisen from confounding its history with that of the portrait first described: the artist is wholly unknown.

20. Milton, ætat. 21. Engraved by Edward Radclyffe, after Vertue's engraving in 1731, from the original picture, then in the possession of the Right Hon. Speaker Onslow; in Masson's Life of Milton.

Marshal's Engraving.

This portrait, which appeared in Humphrey Moseley's original edition of Milton's poems, in 1645, is one of considerable rarity and importance. It was the subject of the Greek epigram "In effigiei ejus sculptorem," in which the poet gave vent to his dissatisfaction with the manner in which Marshal had executed his task. Whether the complaint was directed against the coarseness of the engraving, or the unfavorable representation of Milton's personal appearance, is a point which, though it has given rise to some discussion, is not of much importance; for it is generally believed that Marshal was the designer as well as engraver of the head; and the term "ζωγραφος" in the epigram is applicable to him in either capacity. Horace Walpole says that Marshal was "employed by Moseley, the book-"seller, to grave heads for books of poetry; and from their great similarity "in drawing and ornaments Vertue supposed that he drew from the life, "though he has not expressed *ad vivum* as was the custom afterwards; and "he was confirmed in this conjecture by a print of Milton, at the age of "21, with which Milton, who was handsome, and Marshal but a coarse "engraver, seems to have been discontented, by some Greek lines that are

"added to the bottom of the plate. Vertue adds that from this to 1670 "he knows no engraving of Milton, when Faithorne executed one with "*ad vivum delineavit et sculpsit;* and this Vertue held for the most "authentic likeness of that great poet, and thought Marshal's and Faith- "orne's bore as much resemblance as could be expected between features "of 21 and 62." (*Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers*, 1*st ed.*, *p.* 38.) The fact just noticed, namely, that this print was the only engraved portrait by which Milton's supposed features were known to the public between 1645 and 1670—a period which embraced nearly the whole range of his controversial writings—invests it with an importance far beyond its merits. Salmasius, in a passage in his "Defensio Regia," quoted by Walpole and Warton, applies to it the epithet of "comptulam"; but this could only have been meant to apply to the dress. The features would rather seem to have justified some of the terms in which the same author, in his posthumous work "Ad Joannem Miltonum Responsio" attributes to Milton "frontem ferream, cor plumbeum, animum improbum, malam linguam, "stylum atrocem." (*Responsio*, p. 2). The same impression as is indicated by the epithet "comptulam" led the author of "Regii sanguinis clamor" to taunt him with being a Narcissus; to which Milton, in a passage in his "Defensio pro se," also partly quoted by Warton, replies:—"Narcissus "nunc sum, quia te depingente nolui Cyclops esse; quia tu effigiem mei "dissimillimam, prefixam poematis, vidisti. Ego vero si impulsu et ambi- "tione librarii me imperito scalptori, propterea quod in urbe alius eo belli "tempore non erat, infabro scalpendum permisi, id me neglexisse potius "eam rem arguebat, cujus tu mihi nimium cultum objicis." (*Prose Works*, *ed.* 1698, *vol.* 3, *p.* 123.) This passage goes far towards settling the question as to the date of the portrait. The engraving is spoken of as having been executed "eo belli tempore" applicable to the date of its publication; and no hint is given of its having been engraved, as Warton assumes, from some earlier drawing or painting in 1629, so as to justify the inscription of "Anno Ætatis Vigess: Pri:". The apparent age, which in 1645 would be thirty-seven—the generally received opinion that Marshal's prints were usually from the life—and the passage from Milton's "Defensio pro se," in which he accounts for the badness of the likeness by a reason which, though valid in relation to an original portrait in 1645, could have no reference to an earlier one then copied, combine to shew that in assigning the age of twenty-one to his print Marshal was as reck-

less of dates as of resemblance to his original. I have only one conjecture to offer towards explaining away the difficulty. Though it is impossible, comparing the Marshal with the Onslow portrait, to treat the one as a copy of the other, it is possible that Marshal may have been allowed access to the Onslow portrait to aid him in the absence of the sitter; and the adoption of the date which actually belonged to the Onslow portrait may thus in some way have originated. The engravings may be described as follows:—

21. Ioannis Miltoni Angli Effigies Anno Ætatis Vigess: Pri: (inscribed round an oval) W. M. Sculp. In the background an Arcadian scene; and in the four corners, outside the oval, the Muses Melpomene, Erato, Urania, and Clio, with their names; beneath, the Greek epigram:*—

Ἀμαθεῖ γεγράφθαι χειρὶ τήνδε μὲν εἰκόνα
Φαίης τάχ ἄν, πρὸς εἶδος αὐτοφυὲς βλέπων.
Τὸν δ' ἐκτυπωτὸν οὐκ ἐπιγνόντες, φίλοι
Γελᾶτε φαύλου δυσμίμημα ζωγράφου.

The size of the plate is 5.7 × 3.6. Its market value is more proportioned to its rarity than its beauty. An impression at the sale of Sir William Musgrave's duplicates sold for £4 18s., and the *Bibliotheca Anglo-Poetica* quotes the price of a copy of the minor poems, 1645, with the plate, at £5, and another with Vandergucht's copy of it at £1 11s. 6d. It is of course mentioned in all the works on English engraved heads, and is much coveted by collectors.

22. Id. A good modern copy of the same print is of frequent occurrence.

23. Ioannis Miltoni Angli Effigies Anno Ætatis 21. M. V. dr. Gucht sc. A reduced copy of the above; the sides and top of the oval partly cut away; and the four Muses in the corner omitted. This print is mentioned by Granger and Bromley, and was prefixed to Tonson's edition of "Paradise Regained," 12mo, London, 1713, the engraver innocently copying the Greek inscription and appending his own name, without being aware that he was applying the censure to himself.

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* This epigram and other Greek verses of Milton are the subject of a severe critique by Dr. Burney, which formed an appendix to Warton's second edition of the Minor Poems. Whatever may be their faults of syntax and prosody, it must be admitted that the lines are destitute of epigrammatic point, to an extent which enables them almost to defy translation; but the following will convey something like the sense and spirit of the original:—

Who, that my real lineaments has scanned,
Will not in this detect a bungler's hand?
My friends, in doubt on whom his art was tried,
The idiot limner's vain attempt deride.

Milton's strictures on the engraver were made the subject of attack by Salmasius, who, in answer to a grossly offensive play upon the Latin form of his name (for an explanation of the allusion see Ov. Met. iv. 285) writes:—"Quis nomen Salmacidis magis "meretur, quam ille, qui quod est fœminarum sibi arrogat, et de solo formæ bono "gloriatur, qui etiam sculptori suo versibus editis in vulgus maledixit, quod se minus "formosum quam revera se esse putaret, pinxerit?" (*Responsio, p.* 39.)

Warton, in noticing this in a note to his first edition (p. 546), adds that he is "not "sure if Vertue has not fallen into the same unlucky mistake." If so, I have not met with the print by Vertue to which he alludes; and from the passage being omitted in Warton's second edition, and an allusion substituted to Vertue's quotation from the Odyssey, I presume the original observation was found to have been written in error.

Faithorne's Engraving.

The peculiarities of this portrait of Milton have been already sufficiently noticed. It is one of the "pictures before his books" condemned as not at all like him in Aubrey's note; but being the only likeness of the poet taken at mature age, and published in his lifetime, it has been more frequently copied than any of the others.

24. Ioannis Miltoni Effigies Ætat. 62, 1670, inscribed on the face of a low pedestal, on the top of which is "Gul. Faithorne ad vivum Delin. et sculpsit." The portrait is an oval, of 4.9×4.2 inside measure; and the entire plate forms a 4to, measuring 7×5.2; published, as before mentioned, in Milton's History of Britain, in the year it bears date. It is mentioned in Granger and Bromley; and a good impression of the plate in its original state is worth a couple of guineas.

25. Id. A modern copy of the preceding. The impressions are common; but they are extremely coarse, and convey an idea of the features very different from the original engraving, which, however, is not in Faithorne's best manner, and would not justify the compliment paid him by his friend Flatman, who says:—

"A 'Faithorne sculpsit' is a charm can save
From dull oblivion and a gaping grave."

26. Joannis Miltoni Effigies Natus Anno 1608, Obiit Anno 1674. Gul. Faithorne ad vivum Delin. et sculpsit. The oval as in the former, but standing on a deep panelled surface, having in front Milton's arms and crest, so as to form a folio plate 8.5×5.2; in Toland's edition of the prose works, 1698. Each impression is, however, struck off from two plates; for which purpose the original, published in 1670, has been cut away immediately below the name of the engraver, and the oblique lines forming the ends of the upper surface of the pedestal erased, and the horizontal lines of shading continued to the edge of the plate. The fact of this alteration having been made shews that the modern impressions of the 4to plate are copies, and are not struck from the original plate worn and retouched.

27. Ioannis Miltoni Effigies Ætat. 62. 1670. A plate so much in Faithorne's manner that it has the appearance of his plate cut down at the sides, and without the "Gul. Faithorne ad vivum delin. et sculpsit" on the top of the pedestal; but a closer inspection shews in every part, and especially by a reduction in the scale, that this is a copy. The entire plate measures 6.6×4.2, and the interior of the oval 4.4×3.9. In the sale catalogue of Sir Mark Sykes's collection (1824) is

described a copy of the Faithorne print "before the plate was reduced." I am not aware that the plate ever was reduced, unless the removal of the lower portion for the purpose of the folio impressions can be so described; and believe the compiler of the catalogue had derived his impression from a hasty inspection of the print now under description.

28. Ioannis Miltoni Effigies Ætat. 63. 1671. W. Dolle sculpsit. A copy, on a reduced scale, from Faithorne's 4to, and similar in all the arrangements; size of plate 5.1 × 3.1; published in the "Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio," 12mo, London, 1672, and again in the second edition of "Paradise Lost," in 1674, and the third in 1678; mentioned by Granger.

29. Ioannis Miltoni Effigies Ætat. 63. 1671. No name of engraver; a close copy of the last except in the features, the expression of which is considerably varied, and the plate is a trifle smaller each way.

30. Mr. John Milton obt. anno 1674, ætat. 66. I. Simon fecit. Mezzotint; oval, with a wavy fillet in the two upper corners; size of plate 6.8 × 5. The only copy I have seen is in the print room of the British Museum, and it is believed to be a portion of the plate described in Bromley's catalogue as a mezzotint, one of four portraits, the others being Beaumont, Fletcher and Cowley: but the ornamentation is certainly different from those and other uniform portraits with which I am acquainted, published by Bowles in sets of four, by Simon and Faber, all of which are in ovals formed of palm branches. The folio mezzotint by Simon, already alluded to and hereafter to be described, must not be confounded with the present print, which is copied from the Faithorne portrait.

31. Anon. R. White sculp. Portrait in an oval formed of leaves and bold and peculiar scroll work; and at foot, in an ornamented panel, Dryden's hacknied lines, here published for the first time:—

"Three poets in three distant ages born," &c.

Size of plate 10.5 × 7; published in the fourth edition of "Paradise Lost," folio, London, 1688, and various subsequent editions; mentioned by Granger and Bromley. The costume and attitude proclaim this to be a copy of the Faithorne portrait; and the features do not vary from it so far as to suggest a doubt on the subject; but yet there is a marked change in them, consisting principally in an increased roundness in the lower part of the face, and less severity in the expression. Both these distinguishing features are also to some extent observable in the folio mezzotint by Simon; and if the original of the latter was, as it purports to have been, a drawing from the life by Robert White, we may trace to the influence of his actual knowledge of Milton's features the slight deviation from the Faithorne engraving, of which that now under discussion is evidently a copy.

32. Ioannis Miltoni Effigies, ob. 1674, Æt. 66. G. Vertue sculp. Portrait in an oval, of which the sides are partly concealed by a kind of architrave, and the top by a curtain, looped up at the left corner by a loosely flowing fillet, and terminating

in a tassel on the right side. On the curtain are the poet's name and date of death as above, and in a framed panel at foot, within a peculiar scroll, Dryden's lines. The plate appeared in Tonson's edition of the Poetical Works, in 2 vols, 4to, London, 1720; mentioned by Granger and Bromley; size 8.8 × 6.1. In this, as in the last described print, there is a softened expression, to be accounted for by Vertue's thorough acquaintance with all the representations of the features of Milton, and among others the drawing attributed to White, of which, I have come to the conclusion, Vertue made a more direct use in his portrait of 1725.

33. Joannes Milton. Ætatis LXII. 1670. G. Vertue sculp. Closely resembling the preceding, and probably an alteration of the same plate; the difference being that in the print now under description the lettering on the curtain is the name and age as above, and in the panel at foot Dryden's lines are replaced by a quotation from Homer's Odyssey, B. viii, l. 63. printed in four lines:—

"Τὸν περὶ Μουσ' ἐφίλησε," &c.

Published in Bentley's edition of "Paradise Lost," 4to, London, 1732; mentioned by Granger and Bromley.

34. The same plate, with the date altered to 1747, was prefixed to the second volume of Newton's edition of "Paradise Lost," 2 vols., 4to, London, 1749, which Hollis's Biographer (see p. 117) treats as the original condition of the plate.

35. Anon. J. Gwin sculp. Size 5.6 × 3.7. In the arrangement of the portrait, curtain, and scroll-headed panel containing Dryden's lines, there is evidence of this plate having been copied from Vertue's first 4to print after Faithorne. It is a coarse but scarce print, and is found in Grierson's edition of the "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained," published in Dublin in 1724; but it has scarcely the appearance of having been engraved for the book, which is a 12mo, and the print has to be folded both ways to admit of its insertion.

36. Anon. G. Vertue sculp. (the G. and V. combined in one letter.) Rectangle; with Dryden's lines and the name "Dryden" at foot. Granger describes a portrait thus:—"Milton; Vertue sc., sm. 12mo." There are several portraits prefixed to Tonson's 12mo editions and elsewhere, so similar to each other, and to which Granger's description may be intended to refer, that a minute account of this and the two following prints may be desirable. The size of the engraving in the present, exclusive of the lines, is 3.7 × 2.8; portrait facing towards its proper left; in third line "thought" printed without a capital, and "Surpas'd" with capital and one s in last syllable; in fourth line no comma after "majesty"; in fifth "*f*urther "go*e*"; and in sixth "*former two*" in italics without capitals.

37. Same description except as follows:—size 3.8 × 2.6; "Thought" with capital; "surpass'd" without capital; comma after "majesty"; "*f*arther go"; "Two" in Roman letters and a capital T; no name of engraver.

38. Same description except as follows:—size 3.7 × 2.8; face towards proper right; "thought" without capital, and "Surpass'd" with; comma after "majesty";

"*further* goe"; "Former" with capital and "*two*" in italics without; no name of engraver.

39. Milton. G. Vertue sculp. One of five ovals forming an 8vo page, the centre portrait being Chaucer, and the others Milton, Butler, Cowley and Waller; mentioned by Granger and Walpole. It forms one of the illustrations to Jacob's Poetical Register, 2 vols., 8vo, London, 1723, but the plates have the appearance of having been collected from various sources, and this may previously have appeared elsewhere.

40. Anon. Portrait in Faithorne costume &c., but with still further divergence in feature; in a circle formed by a serpent, bordered, at a distance of $\frac{4}{10}$ of an inch, by a circular border, extended at the sides by two shells, and contracted at the top by the boundary of the plate, and at the bottom by a pedestal with the inscription—

* * * * Cui mens divinior, atque os
Magna sonaturum * * * *

size of entire engraving, which has the appearance of a vignette, 3.8×2.6; mentioned by Granger, who ascribes it to Vertue.

Granger describes another plate:—"Milton; in a small round encompassed with "a serpent; Vertue sc." If this be a separate print I have not seen it, and know not whether it would be correctly inserted in this place.

41. Anon. Portrait in a circle 1.2 in diameter, on a wreathed pedestal, between two sphynxes, in the attitude of heraldic supporters; appears to be a vignette, or cut from a larger plate.

42. The Effigie of John Milton: author of "Paradise Lost." In an oval, on a diapered ground, and partly covered at foot by a border of acanthus leaves, surrounding a vignette of the Temptation; at the corners formed by the lower part of the oval, are several volumes, of which two are open, and are inscribed with the titles of "Comus" and "Lycidas." This is a carefully engraved plate, measuring probably about 4.7×2.7; but my copy, which is the only one I have ever seen, has been somewhat cut down. The features have an expression differing considerably from any of the Faithorne portraits before noticed.

43. Milton. G. Faithorne delt., Landon dirext. A copy of the Faithorne print in outline, for the Hist. d' Angleterre.

44. Joannis Miltoni. Æt. LXII. MDCLXX. Gul. Faithorne ad viv. del. Car. Knight sculp. A handsome engraving, in an oval, standing on a pedestal, with name and age as above on the front, and on the base "Sana posteritas sciet"; size of plate 6.5×4.4; prefixed to Capel Lofft's second edition of the first and second books of "Paradise Lost," published at Bury St. Edmunds in 1793. In the preface to his first edition, published in 1792 (p. xxv), he says—"If any engraving accom-"panies this edition, it will be only the portrait of Milton, in the most unembel-"lished style, from the engraving which was prefixed to the second edition." It is curious that Lofft was at this time, as he admitted in his subsequent edition, unac-

quainted with the existence of the Faithorne portrait, and knew it only from Dolle's copy.

45. Iohn Milton, aged 62. Engraved from an original by William Faithorne, published 1670. Published 13 June, 1796, by I. & H. Richter. An oval, measuring 5×4.4; prefixed to Richter's edition of "Paradise Lost," 4to, London, 1794; so that the above date or that of the imprint of the volume is an error.

46. Milton. Faithorne pinxt. 1670. Woodman, Jun., sct. Rectangular; in frame surmounted with a panel containing a trumpet and laurel wreath, and at foot a wreathed sarcophagus, inscribed with name as above; size of engraving 5.6×3.6; published Nov. 1st, 1807, by Mathews and Leigh. It appears to be uniform with the series of portraits issued by the same publishers in the "Cabinet; or Monthly "Report of Polite Literature," but I do not find it inserted in the volume of the date it bears.

47. John Milton. P. Roberts sculp. No background; published by T. Dolby, Oct. 1, 1821.

48. John Milton (facsimile of autograph). H. Robinson se. London, William Pickering, 1831. A beautifully engraved oval, 2.6×2.2; published in his Aldine edition of Milton.

49. John Milton (facsimile of autograph). Gul. Faithorne ad vivum del. Cochran sculp. Engraved for Ivimey's Life of Milton; published by Effingham Wilson, 5 Jan., 1833.

50. John Milton. Engraved by W. C. Edwards; published by Westley and Davis, London; prefixed to Fletcher's edition of the prose works, royal 8vo, London, 1833; rectangle, 4.9×4 exclusive of lettering. The softened expression already noticed indicates that this has been engraved from Vertue's copy of the Faithorne portrait.

51. Milton. London, L. Tallis, 8vo; published in Leonard Townsend's "Alphabetical Chronology of Remarkable Events."

52. An octagon, 3.7×3.1; a neatly finished modern engraving, which, being only known to me by a proof before letters, I am unable to describe further.

53. Jo. Milton, 1631 (facsimile of autograph). Engraved by W. Humphreys, from a print by Faithorne, London, William Pickering, Ap. 23, 1851. Rectangular, 4.9×3.9; and at foot, above the signature, a facsimile of Milton's inscription in his copy of Aratus, now in the British Museum:—

"Cum sole, et Lunâ semper Aratus erit."

Others derived from the Faithorne Portrait.

We come now to a class of prints, in which the likeness presents so great a divergence from the features we have been contemplating, that I have thought it best to class them under a separate heading. The costume

and attitude evidence their origin, remotely at least, from Faithorne's portrait: and I think it probable that another drawing from it by Cipriani, while in the possession of the Tonsons, may have led the way to the great variety of feature we shall shortly have to notice. The identity of Messrs. Tonson's drawing with Faithorne's original I am not disposed to question; but the story related in Hollis's memoirs *(p. 619)* of Vertue's going on purpose to see Mrs. Clarke at her lodgings near Moorfields, and causing divers paintings, and this drawing which he took with him, to be brought into the room as if by accident, is inconsistent from beginning to end, and suggests the idea that it had its origin in a confused recollection of Vertue's and Richardson's accounts of two other interviews with Deborah Clarke. That the scene described might have taken place in his own studio would seem more possible: but that while calling on her at her lodgings, painting after painting could have been brought into her own room "as if by accident" without attracting her attention is inconceivable. Her surprise at the sight of the drawing is scarcely less remarkable: for if it was Faithorne's original, she must have known of its existence, and been as familiar as we are with the engravings from it, even if she had left her father's house before the original was taken, and had never seen it, and I think the probability is it was taken before she went to Ireland. The drawing however needed no such anecdote to authenticate it. If it agreed with the Faithorne engraving, Vertue's own opinion to that effect, formed on internal evidence, would have been infinitely more valuable than Mrs. Clarke's; and there is no apparent improbability of its having been—what Hollis supposed it to be—the original of that engraving. In the faithfulness of Cipriani's representation of the features I confess I have less confidence, and I attribute, in a great measure, to the influence of his engraving the great variety of features found among subsequent prints, the costume and attitude of which attest their origin in the Faithorne portrait.

54. Iohn Milton. Drawn and etched MDCLX, by I. B. Cipriani, a Tuscan, at the desire of Thomas Hollis, F.R. and A.SS., from a portrait in crayons, now in the possession of Messrs. Tonson, Booksellers in the Strand, London. Portrait enclosed in an oval wreath of laurel; and below, the quotation:—

"I sing with mortal voice unchang'd," &c.

The print is mentioned by Granger; and forms one of the Hollis series.

55. John Milton. J. Hall sculpt. Printed for John Bell, March 1st, 1777.

An oval suspended from wreath and riband; below, the name on a label; size 4 x 2.4.

56. Id. Another, very similar, in Bell's British Poets.

57. Milton. From Vertue. Milton sculpt. Published by Harrison and Co., Dec., 1795. Oval, 1.9 x 1.4; engraved as a vignette illustration to a short biographical notice. It may possibly have been copied from one of Vertue's 4to. prints; but the features induce me to insert it in this place.

58. Anon. J. Miller sc. An oval much covered with drapery; and beneath, in a circle, a lyre and laurel branches. This portrait is inserted here on the strength of the costume: but both as regards it and many subsequent ones it will be unnecessary to repeat that they present every shade of dissimilarity from the original from which they are derived.

59. Anon. Holbrook sc. A bad copy of the last mentioned plate, but reversed, and with Dryden's lines at foot; prefixed to some copies of the prose retranslation of Paradise Lost from Raymond de St. Maur, 8vo, London, 1773.

60. I. Milton. N. Parr sculp. An oval, 1.3 × 1.2, suspended by a riband.

61. Milton. Bartolozzi sculp. A circle, partly surrounded by laurel branches and fillet; on a pedestal inscribed with name; 4.7 × 2.8.

62. Milton. R. H. Cromek sculp. Very similar to the last; circle surmounted by laurel boughs; name on panel; size 3.8 × 2.6.

63. Anon. From an original painting. Heath sculp. Resembling the preceding; qy published in Aikin's British Poets, 1802.

64. Milton. Engraved by W. T. Fry; published by Thomas Tegg; in Howard's Beauties of Milton. Ornamented rectangular frame, 4.2 × 2.5: the name on a festoon overhanging the top. The portrait has a strong resemblance to Cipriani's engraving.

65. Anon. One of three portraits, in circles 1¼in. in diameter, in the title page of the Beauties of Milton, Thomson and Young, published by Kearsley, 12mo, London, 1783.

66. John Milton. A. Haenish delt., Schenck and McFarlane, Lithographers, Edinburgh. Folio print.

The White Portrait, or Simon's Folio Mezzotint.

The importance I am inclined to attach to this portrait and my reasons for it have been discussed in my introductory observations; and the description I have already given renders unnecessary any further detail. The doubt there suggested furnishes the reason for my having provisionally given it an alternative title, until I am able to ascertain whether it was published before or after 1734.

67. Mr. Iohn Milton. R. White ad vivum delin. J. Simon fecit. Sold by T. Bowles in Paul's Church yard and J. Bowles in Cornhill. Mezzotint; size 11.2 × 9.2, within the plain oval frame; and at foot Dryden's lines in double columns. I have elsewhere mentioned the apparent rarity of this head, and the absence of mention of it by Granger or Bromley. It is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Sutherland collection (1837), a work which does more credit to its printer than its compiler.

68. Milton. A composition, containing in the foreground a bust of Milton, copied from the above, and in the background pictures of Cowley and Denham, the three names being inscribed on a panel at foot; engraved by Anthony Cardon, from a drawing by Thomas Uwins, after the originals of Sir Peter Lely and R. White, and published 1st November, 1805, by John Sharpe.

69. An oval, 2.6 × 2.3; known to me only by a proof before letters. Though without the wreath, the continuation downwards of the folds of drapery depending from the shoulders to the point at which they connect themselves with each other, as noticed already, shews that this print has been copied from Simon's rather than from Richardson's portrait.

The White-Richardson Likeness.

I have already stated the doubts, which nothing but proof of dates is likely to settle, whether Richardson or Simon copied from the other of them the wreath which forms a distinguishing feature of their respective prints. If Richardson was the copyist, and concealed the source from which he derived it, we have no reason to doubt the statement of Simon that his Mezzotint was from an original drawing of Robert White who was contemporary both with him and Milton. If Simon was the copyist, we have no artist's name to set up in opposition: and there is still room for the possibility of his having had grounds, unknown to us, for attributing it to White. Pending the solution of these doubts, I have assumed the truth of the former alternative, and given the name of White to the original drawing in the possession of Richardson in 1734; and consequently the joint names will properly belong to the class of portraits which were derived from Richardson's study of that drawing. It will be convenient to introduce them by an extract from his preface to his "Explanatory notes "and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost," published in 1734. At p. ii he says:—"The print prefixed shews the face of him who wrote Paradise "Lost, the face we chiefly desire to be acquainted with. 'Tis done from "a picture which I have reason to believe he sate for not long before his "death: I have therefore given a little more vigour to the print and but a

"little. The complexion must be imagined as of one who had been fair "and fresh coloured. Toland says he was ruddy to the last. My picture "and other information does not tell us that, but that he might have been "so not long before. The colour of his eyes inclined to blue not deep; "and though sightless they were as he says himself 'clear to outward view "of blemish or of spot;' he was told so and 'tis certain the gutta serena "which was his case does not appear to common eyes and at a little "distance. But blindness even of that kind is visible in the colour, "motion, and look of the eye which has the sad unhappiness of being "extinguished by it. 'Tis wonderfully expressed in the picture from "which this print was made as well as the sett of the mouth and the rest "of the air. I have imitated it as well as I could in a way of working "which I never practised but on a few plates and those in my youth, "except an attempt on one or two near twenty years ago. The laurel is "not in the picture. The two lines under it are my reason for putting it "there—not what otherwise would be imagined: all the world has given it "him long since."

70. Anon. Etching. J. R. sen. f. From an excelt. orig. (crayons) in his collection. Portrait with wreath as described above, the face being turned to the proper left, and, under it:—

"Nectens aut Paphia Myrti, aut Parnasside Lauri
Fronde comas, at ego secura pace quiescam.—Milton's Mansus."

It is mentioned in Granger and Bromley; size of plate 6 × 4.

71. Anon. Etching, lettered as the preceding, and so closely resembling it as to be easily mistaken for it, but differing in size (being 6.1 × 3.5), in the drapery being continued a little lower down on the chest, and in the laurel branch on the right temple consisting of nine leaves instead of eleven.

72. Milton. G. Barron delt. et fecit. An etching, copied from Richardson's original, but reversed.

73. Anon. Engraving reduced from Richardson's etching, but reversed as in the last; size, exclusive of lettering (which is copied from Richardson's), 4.2 × 2.7.

74. Anon. J. Richardson f. An etching much improved by the omission of the wreath; at foot are the following verses, signed J. R. Jun.:—

"Authentic Homer Light's whole Fountain flows,
Immense! Feirce Dazling yet, & Torrent Glows:
His Temper'd Beam the Mantuan Bard reflects,
Shines Sweeter, & his Fairest Rays Selects:
Thine Milton Both, but not Both These Alone,
Thou, like Elysium, Know'st Another Sun."

Size 8 × 5½. Warton's note (*p.* 531 *ed.* 1791) describes it as "another etching of "Milton by Richardson the younger, before he was blind, and when much younger "than fifty, accompanied with six bombast verses, 'Authentic Homer,' &c." I know not what authority there may be for attributing this etching to the Younger Richardson. In manner, it appears very like that of the father; and the lettering seems to attribute to the son nothing more than the authorship of the crazy verses.

75. Anon. An Etching in Richardson's manner, and so described by Granger; size 9.9 × 7.6; without lettering; very similar to the last, but on a larger scale, and with a somewhat different expression. Whether it is an etching by the elder Richardson is a question of some importance; for the drapery, differing from the preceding in being more full over the shoulders, and meeting at an acute angle over the chest, points it out as a connecting link with what I have called below the "Baker Drawing," to which the resemblance in this respect is striking; but I am unable to explain the precise connection between them.

*** Some other etchings by Richardson, which might perhaps have been placed here, will be found described among the engravings from Busts, Medallions &c.

76. Anon. Engraved by J. Roper. An oval, 2.6 × 2.1; forming a vignette in the engraved title to Parsons's edition of Paradise Lost, roy. 8vo, London, 1796.

The White-Vertue Likeness, or Vertue (1725).

I have adopted the first of these titles to indicate what I believe to have been the origin of this portrait, which Granger estimates among the capital works of Vertue. No other person in his day was so well acquainted with the features of Milton, so largely employed in reproducing the known portraits of him, or more scrupulously faithful in doing so. When engaged on his series of Twelve Heads of the Poets, it may well be supposed to have been a reasonable ambition of Vertue to produce, from a careful comparison of the various authentic portraits, a print which, without being a servile copy of any of them, should embody his own ideal of the features of the Poet. The print about to be noticed appears to me to answer this description. The same drawing which served as an original to Simon and Richardson, or possibly Simon's mezzotint itself, (for Richardson's etching was not published till nine years afterwards,) seems to have been adopted as regards the attitude, and I think I can trace in the features a blending of the expression of that drawing with the milder aspect of the Faithorne portrait, as rendered in White's engraving of 1688 and Vertue's own 4to prints. The costume closely follows the same drawing, except as regards the arrangement of the drapery, the treatment of which is original, and will serve us, as the distinguishing marks of the Faithorne engraving have

done already, in detecting the origin of subsequent prints. Mr. Cunningham, in a note to his edition of Johnson's Lives (vol. I, p. 131), passes over Richardson's etching with slight notice as a "compound portrait," and observes that "posthumous additions of this kind are only impertinences at "the best." I am not disposed in general to dissent from this proposition: but it seems hard that what is the daily practice of the sculptor—the production, from the best extant materials, of an ideal representation of the features of illustrious men of a past generation—should be a privilege wholly denied to the sister art; and a portrait so produced may surely claim our approval in proportion to the authenticity of the originals relied upon as authorities, and the conscientiousness and skill with which the available materials have been used. Such a claim for indulgence would be justly forfeited by any deception as to the original from which an engraving purports to have been taken: but in the present instance, though the size and pretension of the plate would have led us to expect a statement of the authority used, we find only the engraver's own name and the date of his work—a circumstance which tends to confirm this explanation of the origin of the portrait. The "ætat. 62, anno 1670," if my conjecture be correct, is to be regretted, as tending to the practice I have just been condemning, but I presume the artist only meant to indicate the age at which he conceived his portrait to represent the features of Milton, namely the date of the Faithorne engraving.

77. Ioannes Milton. Ætat. 62. A.D. 1670. Geo. Vertue sculp. 1725. In an oval composed of ornamental masonry; the age and date round the frame; the name on a block above; at foot of the oval, an escutcheon containing what is intended for Milton's arms, but the eagle is single headed as in another print of Vertue's; and beneath, on a panelled block, Dryden's lines; size of plate 14.4×9.4. Illustrissimo Dno. Dno. Algernon Comiti de Hertford Dno. Percy, &c., &c. Obsequentissime D. D. D. G. Vertue. Mentioned in Granger and Bromley.

78. John Milton. Ætat. 62. Engraved by Owen from a drawing by Vertue, in the collection of Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq. Published by R. Wilks. Oval, 3.5×2.7; and beneath, name and age on a panel. The execution is far from doing justice to Vertue's likeness; but the mention of the authority as a *drawing* by Vertue is confirmatory of the suggestion made above as to the history of the preceding print.

79. John Milton. Ætat. 62. Vertue delint. W. N. Gardiner sculpt. From the original drawing by Vertue, in the collection of Thomas Brand Hollis, Esq., at the Hyde, Essex. Oval, 6.2×5.9; published June 4, 1794, by John and Josiah

Boydell and George Nicol; forming one of the series of three portraits in Boydell's Milton, the other two being the Janssen and Onslow portraits.

80. John Milton. Blood sc. Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1809; size of engraving 4.1 × 2.8.

81. Milton. Engraved by R. Cooper. From an original picture, for La Belle Assemblee; size 5.3 × 4.7, exclusive of lettering; published July 1, 1810, by J. Bell.

82. John Milton, 1667 (facsimile of autograph). Published by William Pickering, 1826; appeared in his three volume edition of the Poetical Works, published in that year; size of engraving 5.5 × 3.7. The facsimile autograph is copied from Milton's agreement with Samuel Symons, which bears date the 27th April, 1667; and the date attached to the signature in this print is only meant to indicate the period at which the facsimile represented the supposed handwriting of the poet. Whether the signature be really that of Milton is a question foreign to our purpose, and is under discussion among more competent authorities.

83. John Milton (facsimile of autograph). William Faithorne del. R. Hicks sculp. Published by Thomas Kelly, June 1, 1829. Size 3.1 × 2.4, exclusive of autograph and lettering; a close copy of Vertue's 1725 engraving, though ignorantly attributed to Faithorne.

84. John Milton (facsimile of autograph). Vertue. W. C. Edwards. London, John Macrone, 1835; published in the six volume edition of the Poetical Works edited by Sir Egerton Brydges. The list of illustrations erroneously describes it as a "Portrait of Milton in his 62nd year, from Faithorne's original drawing."

85. John Milton. Rectangle, 1.5 × 1.2, in a frame of outline scroll work; no name of engraver.

86. Jean Milton. Né à Londres en 1608 mort en 1674 agé de 66 ans. E. G. Schmidt sculpsit. A Paris chez Odieuvre. Oval, 3.6 × 3, in a plain frame; escutcheon with single headed eagle at foot; the whole on a pedestal inscribed as above.

87. Jean Milton, auteur du Poeme du Paradis perdu et de celui du Paradis retrouvé, né à Londres en 1608, mort en 1674. Suite de Desrochers. Se vend Paris chez Petit. Oval, 3 9 × 3.3, formed of masonry; a scroll, at foot, inscribed as above; and below a tablet with six lines of verse, commencing—

"Par la sublimité de son double Poëme," &c.

88. J. Milton. Né à Londres le 9 xbre 1608. Mort a Brunhill [Bunhill-fields] le 15 nbre 1674. F. Bonneville del. Oval, 4 × 3.4.

White-Vandergucht Engraving.

The attitude of the engraving next to be described proclaims its origin in the same drawing as the original of the portraits last noticed, and is my justification for the title I have given it. Vandergucht has altered the

features so as to represent a much younger man than the Vertue engraving, and has clothed the figure in the slovenly undress in vogue among the artists of his day.

89. Giovanni Milton. Jno. Vander Gucht sculp. A large oval; and at foot an escutcheon with the single headed eagle, with helmet, crest, and lambrequin, and various ornaments, such as harps, wreaths &c.; size of plate 12×7.7; in the Italian translation of "Paradise Lost," by Paolo Rolli, folio, London, 1736; mentioned by Granger.

90. Joannes Milton. N. Parr sculp. An oval, with somewhat similar ornaments; size of engraving 5.7×3.2.

91. Giovanni Milton. Antonio Baratti scul. An oval, on a pedestal; size of plate 5.2×2.9; in the edition of Rolli's translation, published in 12mo, Paris, 1758.

The Baker Drawing, &c.

In my introductory observations I quoted a passage from Todd's Life, confounding Faithorne's and Richardson's drawings and one which, after passing through the hands of the Tonsons to Mr. Baker, was engraved for Todd's work. In a note at p. 141 of his second edition (1809) Todd writes:—"In the year 1670 there was another plate, by Faithorne, from a "drawing in crayons by Faithorne, prefixed to his History of Britain. * * "The print has been several times copied. By an ingenious young artist "a new drawing was taken from Faithorne's picture, (supposed to be the "best likeness extant of the poet, and for which he sat at the age of 62,) "by the kind permission of William Baker, Esq., in whose possession it "now is; from which an engraving was made for my first edition of "Milton's Poetical Works. From the same picture the neat engraving in "the present edition is also made. * * * The Richardsons, and next "the Tonsons, before Mr. Baker, had the admirable crayon drawing above "mentioned. * * * This head by Faithorne was etched by Richard-"son, the father, about 1734, with the addition of a laurel crown to help "the propriety of the motto." There is no question that the drawing copied by Cipriani, and which I am ready to admit to have been Faithorne's original drawing, was in the possession of the Tonsons, but I have pointed out that it has no connection with the drawing copied by Richardson; and a glance at the engravings in Todd's Milton will shew that it had no more connection with the original from which they were taken. The drawing copied by Richardson *may have* also passed to the Tonsons, as stated by

Newton, and after him by Warton and Todd. That belonging to Mr. Baker no doubt passed to him from the Tonsons. My conjecture is that from the drawing copied by Richardson, and which we have treated as an original by White, or still more probably from the anonymous etching (No. 75) which we have placed with those of Richardson, the Tonsons had a new drawing made, for the purpose of having it engraved for their Baskerville edition of "Paradise Lost," and that this is the drawing belonging to Mr. Baker, and again copied and engraved for each of the editions of Todd's Milton. I base this conjecture mainly on the fact that the drapery of the portraits in the Baskerville Milton and in Todd's editions shews an actual identity, though departing slightly from that of the White and White-Richardson portraits, except the large anonymous etching (No. 75) to which the resemblance in this respect is very close. The attitude also is identical; and the features do not differ more than may be accounted for to those who have gone thus far with me by the inevitable divergence of successive drawings, and from these again having been copied by different engravers—more especially when we bear in mind that the first of them was Miller, whose engraving, it is fair to suppose, bore about as much resemblance to the original from which he professed to copy as that already described (No. 58) did to the Faithorne portrait. These engravings, then, and some others which may possibly have been derived from them, are arranged as follows:—

92. Anon. J. Miller sc. Portrait in an irregular oval, enveloped in drapery, which partly conceals a panel or pedestal, on which is a vignette representing the expulsion; size 6.5×4.3; prefixed to the edition of "Paradise Lost" edited by Newton, printed by Baskerville, and published by J. & R. Tonson, 4to, Birmingham, 1759.

93. The same print, without engraver's name, and cut down to the size of 5.8×3.6, to adapt it to an 8vo volume, was prefixed to Newton's "Paradise Lost," 8th edition, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1778.

94. John Milton. Born 1608. Died 1674. T. Simpson del. J. Baker sculp. From the original drawing by Faithorne, in the possession of William Baker, Esq. Size 4.7×3.7; prefixed to the first edition of Todd's Milton, 6 vols. 8vo, London, 1801. Simpson is the "ingenious young artist" referred to in Todd's note. The features have more of the expression of White's drawing than the subsequent engraving by Collyer.

95. John Milton. Born 1608. Died 1674. From the original painting by Faithorne, in the possession of William Baker, Esq. Drawn by T. Simpson.

Engraved by J. Collyer. Same size; published in 1809, in the second edition of Todd's Milton.

96. John Milton. Born 1608. Died 1674. From the original painting by Faithorne, in the possession of William Baker, Esq. Drawn by T. Simpson. Engraved by T. A. Dean. Size 4.9 × 3.9; published in the third edition of Todd's Milton, in 1826. It was also prefixed to the fourth edition in 1851, lettered "John "Milton, Faithorne pinxit, Dean sculpt."

97. John Milton. Faithorne pinxt. Dean sculp. Published by J. G. & F. Rivington, 1833; prefixed to an edition of "Paradise Lost" issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; size 3.6 × 3 exclusive of lettering; a neat copy of the preceding.

98. John Milton. Ætat. 62. Engraved by Holl. Published Nov. 23rd, 1799, by T. Heptingstall. Oval, 4.4 × 3.4. I class this and the copies from it, and several succeeding engravings, with the above, rather than multiply subdivisions; but there is a marked change of features, as well as costume, shewing that they are from a different drawing, as is evidenced, indeed, by the date, and I have some doubts whether even from the same original portrait. A further issue of this print is marked as "printed for Vernor & Hood and the other proprietors," and is prefixed to Bensley's edition of "Paradise Lost," 8vo, London, 1802.

99. John Milton. Engraved by J. Archer, for the select Portrait Gallery in the Guide to Knowledge. Rectangle, 4.6 × 3.8 exclusive of lettering; a close copy of the preceding.

100. Milton. W. French sc. John Tallis & Company, London and New York. A copy of the same print; in a tasteless border of irregular form, 6.2 in diameter, of curtains, leaves, &c., forming a plate to Wright's Universal Pronouncing Dictionary, royal 8vo, no date.

101. John Milton (with five lines of biographical notice engraved). London, William Darton, 1822. No. 33 in the first volume of his "Cabinet of Portraits;" a copy from the same, rather coarsely executed in the chalk manner of engraving; lyre and laurel wreath lightly sketched in behind the head; size of plate 4.9 × 3.1.

102. Milton. In a suspended frame, with ornamented corners, on the bottom of which the name is inscribed; outside size 3.2 × 2.7; a copy of the same.

103. Giovanni Milton. Onorate l' altissimo Poeta. Engraved by Mariano Bovi; oval, 5.7 × 4.3. The costume somewhat resembling some of the preceding, and the features more nearly approaching the White-Richardson type.

104. Giovanni Milton. Nato li 9 xbre 1608. Morto li 15 9bre 1674. B. Musitelli inc. Prefixed to Scolari's Saggio di Critica sul Paradiso Perduto, 4to, Venezia, 1818. A slight resemblance in costume is the only excuse I can allege for assigning the present place to this *φαύλου δυσμίμημα ζωγράφου*.

Vertue's Engraving (1750).

There are several other engravings bearing the name of Vertue, the history of which I am unable to explain. The principal one bears the above date; and the drapery is so nearly identical with that of the prints which I have classed together under the heading of the Baker drawing, and especially that by Miller in the Baskerville Milton, that I think it probable it may have had a connection, more or less remote, with the drawing in the possession of the Tonsons. In features it is wholly unlike any of the other portraits; and the form of the collar in all the prints I have here classed together differs from any of those we have been examining. The others are quite unworthy of Vertue's reputation; but some allowance must be made for an engraver pursuing his art at the age of 72.

105. Milton. G. Vertue, 1750. Portrait in a plain oval frame, resting on a pedestal, on the top of which are the engraver's name and date; at the top of the frame is a long narrow oval, surrounded with scroll and fillet, and inscribed with the name of Milton; published in Newton's edition of "Paradise Lost," 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1750, and again in 1778, and probably other editions. This may be the print referred to by Granger under the description of "Milton—oval—his name is " in capitals at the top—Vertue sc. 8vo." Bromley has copied Granger's description.

106. John Milton. G. Vertue sc. (the G and V blended in a manner not unusual in Vertue's prints). The lower part of the portrait shews a portion of an oval frame; the name on a panel beneath; appears in Tonson's edition of "Paradise Lost," 12mo, London, 1751.

107. John Milton. G. V. sc., 1756. The size and arrangments exactly like the preceding, but the features still more unsatisfactory. The monogram which I have transcribed as G. V. scarcely admits of description without a facsimile. The print appeared in one of the 12mo editions of "Paradise Lost," published with Fenton's Life.

108. John Milton. Ornamented and engraved by J. Chapman, 1804. Published by James Cundee. Prefixed to Evans's edition of "Paradise Lost," in two volumes small 8vo; an octagon, 2.4×1.9, surmounted by a dove, and with serpent, cross and other ornaments at foot; the portrait evidently copied from the preceding.

109. Milton. Engraved by Chapman. An oval, 1.7×1.3, forming a vignette to the engraved title to a small edition of the Poetical Works, published by Suttaby, in 1805, and furnishing a more pleasing version of the same portrait.

PORTRAITS DERIVED FROM BUSTS, MEDALLIONS, SEALS &c.

It is one of the disadvantages incident to the practice of the sculptor's art, that his services are frequently called into requisition for the purpose of conferring posthumous honor on those whose features can only be recalled by a comparison of extant portraits: and the result is that in portrait sculpture we look not so much for a literal rendering of the features of the original, as for a work of art, in which those features are impressed with the artist's idea of what is characteristic of the man. Whether any bust of Milton, from which the engravings now to be noticed have been taken, were from the life, is at least doubtful; but the considerations I have touched upon would render it unfair to class them on that account among pseudo-portraits.

Hollis's Bust.

In Hollis's Memoirs (p. 513) it is stated that "Mr. Hollis, in a paper "dated July 30, 1757, says, 'For an original model in clay of the head of "'Milton £9 12s., which I intended to have purchased myself had it not "'been knocked down to Mr. Reynolds by a mistake of Mr. Ford the "'auctioneer. Note, about two years before Mr. Vertue died he told me. "'that he had been possessed of this head many years, and that he believed "'it was done by one Pierce, a sculptor of good reputation in those times, "'the same who made the bust in marble of Sir Christopher Wren which "'is in the Bodleian Library. My own opinion is that it was modelled by "'Abraham Simon, and that afterwards a seal was engraved after it in pro-"'file by his brother Thomas Simon, a proof impression of which is now in "'the hands of Mr. Yeo, engraver, in Covent Garden.'" A few lines further on it is stated that "the bust probably was executed soon after "Milton had written his Defensio pro populo Anglicano," and that "Mr. "Reynolds obligingly parted with this bust to Mr. Hollis for twelve "guineas." I infer from this that Mr. Hollis's own memorandum referred to the price at which the bust was sold to Reynolds. Warton states (p. 531 ed. 1791) that "Mr. Hollis bought it of Vertue" The inference from Hollis's memorandum, written in the year after Vertue's death, is that the latter had been the possessor before the sale at which it was knocked down to Reynolds. From this bust there have been various engravings:—

110. Milton. J. Richardson delin. G. Vertue sculpsit. A bust on a pedestal, decorated with serpent and apple, and the poet's name inscribed on the plinth.

The bust stands in a round-headed niche; and the entire plate measures 12 × 7.2; it appeared in the edition of Milton's Prose Works, 2 vols. folio, London, 1738; mentioned by Granger.

111. Milton. J. Richardson delin. G. Vertue sculpsit. The same plate, cut down a little above the spring of the circular head of the niche above mentioned, so as to reduce the size to 10 × 7.2, to adapt it to Baron's edition of the Prose Works, in 2 vols. 4to, London, 1753.

112. Milton. E. Verhelst fec. Mannheim. A small bust, unlike Milton in features, but indicating in costume and ornaments that it is intended for a copy of the preceding.

113. Iohn Milton, drawn and etched MDCCLX by I. B. Cipriani, a Tuscan, from a bust in plaister, modelled from the life, now in the possession of Thomas Hollis, F.R. and A.SS. An oval encircled with palm, uniform with the other Hollis portraits; and beneath, the sonnet to Cyriac Skinner:—

"Cyriac this three years day," &c.

It is mentioned by Grainger.

114. John Milton. Engraved by H. Meyer, from a drawing by Mr. Cipriani, in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Disney, published April 16, 1810, by T. Cadell and W. Davies. A representation of the same bust in profile; but whether from a drawing by Cipriani, as stated, or only founded on that made for the print last described, I am not aware.

115. Milton. Litterary Magazine. A representation of the same bust, probably copied from Vertue's print; size, exclusive of lettering, 3.5 × 2.8.

116. Iohn Milton. Literary Magazine. The same altered, and the title of the periodical corrected as above.

Richardson's Etchings.

117. ΜΙΛΤΩ (inscribed on the pedestal of a bust). J. Richardson f.; and beneath, the lines:—

"Forsitan & nostros ducat de Marmore Vultus,
Nectens aut Paphia Myrti, aut Parnasside Lauri
Fronde Comas, at ego Secura Pace quiescam. Milton in Manso."

Size of plate 9.2 × 5.8. This is an etching mentioned in the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis. At p. 514, the author—after introducing the subject of the Poems and Essays of Samuel Say, 4to, London, 1745—writes:—"Let us not forget for what purpose we "brought this gentleman upon the carpet. It is for the sake of a print of a bust of "Milton, prefixed to his second essay, which, if our judgment were asked, we "should call a good one: the execution is by Mr. Richardson, Sen.: it is from "Mr. Hollis' model in clay, ornamented by Richardson, and is one of his sets of "prints of Milton." Warton notices Mr. Hollis's bust, and says that "Richardson "etched it for the Poems and Critical Essays of S. Say, 1754, 4to," but adds, "I "believe this is the same etching that I have mentioned above to have been made "by old Richardson, 1734, and which was now lent to Say's editor, 1754, for Say's

"Essays: old Richardson was not living in 1754." (*Warton's Milton*, p. 531, ed. 1791.) It must be admitted that the resemblance between the etching of 1734 (No. 70) and that under discussion is so close in feature, attitude and costume, and even in the addition of the wreath, that the latter print would be more correctly described as a study of Richardson from his "excellent original in crayons," adapted to the form of a bust, than as a copy from Hollis's model in clay; but it is impossible that Warton could have compared the two etchings, or had more than the vaguest recollection of one while describing the other, when he expressed his belief that the two plates were identical. His argument, moreover, rests on an error in dates. Say's Poems and Essays were published, not in 1754, as thrice stated by Warton in the course of four lines, but in 1745, on the 6th of April in which year the preface is dated, while Richardson survived to the 28th of May following. The publication of Say's Poems and Essays was posthumous, the author having died in 1743; and a postscript acknowledges that "the subscribers "are obliged to Mr. Richardson for the fine head of Milton, prefixed to the Essay "on the Numbers of Paradise Lost, who lent the plate etched by himself, to be "used on this occasion." Granger's account of the print is that it "was done from "a bust which belonged to the painter that etched the print; the bust is said to "have been done from a mould taken from his face, and is indeed very like him." He adds in a note, that "the prints of Milton by Richardson are not common."

118. Milton (inscribed on the pedestal of a bust). Clark sc. A small vignette, enclosed in an abundance of foliated ornament; and probably a bad copy of the preceding.

119. MINTΩ. J. Richardson, 1738. A profile etching; in an oval 3.9×3.5; bearing no resemblance to any other portrait of Milton already noticed, but a considerable resemblance to Richardson's profile etching of Pope. Richardson's tendency to reproduce in portraiture the features of other portraits from his own hand is very remarkable; and, but for the close resemblance which his etching of 1734 bears to the features in Simon's mezzotint, would be sufficient to destroy all confidence in the former even as an ideal portrait. I have placed this print in its present order from its apparent resemblance to a drawing from a medallion: but I am not aware of any from which it can have been taken. It is mentioned by Granger and Bromley. The original drawing is probably one described by Malone, (*Prior's Life of Malone*, p. 397, 399,) as being in profile, and marked "13th "February 1737 R." This and another of Milton, "4th December 1734 R.," and six other drawings by Richardson, were bought at the sale of his drawings in 1746–7 by his son, at whose sale in 1772 they were bought by Mr. Parsons, a picture cleaner, who sold them to Malone. The literary connection between Malone and the younger James Boswell renders it probable that these were the "two beautiful "pencil drawings of vellum, by the elder Richardson, portraits of Milton," which formed lot 3206 at the sale of Boswell's library in 1825, and sold for nineteen shillings.

120. Anon. A profile in oval; strongly resembling the preceding, but clothed, and with collar in the style of the White-Richardson drawing.

121. Milton. F. P. The initials, as we are informed by Granger, are those of Francis Perry. He was a pupil of Richardson. The etching, which is in profile, is a copy of the last but one, but reversed.

Milton victorious over Salmasius.

122. Anon. I. B. C. I. F. MDCCLXVII. Life of M. by I. T., ed. II, p. lxxx. A quarto plate, representing a terminal bust of Milton, copied from Hollis's bust above described; on the face of the term is a volume lettered "Def. pro pop. "Anglic."; and beneath, a palm branch, from which is suspended a medallion representing, as we are informed below, Salmasius; mentioned by Granger and Bromley. The history of the print is given in the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis. At p. 371, after mentioning a projected edition of Milton's Prose Works, which became abortive in consequence of a misunderstanding between Mr. Hollis and Miller, the publisher, it is stated that "some time before this transaction Mr. Hollis had "settled with Mr. Cipriani, much as he said to his satisfaction, the sketch of a "print representing Milton victorious over Salmasius, which he undoubtedly "intended for a frontispiece to the projected edition of the Prose Works just men- "tioned. He did not, however, countermand this print upon his disappointment, "observing that it might serve for some future edition of those works." In a subsequent passage (p. 383) the author proceeds to say:—"We have mentioned above "that Mr. Hollis had, in concert with Cipriani, settled the sketch of an emble- "matical print representing Milton's victory over Salmasius. On the 13th of "January [1768] Mr. Cipriani brought him a finished drawing from that sketch, "for which Mr. Hollis paid him five guineas, and presented him with two more on "account of the masterly execution of it. It was agreed between them at the same "time that Cipriani should make an etching from that drawing, which was done, "and a proof brought to Mr. Hollis by Cipriani March 5, for which the artist had, "as the price of his ingenuity, twenty guineas, and five more as a present."

123. Anon. I. B. C. I. F. MDCCLXVII. J. Hopwood s. A reduced copy of the preceding; 4.4 × 3.2; the volume and palm branch being superseded by a fillet, inscribed with the words "Defensio secunda," from which the portrait of Salmasius is suspended; prefixed to the third volume of the works of Archdeacon Wrangham, 8vo, London, 1816.

124. John Milton. The same plate, altered by the erasure of the fillet and portrait from the face of the term, and the substitution of the Poet's name; and beneath, in odd conjunction, the words "Do fermented liquors contribute to intel- "lectual excellence?"

Rysbrack's Monument.

125. Milton. H. Gravelot delin. Nathl. Parr sculp. The name inscribed on the pedestal of a bust, the history of which is given on a panel below, namely:—

"In the year of our Lord Christ one thousand seven hundred and thirty seven "This Bust of the Author of Paradice Lost was placed here by William Benson "Esquire one of ye two Auditors of the Impress to His Majesty King George the "Second formerly Surveyor General of the Works to His Majesty King George the "First. Rysbrack was the Statuary who cut it." This is the marble bust in Westminster Abbey. It is stated in Hollis's Memoirs to be after his plaister bust and the Faithorne drawing in the possession of the Tonsons, but chiefly the latter. The print is a folio 12×7.5.

126. The monument of the celebrated John Milton as it now stands in Westminster Abbey. Drawn by Hamilton. Engraved by Thornton. A reduced copy of the preceding in 8vo.

127. Johannes Miltonus. M. Rysbrachius marm. sc. pro Gul. Bensono, arm. G. Vandergucht 1741, 4to. The above description is extracted from Granger. The print is mentioned also by Bromley, but I have not happened to meet with it.

Miscellaneous Busts.

128. Milton. Engraved by W. Ridley, from a drawing taken from a bust in the possession of the proprietor; printed for C. Cooke, 1800; in Cooke's edition of Select Poets. I know nothing of the bust from which this purports to be taken.

129. Anon. A miniature bust, somewhat resembling the preceding.

130. Milton. Richd. Smirke delt. Abr. Raimbach sculpt. Published by Johnson & Co., 1810, as a frontispiece to Cowper's Milton. A terminal bust, differing from all the other likenesses; standing on a circular pedestal, against which is reared a medallion of Cowper.

Medallions.

131. Iohannes Miltonus. J. Hulett del. et sculp. A 4to plate in Peck's Milton, representing the obverse and reverse of a medal; obverse, Iohannes Miltonus. Tanner f. Reverse, E. Marmore in Ecclesia Sancti Petri apud Westmonasterium erectore Gulielmo Bensono arm. Anno salutis humanæ MDCCXXXVII. Rysbrachius sculpsit; beneath, the quotation from the Odyssey:—"Τὸν περὶ Μουσ' "ἐφίλησε," &c., and the dedication "Viro ornatissimo Gulielmo Bensono arm. "Miltoni sui Tabulam hanc merito votivam D.D.D. Francus Peck, A.M." This medal was struck at the expense of Mr. Benson, and given, as stated by Dr. Joseph Warton in a note to his brother's edition of the minor poems (p. 362, ed. 1791), as prizes for the best verses that were produced on Milton at all our great schools.

132. Ioannes Miltonus. Guls. Green, Jun., delin. J. Wood sculp. A profile forming a medallion vignette, 2.1 in diameter in the title page of Dobson's Latin Translation of the Paradise Lost, 2 vols. 4to, London, 1753; stated by Granger to have been engraved from a medallion which was done after the head on his monument by Rysbrack, and resembling that or Hollis's bust.

133. Ioannes Milton. Engraved in outline from a medal; obverse, the head, apparently designed chiefly after the type of the White portrait; reverse, the Temptation, partly surrounded with fillet inscribed "Dira dulce canit alter Homerus;" in the exergue the initials J. D.

134. Anon. A. Smith, A.R.A. sc. A medallion in profile, forming a vignette in title page to an edition of Paradise Lost published in 12mo by Sharp, 1809.

135. John Milton. Chas. Heath sculp. Published by J. Mawman, &c., 1817; a medallion in profile.

136. English Poets. Ten medallion heads ranged on the side of a representation of Mount Parnassus. R. Smirke del. J. Newton & J. Landseer fecit. Medallions per J. Newton. Folio: the head of Milton, though in the form and style of a medallion, is copied from the Faithorne portrait.

Seals.

137. Milton. W. W. Rylands sc. From a drawing of Mr. Deacon, taken from an impression of a seal of T. Simon * in the possession of Mr. Yeo. This seal is referred to in Hollis's Memoirs, in a passage already quoted in relation to Hollis's bust, with which it is stated this agrees; but I confess I can see no resemblance. The print is mentioned by Bromley, and with approbation by Granger.

138. Milton. From an impression of a seal of T. Simon, in the possession of Mr. Yeo. In the only copy I have happened to meet with, a worn plate appearing in an edition of the Poet's works published by J. Smith, High Holborn, 1830, a close inspection detects traces of the words "engraved by" beneath the oval to the left, and a name to the right which I am unable to decipher. Granger mentions a print which he describes as "Milton: from a drawing of Mr. Deacon taken from "an impression of a seal of T. Simon, in the possession of Mr. Yeo." Query whether this description is intended for the present print, or for either of those next to be described.

139. Milton. T. Holloway, sculpsit. From an impression of a seal of T. Simon, in the possession of the late Mr. Yeo; published August 15, 1801, by J. Mawman, &c.

140. Milton. R. R. Romnery sculp. A close and well executed copy of the preceding. I am told it is a rare, if not an unpublished print.

PRETENDED PORTRAITS.

The Cooper Miniature.

In proceeding to treat of those engraved heads, published with the name of Milton, the history of which I do not consider satisfactorily authenti-

* Mr. Hollis is stated to have had a small steel puncheon of Milton's head, a full front, for a seal or ring, by the same T. Simon, who did many more of Milton's party in the same way. I have been favored by Albert Way, Esq., with an impression in wax from a steel puncheon answering this description and admirably executed.

cated, the first rank is fitly occupied by one which, if the test I had adopted had been public acceptance, I must have placed among the authentic portraits: for none of those which will remain to be described have been so often or so well engraved as that which goes by the name of the Cooper miniature. It was bought for one hundred guineas, in 1784, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, from a picture dealer named Hunt, who "had "obtained it from a common furniture broker, who could not remember "the time nor manner in which he came by it." (*Northcote's Life of Reynolds, 4to ed., p.* 319.) It was marked "S.C. 1653"; and on the back was written, "This picture belong'd to Deborah Milton who was her "Father's Amanuuensis at her death was sold to Sr Willm Davenants "Family.* It was painted by Mr. Sam. Cooper who was painter to Oliver "Cromwell at at ye time Milton was Latin Secratary to ye Protector. The "Painter & Poet were near of the same age. Milton was born in 1608 "& died in 1674. Cooper was born in 1609 & died in 1672 & were "Companions & friends till Death parted Them. Several encouragers and "Lovers of ye fine Arts at that time wanted this picture, particularly Lord "Dorset† John Somers Esq.‡ Sr Robt Howard Dryden Atterbury Dr. "Aldrich & Sr John Denham." It was mentioned in the first edition of Warton's Milton in the following year (p. 546); and the publication of the second edition of that work in 1791, with some additional remarks (p. 532) suggesting the resemblance of the likeness to a portrait of Selden in the Bodleian, gave rise to a letter in the Gentleman's Magazine of 20th May, 1791 (vol. lxi, p. 399), impugning the authenticity of the portrait, and written, as Todd informs us (and see also *Nichols' Lit. Anec.* IX, 67), by Lord Hailes. The letter was answered on the 15th of June (p. 603) under the signature of "R. J.," which indicated no less a personage than Sir Joshua himself: and indeed the answer is avowed by his biographer Northcote, and printed by him in extenso (p. 320). A reply appeared in

* Sir William Davenant's name had, shortly before Sir Joshua Reynolds' purchase, been before the public in connection with the history of the Chandos Shakespeare, of which a copy had been made by Sir Joshua himself. (See *Boaden on Shakespeare portraits, p.* 40.)

† See note on Vertue's letter to Christian, *ante*. Warton notices that this may have been the picture to which Prior's recollection was to be called, as having been in Lord Dorset's collection.

‡ Mr. Keightley (p. 133) prints "Lord Somers, Esquire," with "(sic)" to indicate that there is no typographical mistake; but he does not mention that he has examined the original miniature; and Miss Watson's engraving has the inscription as quoted in the text.

the Gentleman's Magazine for October (vol. lxi, p. 885); and in the following month Sir Joshua made his will, leaving "the miniature of Milton by "Cooper" to the Rev. Wm. Mason, who in a letter printed in Sir James Prior's recently published Life of Malone (p. 193) stoutly maintained the genuineness of his acquisition, gutta serena and all. By his will in 1797, after providing for the editing of his works by Willm. Burgh, Esq., LL.D., of York, he desired him for such friendly trouble to accept the fine miniature picture of Milton, painted by Cooper, which was bequeathed to the testator by Sir Joshua Reynolds. (See *Hunter's South Yorkshire*, II, 169, quoted in *Gent. Mag. for July*, 1831.) The controversy is too lengthy for our purpose; but the arguments may be shortly condensed. Lord Hailes shews the impossibility of reconciling the facts stated in the memorandum with the known date of Deborah Milton's death; and points out how irreconcileable any date is with the list of names given, and which he asserts to have been set down at random. It may be sufficient to mention that Sir John Denham died several years before Milton. Sir Joshua considered that the memorandum had been written before 1693, when Mr. Somers was knighted, and it had been admitted in an inscription on an engraving which will presently be described, that the writer of the memorandum had been mistaken in supposing Deborah Milton to be then dead. He quotes the authority of Mr. Tyrwhitt, to whom the miniature had been shewn at the Archbishop of York's table, for stating that "the orthography as well as the colour of the "ink shewed the memorandum to have been written about a hundred "years since;" and restates the case for the authenticity of the picture, by saying its "progress seems to be this:—Milton dying insolvent, and "Deborah Milton of course in great indigence, it is very improbable that "she would keep to herself a picture of such value; it was therefore sold, "as we suppose, to the author of the memorandum; and the account there "given is probably such as he received from the seller of the picture, who, "in order to raise its value, boasts how many great men had desired to "have it." Lord Hailes replies to the argument as to the *orthography*, by which he assumes the writer to mean *false spelling*, that the only words misspelt are "amannuensis" and "secratary"; and challenges Mr. Tyrwhitt to say whether such spelling was in use a hundred years ago, or whether a son of Sir William Davenant would so have written them; and suggests the question whether the phrase "fine arts" was used in English so early

as 1693. He denies, on the authority of the testamentary papers which had just been brought to light, that Milton died insolvent, and argues that before we can suppose Deborah to have sold the picture, we must suppose her to have been possessed of it, whereas she was living apart from her father for several years before his death; and even if she had been possessed of it, and left in extreme indigence, she would not have been likely to retain it from 1674 to 1693 and then part with it. We may fairly sum up this portion of the argument by observing that while on the one hand the most perfect consistency in the facts stated in an unauthenticated memorandum, on a picture passing under such suspicious circumstances through the hands of a broker, would only prove the possibility and not the truth of the statement, a mistake in important facts is fatal to its authority, and justifies us in treating it as a fabrication. It may be added that Deborah Clarke expressly told Vertue that she knew of no other picture of her father than the two in the possession of his widow, having been several years in Ireland, both before and after his death. But abandoning the evidence of the memorandum, there remains the internal evidence of the picture itself. On this subject Sir Joshua Reynolds is entitled to be heard with respect, though with large allowance for his evident disinclination to believe he had been duped, and his eagerness to maintain a foregone conclusion arrived at on insufficient external evidence. He had told Warton that "the picture was admirably painted, and with such a character of "nature that he was perfectly sure it was a striking likeness—he had now "a distinct idea of the countenance of Milton which could not be got from "any of the other pictures which he had seen." Under his assumed initials of "R. J." he says:—"The opinion of Sir Joshua Reynolds in "matters relating to his own profession certainly ought to have some "weight. He is not likely to be wanting in that skill to which every other "artist pretends, namely, to form some judgment of the likeness of a "picture without knowing the original. * * * Without being an "artist it is easily perceived that the picture of Faithorne does not possess "that individuality of countenance which is in the miniature. * * * "There is no doubt but that Milton sat to Faithorne for that crayon "picture: the distinguishing features are the same as in the miniature— "the same large eyelid—the same shaped nose and mouth—and the same "long line, which reaches from the nostril to below the corners of the "mouth—and the same head of hair: but if the effect and expression of

" the whole together should be, as in fact it is, different in the two pictures, " it cannot, I should think, be difficult for us to determine on which side " our faith ought to incline, even though neither possessed any strong " marks of identity." The engravers have furnished ample opportunities for examining the lineaments of this much contested portrait.

141. Anon. Oval, 2.5 × 1.9 within the frame, in front of a curtain and pyramid; on the two exposed sides of the base are bas-reliefs representing the Expulsion and the Temptation; reared against the front an oval representing the back of the miniature, with the memorandum above quoted; and, below, the following inscription :—" The above is a fac-simile of the manuscript on the back of " the picture which appears to have been written some time before the year 1693 " when Mr. Somers was knighted, and afterwards created Baron Evesham which " brings it within nineteen years after Milton's death. The writer was mistaken " in supposing Deborah Milton to be dead at that time: she lived till 1727, but in " indigence and obscurity married to a weaver in Spitalfields. I have only to add " that Cooper appears to have exerted his utmost abilities on his friend's picture, " and that Miss Watson has shewn equal excellence in this specimen of her art. " The likeness to the original picture which is in my possession is preserved with " the utmost exactness. J. Reynolds." Published January 4, 1786, by Caroline Watson: mentioned by Bromley.

142. Milton. Engraved by Caroline Watson, 1808, from a miniature by Cooper. Oval; same size as above; published January 20, 1808, by Richard Philips.

143. J. Milton. Né en 1608, Mort en 1674. Reynolds pinx. Boutrois sc. 3.9 × 3.1. Sir Joshua Reynolds's connection with the picture suggests the origin of the mistake as to the painter.

144. Iohn Milton. Augsburg, by John Elias Haid; mezzotint; oval, 6 × 4.6 within the frame.

145. John Milton. Cooper del. Cochran sc., published in Bohn's edition of Milton's Prose Works, vol. I.

146. Vignette to the edition of L'Allegro and Il Penseroso, illustrated by Birkett Foster. The description states broadly that " this portrait was formerly in the " possession of Milton's daughter Deborah: it then passed into the hands of Sir " William Davenant, and subsequently into those of Sir Joshua Reynolds."

Du Roveray's Print.

147. Milton. Engraved by William Sharp, after an original miniature by Samuel Cooper: the ornaments by G. B. Cipriani and E. F. Burney. Oval, 3 × 2.4, surrounded with wreaths, &c., in front of a truncated column, against the base of which is an oval vignette representing the Temptation. Published in Du Roveray's edition of Paradise Lost, 1802.

If nothing can be found in common between this and Miss Watson's engraving, I presume the explanation must be that the name of Cooper, having been once brought into connection with Milton portraits, has been treated in the same manner as that of Faithorne, and is intended to assist the portly gentleman, whose features are here represented, in personating Milton.

Craig's Drawing.

148. John Milton. Drawn by W. M. Craig, Esq., from a miniature by Cooper. R. Hicks sculp. Oval, 3.2 × 2.6, with serpent and apple, and other ornaments. Published by Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, Liverpool, March 30, 1812. The same observations apply to this as to the preceding.

Peck's Mezzotint.

This impudent attempt to foist upon the public a pretended portrait of Milton appeared in Peck's Memoirs in 1740. He describes it at p. 103 as "a picture, an half length, drawn when he was about five and twenty." "The original" he says "was once the property of Sir John Meres, of "Kirby Belers, in com. Leic., kt., but is now mine and you have a good "print of the head prefixed to this work. However as the plate exhibits "the head only, and as no engraving can express the colouring of the "complection and drapery, and perhaps something of the features, I "shall here add a short description of the whole. Milton is here drawn "sitting in a red velvet chair in a russet coloured nightgown lined with "blue." He then proceeds with a minute description of the dress, and concludes by saying:—"His left hand lying over an open book on a table "covered with a loose red velvet table cloth: the open dexter leaf of the "book numbered p. 30: and on the edge of the book a label inscribed "Paradice Lost, with a *c* not an *s*—as he often wrote it." Will it be believed that this book is the sole pretext for attributing the portrait to Milton? Some one has observed that on similar grounds, if the volume had been the Book of Genesis, Mr. Peck would have supposed the portrait to be that of Moses. But he did not err from ignorance: for having asked Vertue whether he thought it a picture of Milton, and being peremptorily answered in the negative, Peck replied "I'll have a scraping from it "however and let posterity settle the difference." *(See Warton p. 545, Ed. 1785.)* Vertue himself told the story to Hollis in 1755. *(See Hollis's Memoirs 513, 529.)* Posterity has long since "settled the difference" not much to Mr. Peck's credit.

149. Iohannes Miltonus; circa annum ætatis xxv^m. J. Faber fecit. Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii, (Propert.) Viro ornatissimo Cuthberto Constable de Burton Constable in com. Ebor. Tabulam hanc merito votivam D.D.D. Francus Peck A M. An oval representing a young man of about the age stated, with flowing bushy hair and moustache, dressed in a gown and short shirt collar open at the throat; size, exclusive of lettering, 6.8 × 5.8; mentioned by Granger and Bromley.

The Elderton Miniature.

In January, 1791, the Rev. J. Elderton, of Bath, announced to the world in the columns of the Gentleman's Magazine, the existence of a miniature picture of Milton in his possession. He states that "it "belonged to his child's great ancestor Sir Edward Seymour, who was "speaker of the House of Commons, and grandfather of the Duke of "Somerset: it has been seen by connoisseurs, who always agreed it was "an original: the hair is of a dark chesnut colour, flowing down to the "shoulders." *(Gent: Mag. v.* lxi, *p.* 39.) Perverse individuals having ventured to hint a doubt of its genuineness, though vouched by so aristocratic a pedigree, Mr. Elderton settled the question by forwarding the outlines of the miniature for the purpose of the engraver: and this curious addition to the engraved portraits of Milton accordingly appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for January, 1792:—

150. Picture supposed to be Milton. Oval, 4.3 × 1.8, forming one of a page of illustrations to the Gentleman's Magazine; B[asire] sc.

Vertue's Richardson Portrait.

151. Ioannes Milton, ætat. 42. Ex musæo J. Richardson. G. Vertue, Sculpsit, 1751. An oval, the frame of which terminates at the base in a foliated scroll, in which is inserted a panel, with name and age as above, and at the top lightning, serpent and apple, &c.; size of plate 8.6 × 6.

This plate, which appeared in Newton's edition of Paradise Regained, 4to, London, 1752, and is mentioned in Granger and Bromley, and in the memoirs of Thomas Hollis, (p. 117), represents a person about the age stated, dressed in gown and falling or Genevan band, with flowing hair and slight moustache. There can be no hesitation in classing it among the pseudo-portraits, though I regret so to treat an engraving inscribed with the name of the conscientious Vertue. I know nothing of its history beyond what I have stated. Richardson died six years before the date of the print, as I have mentioned in speaking of the etching published in Say's Poems and Essays, (No. 117.)

The Chesterfield Portrait.

152. John Milton. From an original in Lord Chesterfield's collection. Cook sculpt. Printed for John Bell, Nov. 12, 1777. Oval; portrait of a young man of from 20 to 30, with moustache, &c., his head leaning on his hand in an attitude of thought; name on a panel below.

153. John Milton. From an original in Lord Chesterfield's collection. Cook sculpt. Slightly differing from the preceding and distinguishable by the panel having square instead of rounded ends.

154. John Milton. In an edition of Paradise Lost, published by Law, Millar and Co., London, 1792; a copy of the preceding, but with broader and coarser features.

The Strawberry Hill Portrait.

155. John Milton. S. Harding del. E. Harding, Jun., sculpt. From an original picture in the collection of Lord Orford, at Strawberry Hill. Published Dec. 1, 1796, by E. & S. Harding, Pall Mall; 4to.

The print is a half length portrait of a gentlemen of from 30 to 40 years of age and light complexion; in cavalier costume, apparently of black velvet; with pointed beard and moustache. The same plate, published without date by Evans of Great Queen Street, figured as a portrait of Sir William Killigrew, "Vandyke pinx." being substituted for "S. Harding del." If the latter account of the picture have any better evidence in its favor than the former I have no objections to offer, unless it represent a man older than 36, which was the age of Killigrew at the date of Vandyck's death in 1641. The sale catalogue of the Strawberry Hill collection has no mention of any portrait of Killigrew; but lot 7 in the 21st day's sale is described as "a portrait of Milton," without a word to identify or trace the history of the picture. In the catalogue of Portraits in the Manchester Art Treasures' Exhibition is one, numbered 105, (lent by the Duke of Newcastle) of "Sir William Killigrew; half length, in "black; signed 'A Van Dyck pinxit 1638.'" I had not then any reason for taking especial notice of the picture; but I am told it corresponded with the print.

The Capel Lofft Portrait.

This is a folio engraving from a picture in the possession of Capel Lofft, who in the preface to his edition of the Paradise Lost, published at Bury St. Edmunds in 1792, in describing the edition of 1674, with the portrait by W. Dolle, says:—"Whatever harshness there may be in the style of

"the engraving, even to a degree of rudeness, there appear strokes of "a characteristic resemblance. It seems to me to be from an original "which was bequeathed to my father by Col. Holland, on which lines "of Latin verses were inscribed beneath the scroll; *Inclytus et Fœlix* "*Patriam* can be pretty plainly traced: the rest is lost, and I fear irre- "coverably. Mr. Stevenson of Norwich had this picture to copy, as he is "always warm in the interests of genius and humanity." I cannot imagine what possible relationship Mr. Lofft could trace between this portrait and Dolle's, which is a copy, and not a very unfaithful one of Faithorne's Engraving. With the latter however Lofft appears from other passages in his preface to have been unacquainted. To those who can believe that the portrait now under discussion represents Milton at all, the fact that Peter Vander Plas, to whom it is attributed, died in 1626, when Milton was 18 years of age, will probably present a minor difficulty. The figure appearing in a beam of light entering at the upper right hand corner of the engraving, and probably representing the Risen Saviour, may have suggested the idea of the portrait being that of the author of Paradise Regained. This emblem and the Pilgrim's staff and bottle, which form so prominent an object in the print, would be equally appropiate to Bunyan, to whom the features bear, at least, as much resemblance as they do to Milton; but if Vander Plas was the painter, this suggestion is as impossible as the other; and for our purpose the question of who the original was is of little importance if he was not Milton. The engraving may be described as:—

156. Milton. P. V. Plas fecit. Drawn and engraved by G. Quinton, from an original picture in the possession of Capel Lofft, Esq. Published August 1st, 1797, by W. Stevenson, Norwich, for G. Quinton, engraver, and sold by Messrs. Boydell. A rectangle 8½ × 7 inches. Below the figure is a scroll, showing in a legible state part of the Latin words quoted by Mr. Lofft; and below, in rude Roman letters, P.V. PLAS Fec.

157. Milton (from a picture by Plas.) Drawn on stone by M. Gauci, Esq. Printed by F. Moser. An enlarged copy in folio of the head from the preceding print.

Portrait in Dr. Williams's Library.

158. John Milton. Drawn by J. Thurston. Engraved by J. T. Wedgwood, from a picture by Dobson in Dr. Williams's Library. London, March 1, 1820, published by W. Walker. A coarse featured, heavy looking man, of middle age, with flowing hair and broad Genevan band, but no trace of Milton's features. The

original picture, of the history of which nothing is known at the library, is not quite so repulsive as the engraving.* Todd mentions the name of Dobson in connection with another portrait which has also been attributed to Riley.

Pye's Print.

159. John Milton. Painted by C. Janssen! Engraved by Charles Pye. London, published for the proprietor, March 1823. The print represents a young man, of upwards of 20, in a lace cravat of the time of Queen Anne. I am not aware in what publication the engraving appeared—probably some general biographical work: for I have met with uniform portraits of Locke, Louis xvi, Pitt, Sydney, Thurlow, Washington &c.

Page's Print.

160. Milton. Engraved by R. Page from an original painting. In a suspended frame with ornamental corners. I know nothing of its history; and its importance is not such as to challenge much enquiry.

The Falconer Miniature.

The history of this portrait is contained in the pages of Notes and Queries. In vol. II, 2nd series, p. 231, Mr. Jones, of Nantwich, had mentioned a tradition that one of the two pictures enumerated in the testamentary inventory of the effects of Milton's widow had passed on her decease to a young Oxonian student named Wilbraham, of Townsend, in Nantwich. The evidence already given identifies Mrs. Milton's pictures with the Janssen and Onslow portraits too clearly to leave room for belief in the tradition referred to by Mr. Jones: but his note gave rise to another from Thomas Falconer, Esq., of Usk, printed at p. 303 of the same volume, in which he states that the exquisitely finished portrait of Milton, from which the engraving was made which is published in the series of portraits of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge—a

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* Since the reading of the paper, I have met with a small volume, entitled "Effigies "Poeticæ; or, The Portraits of the British Poets, illustrated by Notes, Biographical, "Critical and Poetical," London (Carpenter) 1824, which appears to be a reprint of the letter-press descriptions accompanying a series of engraved portraits. "No. 56, John "Milton, from a picture by Dobson in Dr. Williams' Library," surely refers to the present portrait, but the estimate there given of its merits is very different from that above expressed. "We have here given," it says, "a resemblance of Milton which has never "before been made public. It is as well authenticated, perhaps better, than such pictures "usually are; but it fails in some few respects, like all others. Nevertheless, there is "something characteristic in it. There is an approach to sweetness and majesty, (both "of which Milton possessed in no common degree,) that we do not recollect elsewhere. "The eye-brow is contracted, like that of a thinker; the glance is penetrating, yet raised; "the mouth wears a sweet expression; and the hair flows down upon the shoulders, and "gives a massy character to the whole that is not without its grandeur."

painting on vellum—belonged to his grandfather, a son of Mr. Falconer, recorder of Chester, whose wife was born in 1703, and was a daughter of Mr. Wilbraham of Townsend. He adds, however, that he knows of no fact to identify this miniature with the portrait mentioned by Mr. Jones; and states his belief that it was never in the possession of the Wilbraham family. Mr. Falconer's history of the miniature offers no ground for animadversion; but contains nothing to connect it with Milton: and the Society which publicly adopted it as a portrait of him may share with their publisher the credit of having diffused the useful knowledge that their engraving is "from a miniature of the same size *by Faithorne! anno* "1667!!" To judge from the engraving, Mr. Falconer's praises of the miniature, as a work of art, are well deserved; but the young gentleman it represents had certainly not numbered half of Milton's years at the date attributed to it, and, when Milton was of the age there represented, Faithorne was in his boyhood: nor was he at any period of his life a miniature painter. If therefore the above name and date are found on the miniature, they are a clumsy forgery; but it is not stated by Mr. Falconer that there is any lettering on it. Faithorne, as we have seen, is the common vouchee of Milton portraits; and the date of 1667 may have been suggested by Pickering's engraving of 1826 (No. 82) in which, as I took occasion to explain, the figures had no reference to the date of any picture. The engravings are as follows:—

161. John Milton. Engraved by T. Woolnoth from a miniature of the same size by Faithorne, anno 1667, in the possession of William Falconer, Esq. An oval, 2·6 × 2·1, within a shaded rectangle. Published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

162. John Milton. Engraved by Samuel Freeman from a miniature by Faithorne, anno 1667. Published by Archibald Fullarton & Co., Glasgow; in Cunningham's Lives of Eminent and Illustrious Englishmen, 8 vols. 8vo, Glasgow, 1835-7; an enlarged copy from the preceding.

163. John Milton. No name of engraver; rectangle, 2·6 × 2·1; a close copy of the society's print.

164. Milton. No name of engraver; rectangle, 2·1 × 1·6; in the same plate with Barrow, Pope and Defoe; published by Routledge & Co.; in Knight's Half-hours with the best Authors.

I have now exhausted my list of portraits, having purposely excluded several prints which seemed to me scarcely to come under that denomination,

such as Vertue's plate of Milton between Homer and Virgil, mentioned by Granger—Sant's imaginary portrait—Faed's large print of Milton in his study—and various others, in which he is represented as dictating to his daughter, or acting in the imaginary character of amanuensis to Cromwell. I have also abstained from inserting an etching by Hollar, of extreme rarity, of which there is a copy in the print room of the British Museum, going by the name of Milton. It represents a very youthful bust, which I can imagine no reason for supposing to be Milton ; and as it is unlettered, we have no right to class it among pseudo-portraits. That I have made some mistakes, and more omissons, I am prepared to find : but if my paper should receive the honor of being printed, it may serve as a text for the reception of additional information and corrections, which may enable me at some future period to reproduce it in a more perfect form. In the meantime, that I may not be guilty of any wilful omission, I conclude my list by enumerating a few prints, which I have found mentioned in various catalogues, &c., but which I have not had an opportunity of describing. Granger mentions "John Milton; a square print with a label under the "head, G. Vandergucht sc. neat;" and Bromley mentions it in similar terms. Wivell (*Portraits of Shakespeare p.* 234) mentions a print by Faber on a half-sheet with Shakespeare, Ben. Jonson and Samuel Butler, being one of the series published by John Bowles (See observations above on Simon's copy of the Faithorne print, No. 29 : both Simon and Faber seem to have been employed on Bowles's series ; and in some instances the same author appears engraved by both). Rodd's Catalogue of British Portraits, 1812, mentions an 8vo print by Coster: and Evans's Catalogue describes a 4to print of Milton at four different ages; a rare print 12mo by Phinn ; and a folio by Gunst. Some of these may turn out to be prints already noticed, but which, for want of lettering, I have been unable to identify.

From the account I have given of the number of existing portraits, mediately or immediately derived from a very few originals, it results that many having some claim to authenticity are probably still in existence. The history of the Janssen portrait happily needs no discussion ; and I hope the doubts as to the recent history and present deposit of the Onslow portrait will shortly be set at rest. No mention has ever been made of any drawing for the purpose of the Marshal print. Faithorne's original, assuming it to have been the crayon drawing of which we have heard so

much, is last heard of in the possession of the Tonsons: for I must maintain, until actual inspection satisfies me to the contrary, that the idea of its having passed to Mr. Baker has arisen from confounding it with a copy from the White drawing, or Richardson's "excellent original in crayons." The copy so made may, perhaps, be yet in the collection at Bayfordbury; and the subsequent copies from it by Simpson for the engravings of Baker, Collyer and Dean are probably in the possession of the publishers of Todd's Milton. The "excellent original" itself, and the copy which I have conjectured to have been made from it for Vertue's 1750 engraving, are not traced beyond the Tonsons, nor, with certainty, even to them. Vertue's drawing for his 1725 engraving is traced by the inscription on Gardiner's print in Boydell's Milton (No. 79) to the possession of Mr. Brand Hollis; and I hope it is still in the worthy custody of the inheritor of his literary treasures. The various drawings by Cipriani may be looked for in the same place; but I should be inclined to assign to them a much lower value. The drawing for Vandergucht's engraving (No. 89) has not been mentioned as having been preserved. Of Richardson's drawings many are probably in existence. Various others of the prints above described may possibly have been engraved from drawings taken specially for the purpose.

I have avoided any discussion of the subject of original pictures and drawings, except such as necessarily arose out of my treatment of my subject; but a few lines may properly be devoted to the mention of such as I find noticed in the various works I have consulted. Some of them may be drawings the probable existence of which I have just been speculating on; and others would only swell the list of pseudo-portraits; but even these may in some cases have been the subject of engravings which have escaped my notice, and on that account should be mentioned here to reduce the risk of accidental omission. It will require strong evidence to establish the authenticity of any beyond those I have mentioned; and nothing but internal evidence can now be expected. The strongest case likely to be made out, so far as I have at present the means of judging (for I have not yet seen the picture), is one which has been kindly brought under my notice by Albert Way, Esq., whose ready help I should be most ungrateful if I did not warmly acknowledge. It is at Capesthorne, the seat of Arthur Davenport, Esq., by whose father it was bought at Lady Holland's sale, at Christie's, and was brought from Ampthill soon after

her death. It is inscribed IOHANNES MILTON EFFIG$^{S.}$ ANNO SAL$^{S.}$ MDCLXXIII ÆTATIS 65, and bears the name of Riley as the Painter inscribed on a stone pilaster. These particulars are from information obtained for me from the family by Mr. Way, who describes the picture, as a painting, with admiration, and as bearing the stamp of authenticity. It represents the poet blind, and caressing his dog. The name of Riley is mentioned by Todd in connection with a portrait for which he expresses his obligations to a Mr. Charnock, and says it "has been "affirmed by some to have been a portrait of Milton by Dobson, but con- "jectured by others to have been a performance of Riley, who lived rather "too late to delineate Milton.* Some have supposed it may be a head of "his brother Christopher. It is, however, remarkable that Mr. Greenslade, "a collector of paintings, who resides in Bond Street, London, has a copy "of the very painting, which has been called a portrait of the Poet." An alleged miniature of Milton when young, which Warton mentions as in the possession of the Duchess of Portland, and describes as "having a face of "stern thoughtfulness, and to use the poet's expression, severe in youthful "beauty," was sold, along with an alleged miniature of his mother, at the sale of the Portland museum, in 1786, for £34. (See *Gent. Mag.*, 1786, p. 527; *Todd's Milton*, I, p. 143, 146, ed. 1809.) In the same note Todd states that "at West Wycomb Manor House, in Buckinghamshire, there is "a fine portrait of Milton, supposed to be an original," (see *Langley's Hist. and Antiq. of the Hund. of Desborough*, p. 417,) and that "Mr. Waldron "is in possession of a painting which exhibits a likeness of the Poet in his "middle age." Mr. Mitford writes, "I once knew a portrait of Milton at "Lord Braybrooke's, Audley end, in the gallery (with a beard): I also saw "one of him when young at Lord Townshend's, at Rainham; but many "years have passed, and I cannot recollect any particulars. Charles Lamb, "Esq., possesses an original portrait,† left by his brother, and accidentally "bought in London. * * * I have heard that an original portrait of "Milton (about thirty years of age) has been discovered by Mr. R. Lemon "of the State Paper Office." (*Pickering's Aldine Milton*, p. xc, n.) An oil

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* He was born in 1646.

† Mr. Cunningham mentions it as "the Charles Lamb and Moxon portrait," and says "it is a striking likeness of the poet, and is an old picture, though there is no proof "that the poet ever sat for it."—(*Johnson's Lives*, *I*, 131, *n.*)

painting, I presume that last mentioned, was exhibited by Mr. Lemon to the Society of Antiquaries on the 17th March, 1853, as reported in Gent. Mag., N.S., xxxix, 526, and was stated to have formerly had the Poet's name in an old handwriting on the back of the canvass, but removed on the relining of the picture a few years ago. To these notices I may add that I have seen a painting in the possession of Mr. Graves, the printseller, from which I imagine the head in Faed's print to have been drawn; and Mr. Way mentions to me a life size portrait, in oils, formerly belonging to his father, at his seat, Stansted Park, Sussex, but which on the sale of the property was handed over to the purchaser in consequence of its forming one of a series of literary portraits partly inlaid in the paneled wainscot. Upwards of ten years ago the same obliging correspondent mentioned to me a painting, attributed to Walker, formerly belonging to Sir Joseph Banks, and now belonging to Archdeacon Bonney, of Lincoln.* Of busts, besides those I have mentioned, one in marble by Scheemaker, for Dr. Mead, and bought at his sale by Mr. Duncombe for £11 11s., is stated in Hollis's Memoirs to have been copied exactly from the plaister bust. A marble bust in the print room of the British Museum bears a strong resemblance to the features of the White portrait. A paragraph in the Athenæum of 10th August, 1850, mentions the purchase by Mr. Labouchere, for 200 guineas, of a marble bust of Milton, made, it is said,

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* An exhibition of miniatures has been held by the Archæological Institute since the reading of the paper; and Mr. Way mentions to me two miniatures there exhibited; one of them, belonging to Mr. Russell, the accountant-general, I imagine from the description to be a copy of the Onslow portrait; the other, exhibited by the Duke of Buccleugh, described as a young portrait, with light brown hair and falling band, and inscribed "John Milton by Cooper," I do not identify, from the description given me, with any portrait I know. A sale catalogue of Messrs. Chinnock and Galsworthy (18th June, 1860) includes an alleged portrait of Milton by James Houseman. To collect the notices of pretended Milton portraits from sale catalogues and similar sources would, however, be an endless and useless task. The notorious old Zincke, of Windmill Street, Lambeth, whose name is so familiar in connection with the Talma Shakespeare, is stated by a correspondent of Notes and Queries (*2nd S.*, *X*, 122) to have "died "about twenty-five years since, and left behind him about twenty portraits of Shakespeare "and Milton &c., all in pledge at the various West End pawnbrokers', and also a catalogue "(written in a small memorandum book) of all the portraits he had manufactured of his "favorite trio, Shakespeare, Milton and Nell Gwinn; but Shakespeare sold the best." Such anecdotes should serve as a caution against credulity in the reception of unauthenticated portraits: but I suspect the Milton manufacture of old Zincke had less tendency to the perpetuation of pseudo-portraits than the practice—of which the Falconer miniature is so flagrant an instance—of appending circumstantial statements of dates and artists' names to portraits which have originally been assigned to Milton on no better authority than conjecture.

from the life by an Italian sculptor during the poet's visit to Italy. Its history is not stated: but it is worthy of note that Mr. Thomas Hollis was so far impressed with the belief that there was somewhere in Florence a marble bust of Milton, as to be induced to make search for it in 1762, but without success. (*See Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, p.* 167, *Warton's Minor Poems*, 333, *ed.* 1791.) A medallion by Wedgwood, a drawing from which is in my possession, completes the list of representations of Milton's features which I have thought it necessary to mention.

TUMULI AT WINWICK.

By John Robson, M.D.

(Read 8th March, 1860.)

In the Ordnance Survey, as first published on the inch scale, about half a mile to the east of Winwick Church, we find a couple of tumuli, one on each side of a bye-lane; but in the later and larger map a single tumulus is marked, through the centre of which the road seems to have been cut. The earlier survey gives the more correct representation of the place, as there have certainly been at least two barrows, one in the field on the east, the other in that on the west side of the lane. The latter, which we shall first describe, is on a farm called "the Highfields," the ground sloping considerably from the north. The tumulus is about six feet above the level of the lane, and the ground to the west is uneven, forming a sort of bank, while the fence on the south has a perpendicular descent of three feet into the next field. The tumulus itself is not very well defined, as it has long been under cultivation, but it may be thirty yards in diameter, and its summit is distinct enough.

On trenching this mound in November, 1859, deposits of burned bones were found at some distance from its centre, on the slopes to the east and south. These bones were in small fragments, apparently in distinct heaps, mixed with minute particles of burnt wood, and one or two fragments of brown, thick, ill-burnt and rude pottery turned up, not however appearing to have any connection with the bone deposits—the only portion of which offering any recognisable character, was the head of a thigh bone of a subject twelve or fourteen years old. About six feet deep in the centre, the red sandstone rock was reached.

There seems reason for believing that this tumulus may have been disturbed, and that the urns in which the bones had been placed having been broken, the bones were again buried while the broken urns were destroyed; at least the two or three pieces found would lead to this conclusion, especially when the later discoveries are taken into consideration.

Some labourers, working in the field on the other side of the lane fifteen years ago, came upon an urn with bones in it, apparently of a similar description.

This tumulus was removed at the beginning of the present year, and the the men in their operations, cutting into some soft black stuff, struck a spade into an urn and broke it into pieces : it seems to have been of large size and has a feathered pattern scored on the outside, (plate VII,) in other respects agreeing with the fragments already described. It contained bones in the same fragmentary state as those found on the west side of the lane, and with them a stone hammer-head and a bronze dart.

The hammer is small, nicely shaped, the face bevelled off for half-an-inch, and the beak with a remarkable cutting edge. It is quite smooth, and very possibly might be polished, and consists of porphyritic clay stone, with large crystals of felspar. It is five inches in length, and rather more in its greatest circumference; the diameter of the face, $\frac{7}{8}$-inch; and the length of the beak (which has the axe form in the same direction as the handle) is $1\frac{3}{8}$-inch; the weight is rather more than nine ounces. (Plate VII.)

The dart is four inches and a quarter long, and one and a half wide at the shoulder. It has the common shape of the spears in early representations, as those on the column of Trajan. The part that has been inserted in the shaft seems very weak; it is about an inch in length, and has a hole at the extremity, through which a rivet has been passed, but it may have originally been longer; at present it weighs six drachms. (Plate VII.)

As these two objects were placed within the urn, it is evident that the head of the dart must have been removed from its shaft; the handle of the hammer must also have been put aside, the head being broken in the centre with a clean fracture right across, and, what is curious, without either portion receiving any injury or splintering.

Two questions naturally arise—what is the age of the deposit? To what people did these relics belong? And in reply to the first we may say that in the present state of our knowledge no satisfactory answer can be given; to the second, more decidedly, to the ancestors of the present inhabitants of South Lancashire. But as both of these propositions have been and will be disputed, we shall have to consider briefly the grounds on which they rest.

With reference to some other stone implements in the Warrington Museum, Mr. Syer Cuming, in an interesting paper given in the Journal of the Archæological Association for Sept., 1859, p. 231, expresses himself thus :—

"These stone relics give a favourable notion of the skill and patience of "the archaic denizens of Lancashire. But with all their skill and patience, "they were yet doomed to fall before the advance of another race,—a race

FIG 3

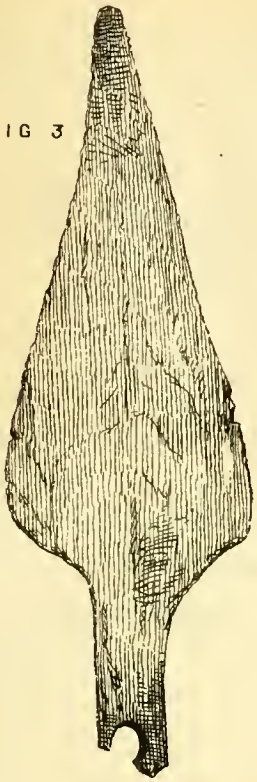


FIG 4

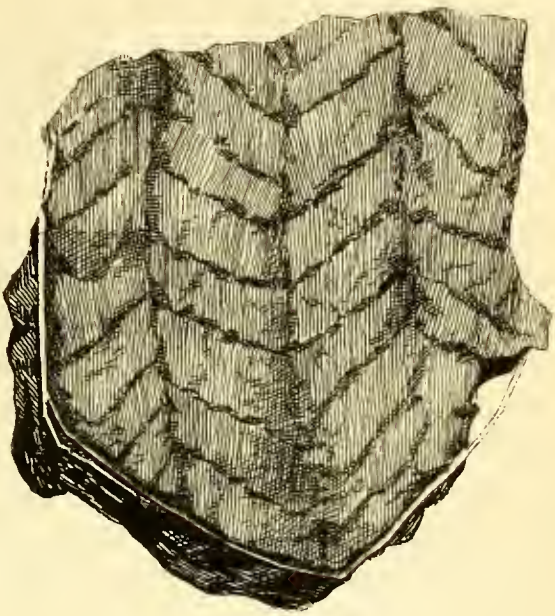


FIG 1

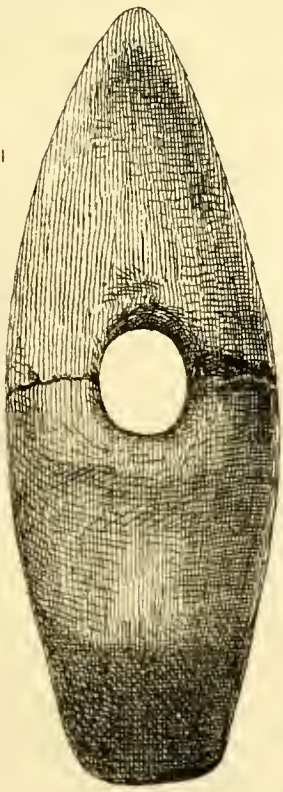
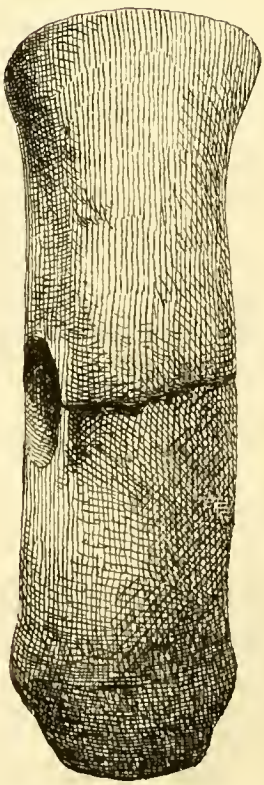


FIG 2



CHALONER & DAWSON. LITH

26. N JOHN ST. LPOOL.

FOUND IN A TUMULUS AT WINWICK

Figs. 1 & 2. Stone Hammer. Three Quarter Size.
Figre 3. Bronze Spear Head Do Do
Figre 4. Fragment of Urn. Full Size.

"surpassing them in art and science and mental culture, whose advent to "our shores was the advent of civilization—civilization which conquered "and subdued the savage tribes of the *stone period*, and upon the ruins of "barbarism erected principalities and kingdoms, whose brazen-equipped "hosts breasted the tide of fresh invaders, and rendered the name of Celt "a proud and lofty epithet."

It must be confessed that the arrangement of ages of stone, bronze and iron does not help us in the present case. True, we may imagine the proud and lofty Celt killing the native barbarian, and getting his little stone hammer, which, as the *spolia opima* of his spear, was buried with his ashes; or we may suppose the barbarian killed the Celt, and the little spear was preserved as the token of his victory. But is it not much more likely that these two articles were really formed at the same period? Would not as much skill and art be required to form the hammer as the javelin? And can we suppose that iron was altogether unknown when they were manufactured?

We must assume, upon this hypothesis, that the Celts so completely rooted out the barbarians, that not a trace of them remains, except these stone implements—while the Saxons so exterminated the Celts, as to leave nothing whatever that has any characteristic mark behind them—as bronze remains undoubtedly belong in abundance to the Romans, and we have yet to learn what difference there is between the Roman and Celtic bronzes.

If we do not wish to be misled by theories, however ingenious, it is highly expedient to believe that the population of any given district is descended from the very earliest inhabitants which history records, and of which any remains exist. Hypothetical national destructions are very shadowy matters indeed. Investigations, where there is nothing to investigate, must lead to illusions—visions, more or less dreary, in the dream-land of imaginative antiquarianism. The finish of an implement like this hammer-head, its shape or symmetry, much less the material, can in no case lead us to the period when it was formed, or the person who formed it. The spear-head belongs to all ages and all nations; it is the simplest and commonest form, and the metal of which it is made is the principal material of which such articles were formed for centuries. When metals were scarce, and we have neither iron nor copper in South Lancashire, stone would naturally be made use of for such implements as hammer-heads, but even where brass and iron were well known, it would still in some cases be economical to use what was so ready at hand. In

our museum there is an instrument, like a tailor's goose of very large size, made of stone, with the initials of the owner and the date 1607, used in fulling cloth; and a stone bat, which has been put down as a war-club of the primeval savage, seems far more likely to have been a mallet for beating hemp, or some such purpose, and may have been used as lately as the tailor's goose.

The great drawback of these hypothetical periods is, that while they are of little practical use, except for the very secondary one of arranging a museum upon an easily understood but misleading principle, they take away the investigator from the real matter and mode of the inquiry, and, like all such errors, are a hindrance to truth. In some graves are coins which carry a date with them, and in others Roman remains which belong to the first four centuries of our era. But in tumuli, such as those at Winwick, there is nothing to show whether it was raised six centuries before or six centuries after that period; and we want more evidence than the stone hammer to show that the people to whom it belonged were savages, to whom metals were unknown; and more than the bronze spear head to prove that it was formed by the Celts, who are assumed to have been equally ignorant of the use of iron—while these last are fancied to have been annihilated by the Saxons who employed that metal. There can in fact be no reason why the original barbarian could not have worked copper or iron in his native land, just as the Celt found his copper in his country, wherever that might be, or the iron man his iron.

In conclusion, I would submit, with great deference, another system of classification for antiquities found in England. It would include three great classes:—First, all those remains which offer no marks of Roman art or influence. Second, those where the foreign taste in the design or manipulation can be detected. Third, pure Roman, Greek, Oriental or other easily distinguished articles, which will be neither numerous nor important.

It would be especially requisite to form provisional geographical subdivisions—at first general and extensive, as South and North of the Thames—or the Humber—Cambrian, &c., &c. These would become more definite with increasing knowledge.

And, lastly, a Chronological division might be made—of Primeval, before Julius Cæsar; Romanic, to the fifth century; and Mediæval, after that date; not, however, without good evidence that the period to which any object was assigned, rested upon a sufficient basis.

ON POISONS.

By F. Crace Calvert, Ph.Dr., F.R.S., &c.

(Read 10th May, 1860.)

To have treated completely the subject to which I am about to call your attention would have required more literary knowledge than I possess, together with very long researches, which my present occupations do not leave me the opportunity of making.

Instead of proceeding in the usual way,—namely, by giving an historical account, and afterwards treating on our present scientific knowledge, of poisons,—I have thought that the subject would be more agreeably and profitably brought before you by taking each division of poisons separately, and treating the historical facts in connexion with them as compared with our present knowledge of the same.

There are three classes of poisons:

First, the contagious or infectious, as cholera or plague. Into the consideration of this I cannot enter, as it is too extensive a subject, and belongs rather to medical science than to chemistry.

The second class consists of poisons which become active only when brought into contact with the blood of an animal, as in the case of the bite of a serpent, or that of a mad dog.

The third class comprises those poisons which are administered or taken by man, and which produce death by being absorbed by the mucous membranes of the stomach and intestines, and conveyed into the whole system. This will form the principal topic of this evening's paper; but before proceeding to its consideration, I wish to make the following remarks on the second class of poisons.

From the most remote periods, men have been in the habit of increasing the deadly effect of their defensive weapons by coating them with various

virulent poisons; and though it is impossible to know the nature of the poisons which were used for that purpose by the barbarians of Northern Europe, still chemistry has of late years thrown some light upon those used at the present day by the Indians on the shores of the Mississippi. A few years since, Messrs. Pelouze, Reynoso and Bernard investigated with great care the chemical composition of the *curare*, and found that it was not composed of vegetable juices, but was of animal origin. This they proved by giving small quantities of it to animals, when it was found that, like all other animal poison with which we are acquainted, it produced no deadly action, whilst if brought, in the smallest quantity, into contact with the blood, death ensued in a few minutes. They also found that the reason why the curare does not act as a poison when taken internally, is that the mucous membrane of the stomach and intestines will not absorb, and thus convey to the blood, the curarine, or active principle of the curare. They also found that the poison from the toad and salamander possessed the same properties. M. Reynoso also made a most interesting observation; that if a drop of bromine was applied immediately to the puncture made by the poisoned weapon, the life of the animal was saved. Let us hope that as science progresses, and chemistry becomes more closely allied with medicine, equally efficacious remedies may be found for the bite of a serpent or that of a mad dog. To show what extraordinary power some of these poisons possess, Sir Robert Schomburgk states that the puncture of a needle, coated with the concentrated poison called *urari*, might be sufficient to destroy life. Professor Albert Kölliker found, during his researches on the *upas antiar* poison, that the rapid death of animals appeared to be due to the contraction of the valves of the heart. Up to the present time, but little light has been thrown upon the nature of the poisonous principle contained in putrefied meat. Even the researches of Professor Julius Schlossberger, on the unsound sausages of Germany, attribute their poisonous action to an alkaloid, which, however, he did not succeed in isolating. Allow me to state, before leaving this part of my paper, that I have been for two years past engaged in examining the phenomena of putrefaction, and that I hope in time to be able to discover the nature of those animal poisons which, when brought into contact with the blood, cause its rapid decomposition.

I now proceed to the third class of poisons, which, for convenience, will be divided into two principal sections—the vegetable and the mineral.

The use of vegetable poisons dates from the most remote periods, for we find them alluded to in the heathen mythology. These mysterious and terrific weapons were, in most of the ancient nations, in the hands of the priests and kings, who showed themselves jealous of the secret of their use, which gave them the power of inspiring terror, by the infliction of the most rapid deaths. The causes of these deaths not being traced, the men condemned and punished by earthly judgment appeared to be struck by the hand of God.

The Persians, who succeeded to the Medes, the descendants of the enchantress Medea, used to teach their children the art of distinguishing plants, that they might use or reject them according to their useful or injurious properties.

The Greeks employed poisons, as is established by the well-known deaths of Socrates and others; and it was with them that the mineral poisons first made their appearance by the use of the sulphurets of arsenic, which they named *aurypimentum*, and the subject of poisons was deeply studied by them.

The Romans, especially the successors of Augustus, made great use of poisons. The Danes were acquainted with the use of poisons, as is shown by their practice of dipping their arrows in the juice of the white and black *hellebore* and that of the *aconitum*.

After the invasion of the Roman Empire by the barbarians, the art of using poisons seems to have been lost or little practised. The same remark applies generally to the middle ages. The disorders into which Europe had fallen at that period, did not require the use of mysterious executions—the dagger being at once the instrument of justice, of vengeance and of crime. In the succeeding period we see the re-appearance of the arts, of sciences, of occult studies, and with them of poisons, which again became a frequent instrument in the hands of rulers. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries present numerous and terrific instances, showing the dreadful deeds which may result from the abuse of knowledge. But be it said to the honour of present times, and as a homage rendered to civilization, that we have but comparatively few crimes, and that, with few exceptions, the hands which employ this cowardly and disgraceful weapon are generally found among the lowest orders of society. Before commencing the consideration of vegetable poisons, it is necessary

to state that, notwithstanding the progress of science, the knowledge of the ancients was in this respect more perfect than our own. It is easy to explain how these poisons were discovered, for nearly the whole of the remedies or medicines employed by the ancients were of the vegetable kingdom. Therefore, by the constant use of plants, their general properties were discovered, and the knowledge of beneficial substances and those which were not so became familiar to them. The plants which yield beneficial substances frequently contain others of a poisonous nature. I need scarcely mention the root from which we obtain tapioca, as containing prussic acid together with starch. I could also mention the herb *hellebore*, which was used by the ancients as a remedy against folly; and it will be readily seen that in this case the step from the use to the abuse was one but too easily surmounted by a perverted mind.

I hope to be able to prove that the poisons used by the ancients are known in these days, and that if they are not employed, it is merely because the mineral poisons have been brought more prominently under the notice of the public.

The metamorphoses and enchantments of Circe can be in a great measure explained by considering the hallucinations produced by the use of belladonna, henbane, and what was called by the ancients mandrake, which, when taken in too small quantities to produce death, affect the mind, and during the state which ensues, the sufferer not unfrequently imagines himself transformed into an animal, &c.

These general effects can be better explained by medical science than by chemistry.

At a more recent date, we find that Hannibal employed mandrake in subduing the revolted Africans. Having mixed it with the wine in his camp, he retreated, leaving it behind him, and they, as he expected, drank it, and soon experienced its dreadful effects.

Opium.—The extensive employment of this substance in southern climates is due to the delightful dreams which it gives to those who use it. But let us pity those weak men, the indolence of whose minds has been so far indulged as to render such means necessary to enable them to revel in their paltry dreams, when they might have been invigorated by following that golden path of industry and learning which is the glory of this country.

I am sorry that the mind of man has such a tendency to imitation, that even in this country, England, there are persons who indulge in this slow and mortal poison. For it is well known that whenever our nerves are over-excited, the animal force which this over-excitement has brought about will be needed at a future time. Therefore, the more this poison is taken, the more it is required, and at length the time arrives when it has worn out that splendid creation of God—the intellect of man.

We could readily account for the employment of opium were it to destroy the animal machine at the same time as the mind, but it is not so in some cases; for we find that, owing to the nervous system having its origin in the brain, and the action of opium being principally on that organ, the mind is frequently destroyed many years before the body

Opium is a poison, even in small doses, for weak constitutions, or those which are not accustomed to its use: it has even occurred that persons have died from its external application. The best thing to give in such cases is an emetic, or an infusion of gall nuts, or of oak leaves, or coffee. All the poisons similar to morphia or opium, to strychnine or brucine from nux vomica; the veratrine from the delphinium, or the colchine from the colchicum, form insoluble compounds with the tannin of the above substances.

Opium, which contains many active principles, such as morphia, codeine, narcotine, &c., is one of the most important poisons among this class of substances, and is one of the most easy to discover.

The means of detecting opium are, to boil the poisoned substance with vinegar, add an alkali, collect the precipitate, dissolve it in acid, again precipitate it, and, after having dried it, leave it in contact with chloroform, which dissolves several of the active principles of opium, and leaves them as a residue when driven off itself by heat. This residue gives with nitric acid a red colour, which is not changed by chloride of tin. When dissolved in water, the liquor will give a red or blue colour with the perchloride of iron, and lastly a blue colour with iodic acid and starch.

Let us observe that although these characteristic reactions take place, it is sometimes very difficult to detect the presence of opium in a poisoning case. As an instance, we may mention that of Casting, a French doctor, who killed his friend with acetate of morphia; and it was with considerable

hesitation that one of the first chemists of that time ventured to swear that he had found opium.

Nux vomica contains two of the most violent poisons, namely, strychnine and brucine. It has been believed that the poisoned arrows used by the natives of Borneo and Madagascar are dipped in a juice called by them "upas fiente," which is procured from plants containing strychnine and brucine, although the late researches of Professor Albert Kölliker seem to throw some doubt upon it. An animal struck by one of these arrows falls, struggles and dies in a few minutes. The best, but almost hopeless, antidote that can be given in a case of poisoning by strychnine, is an infusion of gall nuts.

The means of detecting these poisons are, to obtain a solution, as in the case of morphia. A portion of the liquor will give a white precipitate with a current of chlorine, and the remaining portion gives a red colour with nitric acid, which becomes purple by chloride of tin. It also yields a beautiful purple colour when moistened with sulphuric acid, and then mixed with a little bichromate of potash or peroxide of lead. This test is so delicate, that one ten-thousandth part of a grain can be detected. Another characteristic test is a brownish yellow precipitate that it gives with an iodine solution; this precipitate is soluble in a solution of potash, which, nevertheless, allows it to re-form under the form of a white amorphous powder.

There are several other poisons belonging to this division, but it would render the paper too long and technical to touch upon them.

Prussic acid.—This dangerous poison has been known from the most ancient times. The Egyptians were acquainted with it, as has been proved by the finding of a paper, which must have been written at least 2000 years before the Christian era, on which were the words, "Do not pronounce Iao, "under the penalty of the peach." It is well known that the leaves of the peach tree contain a great quantity of this poison. It is by no means extraordinary that the Egyptians should have been acquainted with this poison, which is also given off in great quantities by the flower of the bitter almond, from which fruit the oil of that name is prepared.

It was most likely its instantaneous action and difficulty of detection

that led the Ethiopian priests to make use of it in the execution of persons, even kings, whom they had condemned to death.

These are not the only instances in which poisons have been employed by the hand of justice.

The bitter waters administered by the Jews to adulterous women, most probably contained prussic acid. Even in our days, this mode of punishment is employed, as we find in Madagascar, where, in the space of 12 years, more than 150,000 persons, out of three millions of inhabitants which the island contains, were executed under the dreadful sentence pronounced against them by the law of the Tangben (Tanguinea Venenifera).

Prussic acid is so violent a poison, that a few drops will kill an animal, and even its vapours will produce death. From its being given in medicine, and produced in some of the operations of industry, cases of poisoning may occur in which time may be left to employ an antidote. The first antidote is to make the patient inspire chlorine with caution. An antidote has also been given, which consists of a mixture of protoxide and peroxide of iron with carbonate of soda. If no other means were at hand, Goulard water might be given, with great caution, in small doses.

Bodies in which this poison has been the cause of death, present the curious fact that the arterial blood is instantly changed into venous.

The body retains for a long period the characteristic smell of prussic acid. The best means of discovering it are to wash the inside of the body with water; distil a portion of the liquor, and re-distil that again. The liquor thus obtained will give a white precipitate with nitrate of silver, soluble in nitric acid and ammonia, which will give off the smell of prussic acid when treated with chlor-hydric acid.

The most delicate test for this poison consists in evaporating on a watch-glass some of the substance supposed to contain it with sulphuret of ammonia. A residue will be left, which will yield, with per-chloride of iron, a most splendid red colour. After adding to the liquor a little potash, then a salt of iron, Prussian blue will be produced on the addition of chlor-hydric acid.

Allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to state that the oil of bitter almonds should be used with the greatest caution, for even in small doses it may

produce the most serious results, owing to the quantity of prussic acid which it contains. I may also state that nitric ether contains prussic acid, and therefore ought to be used with care ; and in all cases where it is possible, it should be substituted by sulphuric ether.

Before quitting the subject of organic poisons, I think it right to give some idea of the general processes adopted for their detection in cases where their presence is suspected.

A portion of the fluid is distilled, and if prussic acid or oil of bitter almonds be present, it will be found in the distillate. If these are not found there, a fixed alkali is added to the fluid which remains in the retort, and distillation is continued. When nicotine, the poison of tobacco, coneine the active principle of hemlock, secaline, the active principle of the ergot of rye, or hyoscyamine, the active principle of henbane, is present, it will be found in the distillate. If the poison be a non-volatile substance, we then proceed by the process described in the instance of opium, and we employ either chloroform, ether or fusel oil, according to the active principle of the poison which we suspect, in order to separate it from the matters with which it may be mixed in the contents of the stomach. Dr. Hofmann and Mr. Graham, master of the mint, employed with success a few years ago, animal charcoal as a means of separating the strychnine from beer which might contain it. Mr. Herapath of Bristol has employed the microscope with great advantage to detect this class of poisons. So able a toxicologist is he, that he was able to detect aconite, the active principle of monkshood, in a case of poisoning which occurred through a person eating that root in mistake for horse-radish. I may take this opportunity to state that this poison is so violent that Mr. Herapath states that the quantity which proved fatal in the above case did not exceed the twentieth part of a grain. He also gives the following simple means of distinguishing between the roots of the aconite and those of horse-radish, which I think ought to be made public as it may prevent many lamentable accidents. The scrapings of aconite roots rapidly acquire a very perceptible pinkish tinge, more or less deep, on exposure to the air, whereas those of the horse-radish undergo no change under such circumstances.

Silver, Lead, Copper, Tin, Zinc, and their Salts.

There is no doubt that these poisons were employed by the ancients, but

they were seldom used by the renowned poisoners, because these salts have a very strong metallic taste, which would have been the cause of revealing their deeds.

A useful discovery has been made of late years relating to the localization of poisons ; it is, that they have a tendency to fix themselves in some organ, and principally in the liver, instead of distributing themselves over the whole system, and settling chiefly in the flesh and blood as was formerly believed.

Therefore, instead of taking the whole body for examination it is only necessary to take an organ, thus rendering the operation much more easy, and increasing the probability of detection.

The following is the order in which the organs are to be taken, for arsenic, antimony, silver and lead :—

1st, The Liver,
2nd, The Spleen,
3rd, The Kidneys,
4th, The Intestines,
5th, The Lungs.

For copper the order is changed :—

1st, The Liver,
2nd, The Intestines,
3rd, The Spleen.

And lead sometimes fixes itself abundantly in the lungs. It is here necessary to remark that the belief that lead and copper exist in the human system is fallacious. Large quantities of these metals have been administered to animals, increasing the dose each day. As much as two ounces of blue copperas have been given in six months, after which, the animal being fed for seven days on normal food, and then killed, no traces of copper could be discovered. Therefore, if the organization entirely rejects such enormous quantities of copper, it is impossible that it can exist naturally in the system. It has also been found that copper left the system by the intestines and the saliva, and not by the kidneys, as is the

case with arsenic and antimony. This is the order in which the metallic substances are rejected by that organ :—

Antimony,
Gold,
Arsenic,
Silver,
Lead,
Copper.

To discover these substances, namely :—

Silver,
Lead,
Copper,
Tin and
Zinc,

the organic matter is destroyed by one third of its weight of oil of vitriol ; the whole is then evaporated to dryness, and calcined at a low temperature, a small quantity of sulphuric acid is added for copper and zinc, nitric acid for silver and lead, aqua-regia for tin, boiled and again evaporated nearly to dryness ; water is then added, and the filtered liquors give the characteristic reactions of silver, lead, copper &c.

Mercury and its Salts.

Bi-chloride of mercury or corrosive sublimate has been employed in connection with arsenic by most poisoners. For example, in 1613 it was given by the Earl and Countess of Somerset to Sir Thomas Overbury. The best antidote for this active poison is the white of egg, or the proto-sulphuret of iron, and the easiest method of detecting it is to destroy the organic matter in which it is presumed to exist with oil of vitriol, and after the whole has been heated for two hours to add gradually chloride of lime. When the acid is entirely removed the whole is treated with strong alcohol, which dissolves the corrosive sublimate. After adding water the solution is ready for the delicate test of Simpson's galvanic pile.

Antimony and its Salts.

To discover this poison the matter is treated with oil of vitriol. When the whole is liquid add nitrate of soda and evaporate to dryness. Boil the

residue with tartaric acid, and it is then ready for Marsh's apparatus. The spots obtained with this apparatus should dissolve slowly in nitric acid, and when the solution is evaporated to dryness the residue left should be entirely insoluble in water, being antimonious acid. To render it soluble it must be treated with aqua-regia, when the liquor gives a white precipitate with water, and an orange yellow precipitate with sulphuretted hydrogen insoluble in ammonia.

In fact, when there is either arsenic or antimony alone no difficulty presents itself in the detection, but there are difficulties to be overcome when mixed spots of antimony and arsenic have to be dealt with, which, however, may be surmounted if the precaution is taken of having a metallic ring in the tube of Marsh's apparatus; then by applying Fresenius's test it is easy to decide the question as to whether arsenic or antimony be present.

Arsenic and its Compounds.

L' aqua Tofona was the name given to a poison used by a Neapolitan woman named Tofona, who was the inventor of it, and who employed it to such an extent that, according to her own statement, she had destroyed 600 persons by its means. It was probably arsenic combined with an alkali, and forming a soluble salt.

In 1672 there occurred in France several cases of poisoning, perpetrated by the Marquise de Brinvilliers. We find in the accounts of the examinations of the chemists and druggists at her trial, that arsenic and corrosive sublimate were employed, but their statements are mixed up with hesitation and ignorance.

A few years later new and similar crimes appeared, which were perpetrated by a woman named La Voisin, who under the name of "powder of "succession" used to sell the corrosive sublimate and the arsenic of Brinvilliers, and the use of this powder became so common that members of several of the noble families of the court of Louis XIV became implicated in the act of accusation which followed. But such was the ignorance of those appointed to investigate this case that this woman was condemned more under the plea of sorcery than as a poisoner.

We may here observe, that notwithstanding the progress of toxicology

there has been, even in our day, considerable difficulty in detecting arsenic when given in repeated small doses. It is scarcely necessary to mention the case of Madame Laffarge.

An over strong dose seldom proves fatal, owing to the violent vomiting which ensues.

The fact which makes the discovery of this poison rather difficult in some cases is, that the small quantity required to produce death can in great measure be removed from the system by several natural causes. Another fact which only a few years ago rendered its detection in some cases difficult was, that its property of localising itself in the liver was not known.

To detect arsenic it is necessary to destroy the flesh entirely, and this is easily effected by boiling it with oil of vitriol, and drying the whole at a gentle heat. It is then heated with a few drops of nitric acid, which effects the complete destruction of any remaining traces of organic matter, and also transforms the arsenious acid into arsenic acid, which is very soluble in water, and may at once be put into Marsh's apparatus.

When the well known spots obtained by this apparatus are procured they are heated with a small quantity of strong nitric acid. After having driven away the excess of acid the residue is soluble in water. The solution is divided into four portions: the first gives a red precipitate with neutral nitrate of silver; the second gives a light blue precipitate with ammonio-nitrate of copper; the third produces with sulphuretted hydrogen a yellow precipitate soluble in ammonia; and the fourth evaporated to dryness, when mixed with black flux and heated, gives a ring of metallic arsenic.

Trials may also be made with a ring obtained in the tube by heating and slanting it slightly, when the arsenic is transformed into crystals of arsenious acid, and if unsatisfied with these tests Fresenius's test may be applied, which consists in passing a current of sulphuretted hydrogen over the metallic ring, which will give distinct characters with arsenic or antimony. And this process may be still further carried-out by passing a current of hydrochloric acid through the tube, which does not attack the sulphuret of arsenic, but transforms the sulphuret of antimony into chloride, and drives it away.

In the case of a liquor containing arsenic Reinsch's test may be employed, which consists in plunging into the suspected fluid a clean copper wire gauze, adding a few drops of chlorhydric acid and heating the whole, when arsenic, if present, will be deposited on the copper gauze.

The best antidote for arsenic is the hydrate of per-oxide of Iron, but in consequence of its not being readily met with other means have been proposed. Purified animal charcoal has been recommended, but its action is very doubtful. Another antidote has proved very efficacious and is of great value, as it can be found in any chemist and druggist's shop, namely, calcined magnesia, but to be really active it ought not to have been too highly calcined. Before parting with this interesting subject, I must state a fact of the greatest importance, which has not been sufficiently brought under general notice; it is, that the human frame does not contain one particle of arsenic nor or any of its compounds. The erroneous opinion that arsenic existed naturally in the body originated with one of the most eminent of toxicologists, who believed that he had found arsenic in the bones, whereas it only existed in his re-agents. This was proved by a series of experiments undertaken by a committee of the first chemists of the day. I shall, therefore, take the liberty of repeating that this error should be removed, for it has been the means by which juries have been frightened and acquittal obtained.

During the last few years public attention has been often called to the injury which persons have sustained by inhabiting rooms the paper of which was covered with green patterns of arsenite of copper. Several hypotheses were formed on the subject, but it has been satisfactorily proved that the injurious results did not arise from any volatilization of the arsenic, but simply from the arsenite of copper being rubbed off, and this, floating in the atmosphere, produced dangerous effects upon health. This being established, the evil can be easily avoided by using no green papers except flock or others of good quality and well glazed. Let us hope that the knowledge of this fact will prevent builders and others who have control over the dwellings of the poor from using such dangerous papers.

The extraordinary increase in the use of arsenious acid in manufactures, especially in calico printing, is so rapid and continuous as to call for serious consideration, and will perhaps even shortly require legislative interference. For instance, I have found lately, that several of the streams of Lancashire

are polluted for miles by arsenical compounds, floating down them chiefly from printworks. It is therefore highly desirable that printers should adopt means to prevent their refuse, containing such compounds, from finding its way into public streams where it may be productive of incalculable injury to great numbers of persons living on the banks.

So thoughtless are some people as to the nature of the materials they employ, that arsenic is not only used in great manufactures, but is becoming more and more commonly introduced into substances of daily use in our private dwellings. I need hardly mention that most of the papers sold for killing flies are simply saturated with arsenious acid, and serious accidents have arisen from this one source alone. It is perhaps unnecessary for me to remind you how commonly arsenite of copper is employed in the colouring of wax tapers, sweetmeats and envelopes.

Whilst on the subject of poisonous matters introduced into our private houses, allow me also to draw your attention to the practice of supplying the dwellings of great cities with very soft water through leaden pipes. I am satisfied from my own experiments that water becomes contaminated with lead if allowed to sojourn in contact with leaden pipes for 10 or 12 hours, and it is probable that many persons suffer from the influence of this small quantity of lead in the water which forms their daily beverage. It appears strange when we call to mind the numerous instances which have occurred of lead poisoning, that our corporations should not only persist in refusing to make use of pipes properly lined with tin, but should even purchase pipes made of the lowest quality of lead that can be found in the market. Although several chemists have devoted a great deal of time and labour to the investigation of the action of water upon lead, still there has yet been no satisfactory explanation of the fact, that different waters of the same degree of hardness or softness will often act upon lead very differently. The best paper which has been published on the subject is by Mr. Medlock, who has observed that water containing only a slight trace of nitrates becomes rapidly charged with lead, and also that water containing a considerable quantity of organic matters capable of giving off ammonia, which is easily convertible into nitric acid, will also act powerfully upon that metal. Although it is comparatively easy for the chemist to discover the presence of lead in water, by the instrumentality of sulphuretted hydrogen and bichromate of potash, it is to be regretted that

no simple means are known by which the public might readily ascertain for themselves the purity in this respect of the water they drink.

Phosphorus is so violent a poison that a case has recently occurred of death being caused by the administration of the quantity scraped from seven or eight lucifer matches; and society has had within a few years past to deplore the deaths of many children arising from their sucking lucifer matches carelessly left within their reach; it is therefore with great pleasure that I have lately heard of the manufacture of matches into the composition of which no phosphorus enters.

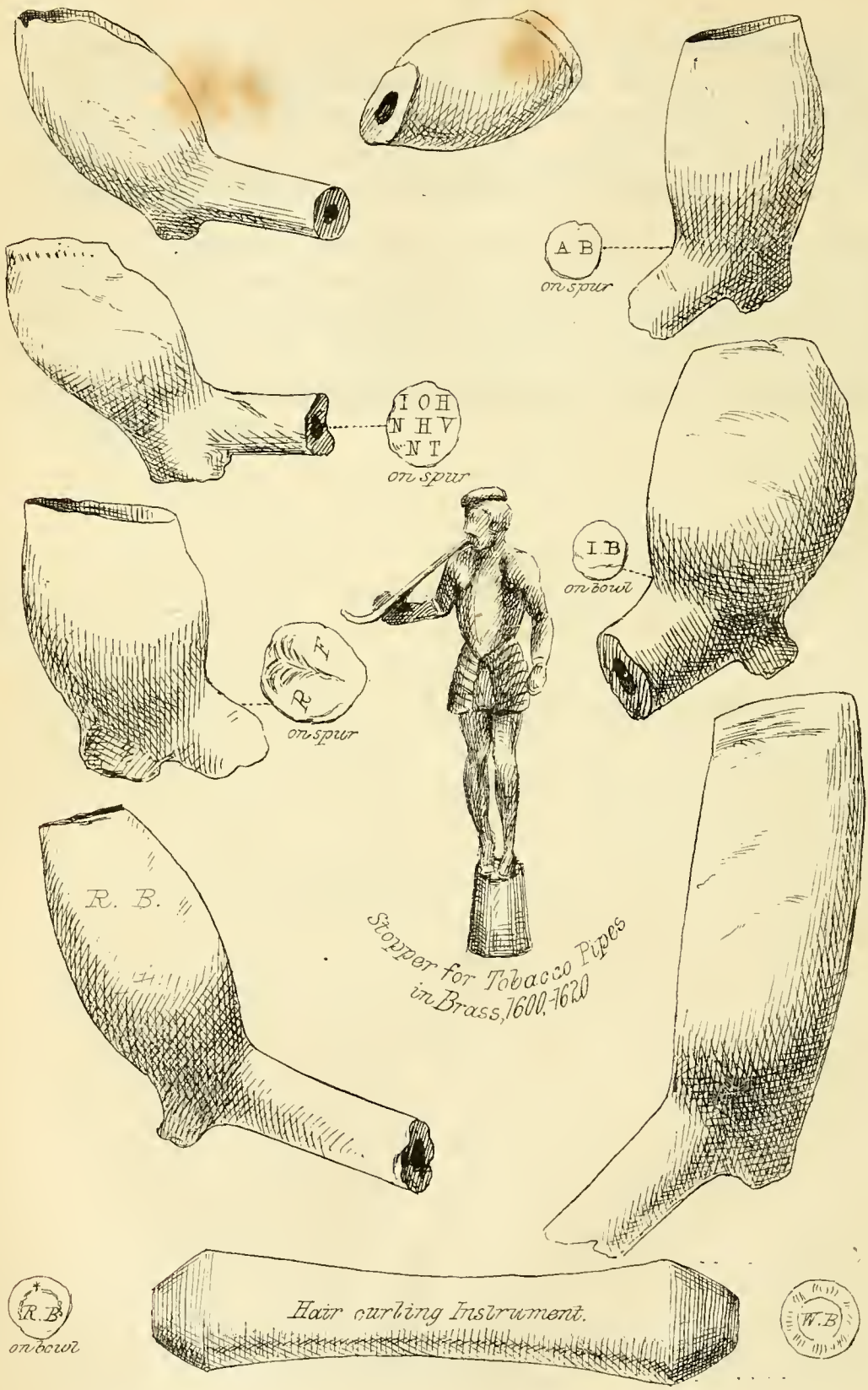
Mr. Mitscherlich has published a very simple process for discovering the most minute trace of phosphorus. It consists in introducing into a flask connected with a U tube the fluid suspected of containing phosphorus, together with a small quantity of vitriol. On applying a gentle heat to this mixture a beautiful phosphorescent light is perceived in the lower part of the U tube, especially if that part of it is surrounded by a frigorific mixture.

Before concluding I wish to state that I am of opinion some legislative restrictions should be placed upon the free sale of poisons. As to the nature of those restrictions I cannot do better than lay before you the conclusions to which the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association came some two years ago.

Lastly, although I have not shrunk from shewing you the deficiencies of science, we must be struck with the progress which chemistry has recently made. Only fifty years ago there were but few, if any, poisons which could be discovered with any degree of nicety, and when we reflect that now most poisons, organic as well as mineral, can be detected in the small doses of from one-tenth, to one-ten-thousandth of a grain, we must feel astonished at the progress of Toxicology. But, for the tests to be carried out even with a much less degree of exactitude, they must be handled by persons of great practice and experience, who devote their whole attention to this branch of chemical science. Complicated cases of poisoning may happen, in which a thorough and minute acquaintance with the progress of chemistry is indispensable. Again, it has been discovered that saliva contains a principle which gives a red colour with the salts of per-oxide of iron, one of the characteristic reactions of opium;

therefore how easy for a person to believe he had discovered opium where none existed. For these reasons I am of opinion that Government should specially appoint a sufficient staff of competent toxicologists, whose sole occupation should be to examine poisoning cases, and that a certain number should be named to act in concert in each instance.

By the adoption of this course unjust blame to science would be avoided: neither should we be under the necessity of grieving for the consequences which arise, when the investigation of such cases is entrusted to persons who are not thoroughly acquainted with the subject; nor of doubting the justice of a sentence by which the innocent were acquitted or the guilty condemned.



CHALONER & LAWSON LITH

CLAY PIPES XVII CENTURY *ET ANTE*.

in the collection of M^r. H.E Smith.

Drawn actual size.

26. N JOHN ST. LIVERPOOL

NOTES ON CLAY PIPES: THEIR USES AND FORMS, MAKERS AND DATES.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.

(Read 8th March, 1860.)

A short paper upon this subject, by the late Mr. A. J. Lamb, appeared in the third vol. of this Society's Proceedings.* It contains some useful memoranda, some additions to which I propose laying before you on this occasion.

The custom of smoking is of undoubted antiquity in America, if not in other quarters of the globe: an ancient Mexican legend asserts tobacco to have been smoked at the creation of man; and, allowing a wide margin for the tradition, it yet establishes the very early use of the narcotic on the American continent;† the *infundibulum* of the Romans, if not of analogous *shape* to ours, was probably used in the same fashion; and in the "Northern "Antiquities" of Bartholinus, a representation is given of an old stone effigy of Odin, from whose mouth projects a pipe, said to be precisely similar to that reported as protruding from the skull of an Irish Celt, in a bog at Bannockstown, county Kildare.‡

The exact date is uncertain, but from Humboldt and other authors we learn that tobacco was directly introduced into this country from the Caribbee Islands, where the *pipe*, and *not the weed*, bore the name, *tabac*, subsequently corrupted into tobacco. The first Englishman known to have smoked it, is Thomas Lane, Esq., Sir Walter Raleigh's first Governor of Virginia; but the earliest reference to smoking in England or her colonies occurs in a communication from a Mr. Hariot, also of Raleigh's colony, between the years 1559 and 1586. So early as 1597, however, the custom was so general, that we find Bishop Hall, in a satire on the "decline "of ancient hospitality," complaining of its formidable encroachment.

* Page 29.

† Notes and Queries, 2 s., vol. ii, p. 124.

‡ Dublin Penny Journal, vol. iv, p. 30.

A very interesting work, in connection with our subject, has recently appeared from the pen of Mr. F. W. Fairholt.* In his chapter on pipes he has barely done justice to some of his antiquarian brethren, who are derided for entertaining the belief that the smoke of *several* substances, prior to the introduction of tobacco, was inhaled through a *pipe*. This opinion is denounced as puerile, conceited and groundless, our author placing it in the same category with the absurd notion of some well-meaning but shallow antiquaries of the last century, who, finding the articles in question in, even to us unaccountably, close connection with early remains, Celtic, Roman or Saxon, too hastily concluded them to be the productions of those eras. Not possessing, at present, a sufficient amount of evidence for absolutely disproving our author's dictum, I content myself with supplying reasons for not accepting it.

Subscribing to the statement of Mr. Crofton Croker and others, that the smallest bowled pipes—called in Ireland "Fairy" or "Danes' Pipes," and in Scotland "Elfin" or "Celtic"—are the earliest extant in our country, I yet demur to their minute size being a *necessary consequence* of the scarcity and dearness of tobacco. That the pipes previously in use suited well with this dearness, and were enlarged in proportion as the weed became cheap, is quite as tenable a hypothesis. Mr. Fairholt concedes that from a remote period several herbs were medicinally consumed in smoke; and it is a mere assumption to assert that our forefathers never smoked, as a luxury, or that they never, even medicinally, imbibed the vapour in the presumed modern fashion. The substances consumed included coltsfoot, sword grass, dried cows' dung and realgar or realgal, a poisonous earth, procured in the East Indies, and most probably introduced by the Dutch. Coltsfoot is strongly recommended by Lord Bacon.† That most, if not all of these articles have been more recently used for adulterating tobacco itself is surely no argument against their consumption, "pure "and simple," through pipes! At the present day, a white moss is gathered, dried and extensively smoked by the poorer Highland cotters, whilst in England *eyebright*, *buck bean*, *dock*, *camomile* and other herbs are similarly consumed in rural districts. Immediately after the introduction of tobacco, and before the close of the 16th century, clay pipes were already in

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* Tobacco: its History and Associations. London, Chapman and Hall, 1859.

† *Vide* Gentlemen's Magazine, Oct. 1858.

general use, as Mr. Fairholt's work abundantly testifies; yet we are gravely informed that the first English pipes were made of *silver!* We rather incline to the belief that clay pipes were already in existence among the common people, at least in some districts, although their use might not have obtained in others or even in London. Doubtless they were of native manufacture, whencesoever the original design may have sprung.

Hitherto we have mainly argued upon probabilities; facts, however, are not wanting. Reference to the mythical Milesian of Bannockstown bog is no longer necessary to our purpose: we make no account of the casual proximity of such articles to Roman or other early remains, but invite the sceptic to visit the present excavations for new docks at Rotherhithe, on the banks of the Thames. Here, at a depth varying from 2 to 20 feet below the surface of the ground, may be seen numerous pipes deposited in the ancient silt. During the progress of the works it became necessary to remove an old house, bearing the date of its erection in 1575; yet some 10 or 12 feet below its very foundation, the silt—termed ballast by the navvies, but unquestionably the deposit of the river—was found to contain the small older forms of pipe heads. Here we must allow the earlier manufacture, or admit the extravagant assumption that the original stratum upon which the house was built had been washed away, and replaced by a comparatively recent bed of silt, the edifice above remaining meanwhile intact! For the particulars of this remarkable find I am indebted to Mr. Edward Tindall, of Bridlington, Yorkshire, whose ancestors for many generations were pipe potters, and who, having been a collector of the objects themselves for the past twenty years, is a competent authority on these points.

Mr. Fairholt instances the pipes reported by Mr. Lamb as found at Hoylake, but is here singularly unfortunate. The writer happens to possess, he has good reason to believe, all the old pipes which have turned up in this particular district within the last three years or more, and finds that the smallest and oldest examples do *not* occur about the site of the camp of William III's troops, but in or around the village of Great Meols, certainly the most ancient hamlet in the whole country side. William's soldiery used quite another form of pipe, of double the capacity. The mistake has perhaps originated through the specimens illustrating Mr. Lamb's paper having been procured in adjacent localities,

and, in common with too many of the Great Meols antiquities, erroneously labelled "Hoylake," a name of comparatively recent origin. Examples are here exhibited from East Yorkshire, noted two centuries ago for its pipe manufacture, and from both shores of the Mersey. Near Warrington, upon sites occupied during the civil war by Cavaliers or Parliamentarians, these articles are of frequent occurrence, as I am informed by Dr. Kendrick, to whom I am indebted for several specimens. In shape, the pipes appear since the 16th century to have always varied much, and consequently it is somewhat difficult to apportion all to their respective dates. The present arrangement by centuries will, however, prove tolerably correct, and illustrate the main types, from the earliest known down to those in use at the close of the last century, since which the variations, both at home and abroad, have become almost interminable. Some of the older forms are found useful during country sport, and several noblemen are known to use them in the field. A German periodical of Dec., 1813, records a curious find. "In digging a new sluice-"way at the upper end of the Fairwater at Dantzic, an ancient ship was "discovered, nearly 20 feet under the surface of the ground, laden with "blocks of stone prepared for building, some of which were highly polished. "Many human bones were found in the hold of this vessel, both fore and "aft, and a *box of tobacco-pipes, all whole*, with the heads about the size of "a thimble, and stalks from 4 to 6 inches in length."*

After the decay of their Delft fabrics in the 17th century, the manufacture of tobacco pipes introduced from England, as well as imitations of fine English wares, became a great source of employment to Dutch and German workmen. Count Marcolini in 1784 founded at Hubertsberg, in Saxony, a manufactory which produced articles nearly equal to the English; others were established at Gotha.† The British consul at Ostend reports, in 1765, a singular instance of Dutch strategy. A manufactory of pipes had been set up in Flanders, which the Dutch wished to ruin. This they might have effected by a very large importation of the article, but the high duty rendering this expedient too expensive, they loaded a large ship with pipes, and purposely wrecked her near Ostend. In accordance with port regulations, the cargo was landed and sold there at such a low price that

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* Dublin Penny Journal, vol. iv, p. 29.

† Marryat's History of Pottery, 122.

the new manufactory at once sank under the blow.* A Mr. Hollis, passing through the Netherlands in 1748, reports extensive pipe-works at Gouda, and he was informed by the master that the working tools still retained their original English names.†

Under the designation of Tigelwyrtena Cræft, the potter's art was practised by our Saxon forefathers. The incorporation of the craft took place 5th Oct., 1619. A charter of incorporation was petitioned for to Queen Anne, but the petition was not acceded to.‡ Of the early English manufacturers of *pipes*, however, we possess only a few scanty notices, as in lists of trades. Enquiries have enabled the writer to supply a few unrecorded particulars, which some gentlemen connected with this society may have it in their power to extend. Mr. Mayer states that a person named Morgan is believed to have been one of the earliest of these potters in Staffordshire, and that his descendants are, or were very recently, engaged in the same occupation. In his Natural History of Staffordshire, written in 1686, Dr. Plot speaks of the manufacture of tobacco pipes at Newcastle-under-Lyne; the necessary clay, with other kinds used in the neighbourhood, being obtained close to the town of Burslem. In Yorkshire, the production was carried on chiefly at Hull and Beverley, in the East Riding, and some of the pipes found are known to be of the 16th century. The apprentices of these manufacturers introduced the art into other districts, one commencing at Loughborough, cir. 1600, and another, Thomas Barrick or Barwick, settled in Edinburgh about the same period—his pipes being known by his initials stamped on the breast of the bowl. Subsequently, a manufactory was established at Leeds, a clay being discovered in Wortley hundred, capable of retaining its whiteness after burning.§ The "Bideford clay" appears to have early been in general demand. Lysons|| informs us it was procured previously to 1800 at Weare Gifford and in the parishes of Petersmerland and Petrockstow. It was conveyed into Staffordshire by sea and canal, and mixed with pounded flint, upon this article coming into use. This compound was, however, held liable to crack if highly fired or suddenly heated.

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* Macpherson's Annals of Commerce.

† Dublin Penny Magazine, vol. iv, p. 28.

‡ History of Pottery, p. 148, 178.

§ Thoresby's Ducat Leeds, p. 196.

|| Brit. Rom. Devonshire, p 201.

Distant parts of the country were occasionally supplied with this brittle ware, as is evidenced by the pipes of John Hunt, with his name in full (a rare occurrence) upon the spur, in Staffordshire and in London, as well as in our own neighbourhood at Great Meols. He was probably a Staffordshire man, but it is thought that several members of his family wrought elsewhere—pipes of *Jeffry Hunt* being common in Somerset, and others of *Thomas Hunt* occurring in Wilts. Makers' marks appear on most of the pipes of the 16th and 17th centuries, occasionally on the breast of the bowl, rarely on the stem, but generally on the base of the spur. Aubrey mentions a manufacturer named *Gauntlet*, who impressed his ware with a representation of that article. The trade was sometimes united with others, as at Saffron Walden, in Essex, where in the 17th century we find William Leader making the copper tokens of the period, in addition to clay pipes; and he not improbably also manufactured the curious pins (if they may be so termed), formed likewise of fine pipeclay, and used by barbers of that and the succeeding century for curling the hair. They have often been mistaken for tobacco-stoppers. Many scores of these articles have been found in ledges within chimneys of the older houses in the town, and a few examples have been selected for exhibition, including one bearing the potter's initials, *W.B.* At one period the Winchester pipes appeared to have been in great request, Ben Jonson noticing them as considered the best in his day. Of this, or somewhat earlier date, is the curious article in crockery, termed a *Tantalus, or puzzle cup*, now shown. Though of fair size, it was not calculated for holding above a pint, owing to the thickness of the material and the open ornamentation, which includes a couple of grotesque human faces, devices from cards, the Freemasons' square and compass, and, lastly, a couple of pipes, conveying, rudely formed as they necessarily are, a tolerable idea of the smoking utensils of the day. The cup was emptied by an orifice carried upward through the handle, which terminated in hollow projections on the apex of the vessel, two of them being closed by the fingers, whilst the power of suction was applied to the third. These objects were evidently more for show than use, and usually occupied places on the prominent shelves of public houses. Mr. Joseph Clarke informs me that the older specimens are now but rarely met with. Some were, however, made by Messrs. Wedgewood and Turner in Staffordshire; and others, though very rudely, by another potter of the same county.

Potters' Marks found upon early Pipes.

Cheshire and Lancashire.

AB—B—D—IB—ID—IOHN HVNT—PL—RL, with a star above and crescent below—TC—TH—TP; all stamped on the spur. EB, surmounted by a tree—GL, within a boot-spur—IB, in similar mark—IB, with a crescent; upon breast of bowl.

Somersetshire.

HENRY PVTLEY—JEFFRY HVNT, common—RC or G on stem—RICHARD GREENLAND.

Yorkshire.

ASQVITH, of Hull, early in 16th century—HAIRCY—HILTON—PINCY—SCOTT—G. C. (George Cullom) within a heart—R. F. (Rich. Fitton), a wheat-sheaf between; all upon the spur. $\frac{M}{H}$ upon either *side* of spur, a very uncommon position. IH with the spur intervening—$\frac{RB}{H}$ (Robert Blythe of Hull, cir. 1690) upon breast of bowl.

Miscellaneous,

Chiefly Staffordshire, in the collection of W. J. Bernhard Smith, Esq.

BEN. LEGG—CB—CR, a gauntlet sometimes between—ED. HIGGINS—EK—EL—HP—FE—IOHN HVNT—JOHN JONES—JOHN JAMES—IL—IM—IP—IOHN LEGG—IOHN ROBERTS—IANE OVERTON—IOSEPH HVGHS—MICH. BROWN—M—MD—MORRIS. D.N—OF—RL—RANDLE MORRIS—THOM. EVANS—THOMAS HVNT—TI—WB, a gauntlet between—WILL. DARLEY—WM—the same, with each letter crowned—$\frac{WC}{E}$ each crowned by stars within a heart.

Marks without names or initials.

A plain gauntlet—ditto on shield—ditto on heart—a cross—crosslet—a star, fleur-de-lis, &c.

PROCEEDINGS.

TWELFTH SESSION, 1859-60.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

St. George's Hall, 18*th Oct.*, 1859.

WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Secretary read the following

REPORT.

It is the pleasing duty of the Council to report, at the close of their year of office, that the Eleventh Session of the Society's labours has been marked by satisfactory progress, both in the number and character of the papers submitted to the members. These are given more or less in detail in the volume of Transactions, which is now nearly ready for delivery; and they confidently anticipate that, like its predecessors, it will meet with the approval of the members.

During the past year, no event has occurred, in relation to the Society, requiring special notice; the usual duties have all been performed, and the accustomed intercourse with other Societies maintained. The Library has also been open to members from five to seven o'clock on the evenings of meeting.

The Treasurer's balance sheet shows that, in addition to a balance of £10 5s. 2d. remaining over from the previous year, the sum of £373 12s. 10d. has been received, and £369 1s. 10d. paid. The working expenses have remained much as usual, and there is a balance in hand of £14 16s. 7d.

During the past year, the Council acted on the recommendation of their predecessors in submitting to the Society the names of certain defaulters, who, after due notice, were erased from the roll of the Society, in accordance with Law XII. They recommend that the accumulation of arrears be prevented as much as possible, and, with that object, that Law XII be strictly enforced. The apparent and actual revenue will then be identical, and all arrangements for the benefit of the Society can be made with much greater definiteness.

It has been thought desirable to diminish the price of the early volumes of Proceedings and Transactions, until the stock is reduced to a limited number of copies; the amended scale of prices will accompany the volume about to be issued.

The Society's Excursion this year was made to the town of Bolton, and to the Waterworks of the Corporation of Liverpool at Rivington Pike. A brief account of it will be found in the appendix to volume XI.

The balloting lists required by the laws have been prepared and forwarded. It will be noticed that the Council have suggested some slight changes in the honorary officers. The gentlemen nominated to take the places of those who retire, as well as those named for the customary vacancies in the sections, are willing to serve, if elected, and are all known as valuable members of the Society.

It was moved by the Rev. R. R. Moore, B.A., seconded by Thomas B. Ryder, Esq., and resolved unanimously :—

That the Report now read be adopted, and printed and circulated with the Proceedings of the Society.

The following Statement of Accounts having been read,

It was moved by Peter R. M'Quie, Esq., seconded by Wm. Burke, Esq., and resolved unanimously :—

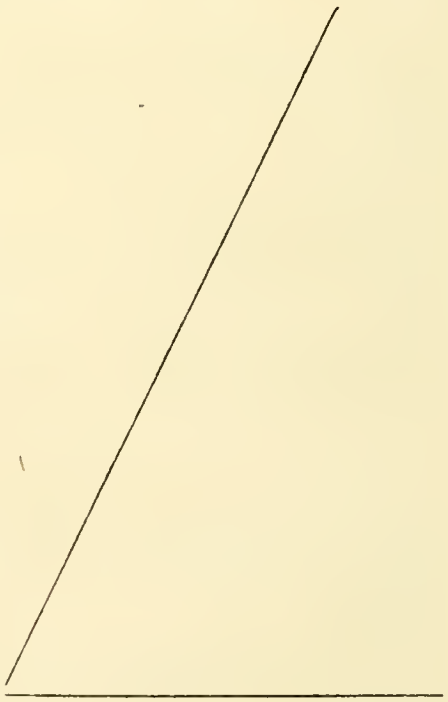
That the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts be passed, and printed and circulated with the Proceedings of the Society.

The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire *in account with*

Dr. Thomas Avison, *Treasurer.* *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
The Volumes :—						
Vol. x.—T. Brakell, printing	9	10	0			
Maclure and Co., lithographing..	9	18	0			
Distributing	5	7	3			
				24	15	3
Vol. xi.—Thomas Brakell, printing 130	1	0				
Chaloner & Lawson, lithographing	21	2	0			
				151	3	0
Sessional Expenses :—						
T. Brakell, printing circulars, &c., Session X	16	17	0			
Do., do., Session XI ..	9	6	0			
H. Shimmin, bookbinding	1	15	9			
G. J. Poore, stationery ..	3	6	6			
Rent of Library and Insurance	31	0	0			
Rent of St. George's Hall..	15	15	0			
Refreshments at meetings	12	5	0			
Advertising meetings	4	10	11			
Assistant Secretary	50	0	0			
Commission, making up accounts, &c.	18	9	7			
Postages, parcels and miscellaneous	19	12	2			
				182	17	11
Permanent Charges :—						
Papworth's Heraldry	1	1	0			
Chaloner and Lawson, for Receipt Books	2	5	0			
				3	6	0
Special Expenses :—						
Excursion to Rivington ..	6	6	3			
Circulars for ditto.....	0	13	0			
				6	19	3
				369	1	5
Balance in Treasurer's hands				14	16	7
				£383	18	0

	£	s.	d.
Balance from last account	10	5	2
By Receipts in Session XI, viz. :—			
Entrance Fees	14	14	0
Annual Subscriptions, Session XI..	283	9	0
Ditto, ditto XII..	2	12	6
Arrears	59	12	0
Life Composition.....	5	5	0
Books sold.....	7	13	6
Extra Binding for Volumes.....	0	6	10



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Examined by

S. Gath,
P. R. M'Quie, } Auditors.

(E. and O. E.)

Liverpool, 18th October, 1859.

Thomas Avison.

It was moved by Thomas B. Ryder, Esq., seconded by J. R. Jago, Esq., and resolved unanimously :—

That the thanks of the Society be given to the Officers and Sectional Members of the Council, for their services during the past Session.

It was moved by Samuel Hill, Esq., seconded by the Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A., and resolved unanimously :—

That the thanks of the Society be given to Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., for his donation of eight illustrations for the annual volume for the past year.

A ballot having been taken for the Officers and Sectional Members of Council, the result was announced from the chair. (See page v.)

Thanks were conveyed by acclamation to the Chairman, for his services during the evening, on the motion of the Rev. Dr. Hume, seconded by P. R. M'Quie, Esq.

3rd November, 1859. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Society. Report of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, No. IX, May, 1859.

From the Committee. The Annual Report of the Committee of the Birkenhead Free Public Library, 1859.

From the Society. Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society, vol. ii, part 1, 1859.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume. A curious statuette in bronze, procured near Rome. Two specimens of Etruscan glass; the one with white and blue twisting, the other exhibiting a beautiful iridescence.

By Mr. Newton. An old printed book, with many curious woodcuts and illustrations, entitled "Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis," Paris, 1524—the property of Mr. J. E. Hodgkin.

The following Paper was read :—

On the Poems of Oisin, Part II,* *by Professor Connellan, of Queen's College, Cork.*

10*th November*, 1859. LITERARY SECTION.

A. Craig Gibson, Esq., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Society. Journal of the Statistical Society, vol. xxii, part 2.

From M. De Perthes. "Le Pilote de la Somme," French newspaper for the 18th and 28th October respectively; and "L'Abbevillois," French newspaper for 16th June and 7th July.

From the Author. A Dissertation on Irish Grammar, by Owen Connellan, Irish historiographer to His Majesty; Dublin, 1834.

From the Author. Le Raphael de M. Morris Moore: Apollon et Marsyas: par Léon Batté.

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* See Vol. XI, page 97.

From the Society. Proceedings of the Liverpool Philomathic Society, 1858-59.

From Mr. Richard Hunt. Lectures on the History of England. Lecture I. By William Longman, 1859.

From the Rev. Dr. Hume. Copy of a Map constructed by the donor from calculations founded on the Census of Religious Worship, 1851, and printed by order of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Church Rates, 1859. The map is colored to shew the proportion of members of the Church of England, Dissenters and Roman Catholics, and of persons not connected with any worshipping body, in the principal cities and towns of England and Wales, and in the whole of England and Wales collectively.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. Mott, in illustration of his Paper. A large number of the most valuable or remarkable books published in Liverpool.

By Mr. Newton. Cicero de Officiis, &c., printed at Rome, 1468. Das Evangelibuch, a work in German on the four Gospels, printed at Strasburg in 1507, with many curious large woodcuts. Sir T. More's Treatise on the Veneracyon and Worshyp of Ymages and Reliques against Tyndale, 1530.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume. A box of Chinese printing-blocks and a Chinese book.

The following Paper was read:—

On Books published in Liverpool, *by A. J. Mott, Esq.*

17*th November*, 1859. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

William Brown, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From Lt.-Col. J. D. Graham, U. S. Topographical Engineers. Map of Chicago harbour and bar, Illinois, U. S. A.

From the Society. Proceedings of the Geographical and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1858-59.

From the Society. Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society for 1858-59.

From the Society. Smithsonian Report for 1857-58.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. H. Newton. A stereoscope and series of views.

By Mr. Keith. Woodward's solar camera. Photographic lenses. Photographs of Furness Abbey.

By Mr. Cross. Various photographs by Fenton and others.

By Mr. W. G. Helsby. Twenty-five Daguerreotype views from Chile.

The following paper was read:—

A Description of some of the principal Optical Apparatus used in Photography, *by Thomas Sutton, B.A.*

1*st December*, 1859. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

James Steains, Esq., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected members of the Society:—

P. B. Ainslie, F.S.S.A., Guildford.

W. Romaine Callender, Jun., Banff House, Rusholme, Manchester.

John Elliott Hodgkin, Hayman's Green, West Derby.

W. J. Legh, M.P., Lyme Park, Stockport.

John Marsh, St. Helen's.

Rev. T. H. Thicknesse, Deane Vicarage, Bolton.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Author. Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth Century, vol. IV, by the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, D.C.L., Major-General in the British Army.

From the Society. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xvii, part 1.

From the Society. Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de l' Orléanais, Nos. 31, 32 and 33.

From the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross, Manchester. The Tree of Common Wealth: a Treatise by Edmonde Dudlay, Esq., Barrister-at-law; some time Speaker of the House of Commons; President of the Privy Council of Henry VII; and one of that King's Commissioners for receiving the Forfeitures of Penal Statutes. Written by him while a Prisoner in the Tower, in the years 1509 and 1510, and under sentence of death for high treason. Now first printed from a copy of his manuscript. 1859.

The following objects of interest were exhibited: —

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith. Impressions and casts from the coins, seals and pilgrims' signs found upon the sea shore of Cheshire, and illustrative of his Paper. Several valuable Roman fibulæ (some being enamelled) from the same locality, and a bottle containing illustrations of the various strata, natural and artificial, at the chief antiquarian site.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume. Four photographic portraits of historic characters in England and Scotland.

By Mr. T. Dawson. Various books published in Liverpool, including a translation of Horace, by Dr. Greene, 1777, and an English Grammar, 1765.

By Mr. H. Gerard. Poliphili Hypnerotomachia (with numerous illustrations), 1467.

The following Papers were read: —

On Coins, Seals and Pilgrims' Signs, found upon the Sea Shore of Cheshire, *by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith; and* The Chimeras, Part II,* *by Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, D.C.L., President.*

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* Transactions, p. 99.

8th December, 1859. LITERARY SECTION.

P. R. McQuie, Esq., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society. Journal of the Statistical Society, vol. xxii, part 3.

From the Society. Journal of the Society of Arts, Nos. 339 to 364.

From the Society. Bulletin de la Société Française de Photographie, No. 4.

From the Author. Character of the Liverpool Town Museum, with suggestions for its interior arrangement, by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. J. Newton. A series of large wood cuts by Albert Dürer, dated 1504, illustrative of events in Scripture history.

By Mr. A. Shute. Two ancient flint arrow-heads, found in Birkendead in 1819, on the site of the present docks. A fragment of tesselated pavement found at Cape Carthage.

The following Paper was read:—

The Chimeras, Part III,* *by Lieut-Gen. the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, D.C.L., President.*

15th December, 1859. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

P. R. McQuie, Esq., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society. Memoirs, vol. xvii, and Notices, vol. xviii, of the Royal Astronomical Society.

From the Society. Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, vol. xv, parts 3 and 4.

From Mr. Moss. A fragment of stone with the mortar adhering to it, from the camp near Alexandria, Egypt. A piece of stone from Mount Lebanon, with fossil remains of small fishes on one surface.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. G. Reid. The model of a carbon-test, for ascertaining the amount of foulness in air. Models of an improved method of ventilating public buildings and dwelling houses.

The following Paper was read:—

On a systematically arranged Border for Plants,† *by the Rev. Henry H. Higgins, M.A.*

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* Transactions, p. 99.

† Transactions, p. 75.

5th January, 1860. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society. Publications de la Société pour la Recherche et la Conservation de Monuments Historiques dans le Grand Duché de Luxembourg. Année 1857.

From the Society. Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and S. E. of Ireland Archæological Society, vol. ii, N.S., Nos. 19 and 20.

From the Author. Remarks on a line of Earthworks in the parish of Tidenham, Gloucestershire, known as Offa's Dyke, by George Ormerod, D.C.L., F.S.A.

From M. de Perthes. "Le Pilote," French newspaper, for the 11th November, 1859.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. W. G. Helsby. A numerous collection of relics, illustrative of the domestic habits and funeral customs of a tribe of the aboriginal inhabitants of Peru, consisting of the mummies of a female and two infants, various cooking and other household articles, and miscellaneous objects. As it is said that no interments have taken place in the burial ground where the mummies were found since the discovery of Peru by the Spaniards, Mr. Helsby assumes that they have been interred over three hundred years.

The following Paper was read:—

ON THE POPULAR CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF LANCASHIRE, PART II,* *by T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S.*

12th January, 1860. LITERARY SECTION.

WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected members of the Society:—

W. H. P. Bath, 146, Crown Street.

Adam Holden, 52, Church Street.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Watch Committee of the Liverpool Town Council. Report on the Police Establishment and the State of Crime, with Tabular Returns, for the year ending 29th September, 1859.

From the Society. Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, No. 13. 1858–59.

From Mr. T. T. Wilkinson. Merlini Anglici Ephemeris, or Astrological Judgments for the years 1674–77, by William Lilly, Student in Astrology. The Lady's and Gentleman's Diary for 1860.

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* Transactions, p. 85.

The following object of interest was exhibited:—

By Mr. Mayer. The original Privy Council Warrant, issued by King William III, for payment "unto John Ince, gent., or to his assignees, the sum of £341 "0s. 10d., to compleat the payment and satisfaction of all Charges and Ex- "pences for or concerning the passing and Execucon of the Commission for "taking Subscriptions to the Bank of England or the passing of the Charter "for Incorporating of the said Bank, which were agreed to be paid by Us," bearing date Kensington, 18th March, 1694-5.

The following Papers were read:—

On the Freedom of the Labour Market, *by Samuel Hill, Esq.; and* On the Census of Religious Worship for England and Wales,* *by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., &c.*

19*th January*, 1860. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

This meeting was held at the Museum of National and Foreign Antiquities, by invitation of the proprietor, Mr. Mayer, and was attended by a large number of members and their friends, including ladies; the usual routine business was therefore postponed. After an inspection of the Museum the company assembled in the principal room, when

The following Paper was read:—

On the importance of Public Museums for Historical Collections,† *by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., &c.*

2*nd February*, 1860. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society. Mémoires, 1857, Bulletins, 1858, de la Société des Antiquaires de l' Ouest.

From the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Address by the Hon. Lord Neaves at the conversazione meeting of the Society, 23rd December, 1859.

From the Duke of Northumberland, K.G. Surveys of the Roman Wall and other Remains in the North of England, made in the years 1852–54 by his Grace's direction: with memoir.

From Mr. John Dixon, Whitehaven. A plaster cast of the inscription on a pillar in the churchyard of Beckermont, Cumberland, marking the burial-place of Tuda, a Saxon bishop, who died A.D. 664.

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* Transactions, p. 1. † Transactions, p. 117.

From Mr. Craig Gibson. A Glossary of Cumberland Words and Phrases, by Wm. Dickinson, F.L.S. The Old Man, or Ravings and Ramblings round Coniston.

From Mr. Surr. An original impression of the Great Seal of England during the reign of James I. The obverse inscription is "Jacobus Dei gratiâ Angl. . "Hiberniæ rex fidei defensor;" the reverse, "Jacobus Dei gratiâ Angliæ "Scot . . . . berniæ rex fidei defensor." On the obverse side is represented the king sitting on a throne surmounted by a canopy, and having in his right hand the royal sceptre, at the top of which is a fleur-de-lis; in his left hand, resting on his knee, he holds a globe surmounted by a cross. On the right of the throne sits a lion, and on the left a unicorn, over each of which supporters are the royal arms, quartering first, France and England; second, Scotland; third, Ireland; fourth, France and England, within a garter with the motto "honi soit qui mal y pense," over which is a crown. On the reverse is the king on horseback with shield and sword, both horse and rider fully armed. On the dexter side is the York and Lancaster rose surmounted by a royal crown; on the sinister side a fleur-de-lis, surmounted by a crown; and in the field a greyhound, one of the badges of the house of Stuart.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. T. Dawson. Various scarce books and engravings, including a Descriptive Poem on the Town and Trade of Liverpool, dated 1789; plans of harbours, bars, bays and roads in St. George's Channel, by Lewis Morris, 1748; and Georgii Agricolæ de re Metallica, Libri xii, 1561.

By Richard Pedder, Esq., Preston. A transcript of a Diary kept by Thomas Tyldesley, who lived in the neighbourhood of Lancaster at the beginning of the last century. The following extracts will serve to shew in what degree the journal illustrates the domestic and social manners of the period:—

"*March* 25, 1712.—Went with Mrs. to Booke to pray^{rs} and Home To din^{r} Afterwards wentt A fowling To Lan^{r} and Aldclife Marces and to see Ashton Gardens thence Home.

26: Al day in Town A bussy in improving ye Dame Garden.

27: very Bussy Gardening with 3 workmen Hen: Copland: Hen: Parkinson: and John: Cradson. p^{d} Mrs Tomkinson po (*pro*) Ale 6 quarts 2^{s} gave Mrs 4^{s} 6 to bye candles p^{d} ye Workmen 2^{s} 6: soe to beed: I weried: 0 : 9 : 0

28: Wentt as fare as Ellel Milles to meet Mr Rostron High Sheriffe went with him after din^{r} to meet ye Judge: * * I suped with ye Sheriffe And Thos (*himself*) is very well beloved yet. Assizes were soe slend^{r} that only 5 was to 15 disses off meatt viz. Mr Sheriff Mr Nowell of Read M: Farington of Shaw hall Parson Parkes And y^{e} *Old: Dog: Lad:* (*himself.*)

Ap^{ll} 2: Att my Returne I went to ye Kings Armes and got my din^{r} with Bro^{r} wee spent 1^{s} Apice in Whitte Wine, and as wee went through ye Hall met with Just: Long—th Capt Veale Just: Pearson Franke Nickinson and small L^{d} of Roshall wee were very merry upon ye small Lord: and spent 1^{s} A pice in sack and whit wine, w^{h} Elivated ye petite L^{d} that beffor hee wentt to beed Hee Tucke ye ffreedom off Biting His Man Sharocke Thumb of Just beyond ye Nale: 0 : 2 : 0

3: Blessed Bee The Holly & *undivided* Trinaty For ever more For The Mirceyfull preserveing & Bring mee To ye Age off 55 years. Amen.

7: Went to ye Kings Armes p^{d} po: A pottle of chars & A barell off Cockles caring To Orfford 1^{s} 6 and Gave Honest Tom Baddeley To: Matts man 2 pintts of Ale and spentt one pint with Rob. Gibson & Hurb^{d} Gillison. Spent 3 ob. att Hen: Wayles. Thence Home: In the Eveing went with Mrs. and Nan: T. to Beardsworths to A dansing Mr. One Mr. Powson. Gave him 5^{s} for part. Spent 2 ob. Soe Home: 0 : 7 : 5

24: al morning in the house Mr Madrell A Mankes Marcant And both Apothecary Surg^{tt} & Atturney at home Dined with us. About 6 went to meett Mr. Bimson at hen: Wayles where Mr Madrell and Evan Williams came to us ye Skip^{r} of ye Mankes ffrigott of 12 tuns: and about 9 when wee should have gon home came up Jack Thornton who stayed us till 2: I spent 5^{s} 6: and Tucke Skip^{r} Evan home with mee: 0 : 5 : 6

25: Al morning in the house gave Evan Williams 8 Duble botles to ffill with Brandy: gave him A pice of Beaff to take with him to Iland.

May 5: Gave Litle Jackey Charles and Sara Roskeall 6^{d} as a ffaring.

13: about 8 in ye mornig went over Rible to Ormskirke Race, where were A greatt company off the best in ye county: p^{d} po: meatt and Drinke po: man and selfe 1^{s} 6 and then went backe with Ned Winckley to Banister hall: but spent p: viam att Bancke bowling here 1^{s} 0 : 2 : 6

21: affter Din^{r} according to invitation, Bro^{s} peninton ffrost and I went to crooke to keep Bro^{r} Daltons Birth Day but Tucked neth^{r} Meat Nor Drinke and all wee had ffor our Journey was to see two poor fflookes taken in ye Leske holl, att length Mr. Dalton came who offered to Goe with us to Cond^{r} Green where he gave us leave to pay each 1^{s} beaing ye sum dranke: Gave M^{rs} 5^{s} to bye Sug^{r} &c. Gave M^{rs} 8^{s} to by Turf Colles, &c. 00 : 14 : 0

28: went early in the morning with my M^{rs} To houme (*Hulme*) in Westmorland to see Bro^{r} and Syst^{r} ffrost where wee ffonud they^{r} Unkle a very odd miserable ffellow and his house as prop^{r} ffor ye person as the stye is ffor y^{tt} Beast my Bro^{r} came backe with us to burton where hee Treated us very generously Honest Cos: Barton beeing with us."

The chairman exhibited a snuff-box which formerly belonged to Richard Chorley, of Chorley in Lancashire. It is one of those relics of the Rebellion of 1715, by means of which the adherents of the Stuarts recognised one another: it is round, and without is enamelled the royal Stuart plaid; inside is a false lid, on which is painted a portrait of the Pretender, so that a pinch of snuff "for the "good cause" could be offered to a Hanoverian partisan, without displaying the miniature, and so betraying the owner. This Richard Chorley was tried, after the Rebellion was suppressed, for high treason, along with his son and many others; and having been found guilty, most of them were sent to London and there executed; but as Chorley senior was thought to be so old and infirm that he would not survive the hardships of such a journey, he was ordered to be hanged in Liverpool. Mr. Mayer possesses a MS. account of these circumstances, which may be seen at his Museum of Antiquities. The following accounts explain themselves:—

An Account of the Disbursements of Thomas Crisp Esqre High Sherriff of Lancashire attending the Tryall of the Rebels at Leverpoole of executing 34 of them. Conveying Prisoners making Conveniencies and finding straw and other necessaries for them at Leverpoole and elsewhere which amount as follows vizt·

1715.

Dec. 31.	Payd for Messengers about the preicepts to hasten y^{m} out	0	12	0
	Payd Sending the Preicepts out to the severall hundreds in the County and printing Tickets	1	15	6
	Payd the like at Preston from the Office there	1	17	0
	Payd the charge of the Undersheriffe a Trumpeter and some Sheriffs men, to wait on the Judges from Warrington ..	7	10	0
	Payd the charge of Messengers from Leverpoole about the returns of the Preicepts.....	0	13	6
	Payd the charge of sending to the officers at Manchester to get guards to convey five Prisoners to Preston to be Executed	0	7	6

January 26.	Payd the charge of Horses and Men to lead the Horses &c. on conveying them thither	0	5	9
	Payd for Cords to pinion them	0	2	6
Feby 6.	Payd for Messengers for other Guards to convey 7 more to Preston, 5 to Wigan and 5 to Manchester to be Executed	0	11	0
	Payd the charge of men and horses on the conveying the 7 to Preston	0	6	9
	Payd the charge of the like on the conveying 5 to Wigan	2	6	6
	Payd the charge of horses and men to lead them on the conveying 5 to Manchester	3	7	6
	Payd the Smith for Irons, fetters &c. for the Prisoners	3	19	4
	Payd for Carpenters work making guard beds and conveniencies for the Prisoners and Soldiers at Leverpoole	15	7	6
	Payd for Straw for them	4	4	6
	Payd for Coales for them	1	10	3
	Payd for Brickwork building up the windows &c. to prevent Escapes	7	0	7
	Payd for candles &c. for the Guards and Prisoners	17	19	9
	Payd for men to attend and guard the condemned Prisoners which the military forces required from the Sheriffe	12	0	0
	Payd two men attending the other Prisoners cleaning rooms &c.	6	12	0
	Payd for a Cellar and Rooms for the Prisoners and Soldiers	13	0	0
	Payd for Rooms for the Witnesses that are Prisoners	10	0	0
	Payd for Coales, Candles and Straw &c. for them	9	10	0
	Payd for a man to attend them and clean rooms &c.	3	10	0
	Payd for candles used in court	1	1	8
	Payd a person that attended and cleaned the Court	1	10	0
	Payd for wine for the grand jury &c. and other disbursements about them for their room, grate-coles &c. 30 days	82	8	8
	Payd for Ale for them	6	7	6
	Payd for persons to attend them &c.	2	10	0
	Payd one days dinner for them	15	7	5
	Payd the charge of 17 men and horses 38 days attending at Leverpoole at 4s. per day each man and horse	129	4	0
	Payd for Hatts, Stockings and other p^{t} of their Liveries worn out	17	9	6
	The High Sheriffs charge and expence not included			
	The Undersheriffe and his Deputy attending expences &c. not included			
	Payd the charge of the Sheriffes men &c. attending Judges to Warrington on their return back	12	0	0
	Four Sheriffs Bailiffs attending 4s. ℔ day each 33 days	26	8	0
	The Gaoler and his servants attending, Expences &c.—he charges upwards of	50	0	0
	Payd Messengers for Guards to pay all the remaining condemned prisoners from Leverpoole to Lancaster and about 20 that were committed over to Lancaster	0	10	0
	Payd for cords, and tying the Prisoners	1	0	8
	Payd for horses for them that would not goe on foot and for men to lead them &c. being 17 by the first guard and 16 on horseback by the second guard	25	0	9
		495	7	7

1716. *The charge of executing 34 Rebels.*

January 27.	Erecting gallows and paid for materialls, hurdle, fire, cart &c. on Executing Shuttleworth, and 4 more at Preston, and setting up his head &c. besides the Undersherieff and Goalors	0	12	4

Febʸ. 9.	Disbursments on Executing old Mr. Chorley and others, and setting up a head &c. Besides the Undersheriffs ..	5	10	6
10.	Charge at Wigan on Executing Blundell &c.	7	1	2
11.	Charge at Manchester on Executing Tyddall &c.....	8	10	0
16 & 18.	Charge at Garstaing and Lancaster on Executing 4 at either place	22	0	0
	Besides the Undersheriffs.....			
25.	Charge of Executing Bennet and 3 more at Leverpool	10	3	0
	Payd the 2 Executioners	60	0	0
	Payd for Horses to carry the Executioners to the severall places of Execution and their travelling charges	7	10	0
		121	7	0

The following Paper was read:—

On the Poems of Oisin, Part III,* *by Professor Connellan, of the Queen's College, Cork.*

9th February, 1860. LITERARY SECTION.

P. R. McQuie, Esq., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected members of the Society:—

George E. Holt, 3, Union Court.
Charles Powell, Commander, R.N., H.M.S. *Conway.*

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. x, Nos. 35, 36 and 37.

From the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society, Nos. 12, 13, 14 and 15. 1859.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. T. Dawson. Book of the Brazen Gates of the Church of San Giovanni, Florence. The Dutch Fortune-teller, discovering Thirty-six several Questions, which Old and Young, Married Men and Women, Batchelors and Maids delight to be resolved of; brought into England by John Booker, 1714. Several rare books in the Latin language, including one dated 1519 and another dated 1530.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Population of Lancashire and Cheshire, and its Local Distribution during the Fifty Years 1801–51,† *by J. T. Danson and T. A. Welton, Esqrs. Part Fourth and Last.*

16*th February*, 1860. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

P. R. M'Quie, Esq., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society. Proceedings, Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6, vol. iii, and Journal for 1858, of the Royal Geographical Society.

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* See Transactions, vol. xi, p. 97. Parts ii and iii are not printed in this volume, the author desiring to reserve them for publication under the auspices of the Ossianic Society of Dublin.

† Transactions, p. 35.

From the Society. Journal of the Geological Society of Dublin, vol. viii, part 2.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. J. Newton. A collection of ancient woodcuts by Albert Dürer, Cranach and others. Several etchings by L. van Leyden and Albert Dürer. A specimen of the Anorthscope, a new optical instrument.

The following Paper was read :—

On the Flora of Preston and the Neighbourhood,* *by Mr. C. J. Ashfield.*

1*st March*, 1860. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

James Kendrick, M.D., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Society. Archæologia Æliana; or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Parts 13, 14 and 15, N.S.

From the Chairman. On British Antiquities discovered in Lancashire, and deposited in the Museum at Warrington, by H. Syer Cuming, Esq., Hon. Sec.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By the Chairman. A piece of oak, about seven inches square, part of the lintel of the fire-place in the kitchen of the house in Henley Street, Stratford-upon-Avon, formerly in the possession of the Shaksperes, in the upper room of which our immortal poet is said to have been born. It had been intended to convert this piece of oak into a casket of the period, but on the carpenter cutting into the block a cavity was discovered, made by a large auger and carefully plugged up at the opening. In this cavity was discovered the square shaft of a small wooden cross, raised upon a pediment of five circular steps. The cross, which had been slightly injured by the saw, is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in height and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch broad at the base, and when found was carefully enveloped in coarse tow, in which were two or three grains of barley. In Dr. Kendrick's opinion, this relic strongly substantiates the authenticity of a MS. discovered in 1770 in the ceiling of the same house, purporting to be a confession of the faith of John Shakspere (father of William) "an unworthy member of the holy Catholic "religion." This document, although at first considered genuine by Malone, was subsequently discredited by him, but the recent discovery of the cross, doubtless a sacred relic secreted when the laws were stringent upon Roman Catholics, ought, Dr. Kendrick suggests, to re-open the question of the genuineness of the MS., if still in existence.

By Mr. T. Dawson. A Genuine Collection of all the Papers, Addresses, Songs, Epigrams and Acrostics printed by all parties during the late Contest for the Representatives in the ensuing Parliament for the Borough of Liverpool, which began on Tuesday, March 31st, and ended April 6th, with some curious MSS. To which is added an Alphabetical List of the Poll. Liverpool: printed by R. Williamson, near the Exchange, 1761. An Entire and Impartial Collection of all the Papers, &c., published on both sides (on the same occasion).

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* Transactions, p. 127.

Liverpool, 1761. The Poll for the Election of Members of Parliament for the Borough of Liverpool, Saturday, 28th May, 1796, to Wednesday, 1st June: Also, Addresses, Songs, Squibs &c. The Act of the 7th Geo. I, for making the River Weaver navigable; and 33rd Geo. II, to amend the foregoing. Sermons and Discourses on several Subjects and Occasions, by Richard Richmond, LL.D., Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Atholl, and Vicar of Walton, Lancashire, 1764. An oil painting of the burning of the Goree Warehouses, by Solomon, of Liverpool. Two oil paintings of the North and South Shores of Liverpool, taken on the spot by J. Morris, 1831.

The following Paper was read:—

AN ANALOGY BETWEEN THE GENESIS OF MAN AND THAT OF THE SOLAR SYSTEM,* *by Henry Johnson, M.R.C.S.*

8*th March*, 1860. LITERARY SECTION.

JOHN ROBSON, M.D., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society. Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Archæological Society, vol. ii, N.S., Nos. 21, 22 and 23.

From the Archæological Institute. The Archæological Journal, No. 62, 1859.

From the Society. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. ii, part 3.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. J. R. Hughes. MS. Almanac of the year 1760, containing notices of various matters locally interesting.

By Miss Drinkwater, Rodney Street, through Mr. Mayer. A remarkable carving in box-wood, representing St. Michael the archangel destroying the seven-headed dragon, which stands in the foreground; on the left is the Queen of Heaven, standing on the crescent, crowned with stars and surrounded with rays of glory. Over the figure of St. Michael is a representation of the Almighty, or God the Father, who is mitred, and with the right hand upraised in the act of benediction; his left hand is over the head of the Saint, whom he appears to be protecting against the evil machinations of the dragon. On the upper corner of the group is the head of an angel, and in the left-hand corner a sarcophagus, probably alluding to the grave. The figures are all in the round, or high relief, and for the most part detached from the field: the delicacy of the carving and the high and finished style of the workmanship testify to the ability and skill of the workman, and recall the beautiful productions of the Italian school of the seventeenth century. Mr. J. Newton suggested that the female is the woman of seven stars mentioned in the Apocalypse, and that the supposed coffin is an altar with cherubim near it; adding that he had seen several pieces by Albert Dürer not unlike this, illustrative of Apocalyptic scenes.

By the Chairman. A fragment of pottery, a spear-head and a stone hammer, in illustration of his paper.

The following papers were read:—

ON CLAY PIPES; THEIR USES AND FORMS, MAKERS AND DATES,† *by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith; and* TUMULI AT WINWICK,‡ *by John Robson, M.D.*

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* Published in a separate form. † Transactions, p. 209. ‡ Transactions, p. 189.

15*th March*, 1860. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

Rev. Henry H. Higgins, M.A., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Hon. Sir. E. Cust, President. The Booke of the Pylgremage of the Sowle. Translated from the French of Guillaume de Guileville, and printed by William Caxton A.D. 1483, with Illuminations taken from the MS. copy in the British Museum. Edited by Katherine Isabella Cust, 1859. The Ancient Poem of Guillaume de Guileville, entitled Le Pélérinage de l'Homme, compared with the Pilgrim's Progress of John Bunyan, with Illustrations and an Appendix, 1858.

From the Society. Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, vol. xv, part 5, and vol. xvi, part 1.

From the Society. Journal of the Statistical Society, vol. xxiii, part 1.

From M. de Perthes. A Collection of Articles regarding the works of art found in the Drift, extracted from the *Times* and Journals of various Learned Societies in England and France. De la Femme dans l' Etat Social, de son Travail et de sa Rémuneration, by the Donor.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume. Photograph of the first page of the *Times* on the seal of a finger-ring. Miniatures of Lord Brougham and of a Lady said to be the original of Sir W. Scott's *Minna Troil.* Small figure of a Burmese god in soapstone.

By Mr. Mayer. Several documents of local interest, published in Liverpool within the last hundred years, including copies of the *Liverpool Chronicle* for Thursday, the 17th August, 1769, and *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser* for Friday, the 20th August, 1773. Fragment of an ornament in stone-ware found January, 1860, in excavating for a wall near the old Potteries in Shaw's Brow.

The following paper was read:—

On the New Theory of Sound in reference to Hearing, *by Thomas R. Mitchell, M.D.*

19*th April*, 1860. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

Wm. Brown, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. David Elliot Birnie, 53, Upper Warwick Street, was duly elected a member of the Society.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society. Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Archæological Society, vol. ii, N.S., Nos. 21, 22, 23 and 24.

From Mr. T. B. Ryder. Journal of the Manchester and Liverpool Agricultural Society for 1860.

From Mr. Bauister Lupton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. A Political Index to the

Histories of Great Britain and Ireland, by Robert Beatson, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1786. Dissertations regarding the Coinage of the Bishopric of Durham, &c. A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights and Gentlemen that have compounded for their Estates. Chester, 1733. A Collection of Addresses, Songs, Squibs &c., published at Liverpool during the Election for Members of Parliament in May, 1807.

From the Author. Flint Implements in the Drift: Was Man amongst the Mammoths? By James Wyatt.

From the Archæological Institute. The Archæological Journal, Nos. 63 and 64.

From Dr. Macintyre. A brass knuckle-duster, used by the officers of certain foreign ships for striking merchant seamen. This specimen is about half an inch thick, with holes for the four fingers and a rounded base for the palm, and weighs 14 ounces.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. W. Henderson. A tracing of Roman remains lately found at Carlisle.

By Dr. Mitchell. A volume of Political Caricatures, dated 1756.

The following papers were read :—

On the Art of Illuminating during the Middle Ages, and its Modern Application, *by Mr. G. A. Audsley; and* Further Remarks on the Cameleon, *by J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.*

3rd May, 1860. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

P. R. M'Quie, Esq., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Society. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xvii, part 2.

From the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol, iv, No. 1.

From the Society. Journal of the Society of Arts, Nos. 365 to 368.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith. Several objects of antiquity, chiefly found by himself upon the Cheshire sea-shore since the high tides of April, including an ancient stone instrument with perforation unusually splayed; a perfect enamelled lyre-shaped brooch of Roman manufacture, discovered within a few feet of a *denarius* or silver penny of the joint emperors Vespasian and Titus (A.D. 71—79) and bearing the portrait of the latter on the obverse :—the reverse is inscribed MAXIM : PONTIF : (reading from the outside of the coin) around the figure of the emperor, seated as high-priest, with the right arm raised in the act of benediction; an ornamental hair-pin in bronze, of the same era; a Saxon pin brooch in brass, with moveable head; a gaud, or central bead of a rosary in terra cotta; and mediæval knives in iron, one still retaining its wooden handle.

By Mr. Genn. A large Map of Canada, divided into Townships, and coloured to show the portions yet unoccupied; recently published by the Canadian government.

My Mr. Marsh. A collection of upwards of 140 engraved portraits of Milton, and various seals, &c., in illustration of his paper.

The following paper was read:—

On the Engraved Portraits and Pretended Portraits of Milton,* *by John F. Marsh, Esq.*

10*th May*, 1860. LITERARY SECTION.

Wm. Brown, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected members of the Society:—

Gerard Hornby, 177, Breck Road.
Robert Mills, Shawclough, near Rochdale.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. x, No 38.

From the Society. Report of the Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1859.

From Dr. Crace Calvert. On the relative powers of Metals and Alloys to conduct Heat, part i. On the hardness of Metals and Alloys. On the specific gravities of Alloys. On the influence of science on the art of Calico-printing. On the chemical changes which Pig Iron undergoes during its conversion into Wrought Iron. On the purification of polluted streams. On the indiscriminate sale of Poisons.

The following paper was read:—

On Poisons,† *by F. Crace Calvert, Ph. Dr., F.R.S., &c.*

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* Transactions, p. 135.

† Transactions, p. 193.

APPENDIX.

26*th April*, 1860. MISCELLANEOUS MEETING.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

This meeting, held at Mr. Mayer's Museum, Colquitt Street, by invitation of the proprietor, was numerously attended by the members and their friends, including a large number of ladies. During the evening, Mr. Thos. Wright, M.A., &c., Hon. Mem., described the excavations at Wroxeter, the site of the ancient Roman city of Uriconium, explaining by plans the progress of the discoveries up to the present time, and exhibiting specimens of coal, pottery, personal ornaments &c., found on the spot.

At the conclusion of the lecture, a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Wright for his valuable discourse, and to Mr. Mayer for his kindness in throwing open his museum on the occasion was passed by acclamation.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

ANNUAL EXCURSION.

The annual excursion took place on Saturday, the 7th July. At eight a.m. a numerous party took their departure by the Birkenhead Railway for Shrewsbury; and on their arrival paid a hasty visit to the town museum, for the purpose of inspecting the numerous relics there deposited, which have recently been found at Wroxeter, the site of the Roman city of Uriconium. The curiosities comprise various articles of personal ornament, fragments of pottery, glass, coins and human remains. The last named objects are of great interest; especially the skulls, dug out near the gate of the city which protected the ford or bridge across the river Severn. Their peculiar interest arises from their being quite different from the usual form; and it has been suggested that they belong to some barbarian tribe who had attacked the city gate and been killed in the action. In some cases the portion over the right eye is considerably in advance of the opposite side, and *vice versa;* whilst, from the circumstance that the sutures are correspondingly irregular, although perfectly closed, great objection is felt to the attempted explanation of these remarkable deformities, that they arose from violence or any other external cause.

From the museum the whole party proceeded in carriages to the excavations now open at Wroxeter, where they spent a considerable time in minutely examining the wonderful scene they present; the exhumed remains of a city reduced to ruins, and deserted 1,400 years ago,—the grand and massive fragment of the city wall, still standing 20 feet above the present surface, the bath, with its tesselated pavement, the hypocaust, the floors paved with lime-ash, or with tiles, and the long lines of foundation walls.

Calling, on the road back, at the interesting little church at Atcham, the party returned to Shrewsbury, and at half past three sat down to dinner at the "Lion," the chair being filled by the Rev. Dr. Hume, supported by Major Egerton Leigh, of High Leigh; Dr. Robson, of Warrington; Dr. Johnson, of Shrewsbury, &c. The usual loyal toasts were succeeded by others referring to the society; and at a quarter to five about half the party took their departure homewards, the remainder staying to explore the ancient borough of Salop, and its picturesque surroundings, until eight, when they returned to Liverpool, after a day of much interest and enjoyment, heightened by the delightful weather.

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ERRATUM.

The illustrations of the paper on the Milton portraits are numbered, in error, III, IV and V respectively: for III read IV; for IV read V; and for V read VI.

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Page 67—Date at top of page, for 1861 read 1860.
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TRANSACTIONS.

ON THE POPULAR CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF LANCASHIRE.

By T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S., &c., &c.

(Read 10th January, 1861.)

Part III.

The Lancashire Witches and their practices are too well known to require a lengthened description. Their repute appears to have culminated in the days of our "English Solomon," James I, and they flourished most vigorously during the hottest persecution. So numerous were they in the times of which we speak that, "in every place and parish," says Brand in his *Popular Antiquities*, "any old woman with a "wrinkled face, a furrowed brow, a hairy lip, a squint eye, a "squeaking voice, and a scolding tongue; having a ragged cloak "on her back, a skullcap on her head, a spindle in her hand, "and a dog, or cat, by her side, was not only suspected for a "witch, but was pronounced to be so, and had to suffer accord-"ingly." Witchcraft was defined by our Royal Author to be a species of sorcery by which persons entered into a contract with the Devil, who furnished them with a "familiar spirit," and enabled them "in many instances to change the course of "nature—to raise winds—to perform actions that require more "than human strength, and to afflict those that offend them "with the sharpest pains." To him, the reason why *twenty* women were given to witchcraft for *one* man was very plain; for he lays it down in his *Demonology* as an undisputed fact

that, since the "fair sex is frailer than man is, so it is easier "for them to be entrapped in those gross snares of the Divell, "as was over-well proved by the serpent's deceiving of Eva at "the beginning, which makes him the homelier with that sex "sensine." So far as the writer is aware there is now no classification of witches into white, black, and grey, as was once the case; but the belief in witchcraft in general still survives amongst our country population. The comparatively uneducated entertain no doubt on the subject; and many otherwise well-informed persons may yet be found who will quote the Levitical command, "Thou shalt not suffer a *witch* to live," as proof that both witches and witchcraft are acknowledged by the highest authority.

Some years ago, I formed the acquaintance of an elderly gentleman who had retired from business after amassing an ample fortune by the manufacture of cotton. He was possessed of a considerable amount of general information—had studied the world by which he was surrounded—and was a leading member of the Wesleyan connection. The *faith element*, however, predominated amongst his religious principles, and hence both he and his family were firm believers in witchcraft. They read the *News from the Invisible World* without entertaining any doubts respecting the authenticity or truth of that celebrated collection of ghost stories and apparitions; and to these the old man added some choice proofs of the effects of diabolical influence from his own experience. On one occasion, according to my informant, both he and the neighbouring farmers suffered much from loss of cattle, and from the unproductiveness of their sheep. The cream was *bynged* in the churn, and would bring forth no butter. Their cows died mad in the shippons, and no farrier could be found who was able to fix upon the diseases which afflicted them. Horses were bewitched out of their stables through the loopholes after the doors had been safely locked, and were

frequently found strayed to a considerable distance when they ought to have been safe in their stalls. Lucky-stones had lost their virtues; horse-shoes nailed behind the doors were of little use; and sickles hung across the beams had no effect in averting the malevolence of the evil-doer. At length suspicion rested upon an old man, a noted astrologer and fortune-teller, who resided near New Church, in Rossendale, and it was determined to put an end both to their ill-fortune and his career by performing the requisite ceremonials for "Killing "a Witch." It was a cold November evening when the process commenced. A thick fog covered the valleys, and the wild winds whistled across the dreary moors. The farmers, however, were not deterred. They met at the house of one of their number, whose cattle were then supposed to be under the influence of the wizard; and having procured a live cock-chicken they stuck him full of pins and burnt him alive, whilst repeating some magical incantation. A cake was also made of oatmeal, mixed with the urine of those bewitched, and after having been marked with the name of the person suspected was then burnt in a similar manner. The elements seemed conscious that something fearful was being transacted. The wind suddenly rose to a tempest and threatened the destruction of the house. Dreadful moanings as of some one in intense agony were heard without, whilst a sense of horror seized upon all within. At the moment when the storm was at the wildest the wizard knocked at the door, and in piteous tones desired admittance. They had previously been warned by the "wise man" whom they had consulted that such would be the case, and had been charged not to yield to their feelings of humanity by allowing him to enter. Had they done so he would have regained all his influence, for the virtue of the spell would have been dissolved. Again and again did he implore them to open the door, and pleaded the bitterness of the wintry blast, but no one answered from within. They

were deaf to all his entreaties, and at last the wizard wended his way across the moors as best he could. The spell therefore was enabled to have its full effect, and within a week the Rossendale wizard was locked in the cold embrace of Death.*

Pendle Forest, in the neighbourhood of Burnley, has long been notorious for its witches. No fewer than *ten* of the residents in that locality suffered the extreme penalty of the law at Lancaster in August, 1612, and one died in prison. Some twenty years later the lives of several others were imperilled by the evidence of Edmund Robinson, as given before Richard Shuttleworth and John Starkie, Esqrs., two of "His Majesty's Justices of the Peace." Two hundred years have since passed away, and yet the old opinions survive; for it is notorious that throughout the Forest the farmers still endeavour to

> "Chase the evil spirits away; by dint
> "Of sickle, horse-shoe, and hollow flint."

Clay or wax images, pierced through with pins or needles, are occasionally met with in churchyards and gardens where they have been placed for the purpose of causing the death of the persons they represent. † We may observe that our Saxon forefathers were addicted to the same practices. Consumptive patients and paralytics are frequently said to be bewitched; and

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* The author of *Scarsdale* has given a graphic sketch of this process in the chapter on "Life in a Moorland Farm"; from which it appears that he is well acquainted with our local superstitions. In order to prevent misapprehension, it may be stated that the author had access to my MSS. when writing those portions of his work.

† Ferdinando, the fifth Earl of Derby, was supposed to have been bewitched to death in this manner:—"The tenth of April, 1594, about midnight, was found "in his Hon. bedchamber by one Mr. Halsall, *an image of wax*, with haire like "unto the haire of his Hon.'s head twisted thorowe the bellie thereof, from the "navel unto the secrets. . . This image was hastilie cast unto the fyre by "Mr. Halsall before it was viewed, because he thought *by burning the same* he "should relieve my Lord from witchcraft, and *burn the witch* who so much tor-"mented his Honr. But it fell out contrarie to his love and affection, for after "the melting thereof his Honr. more and more declined." (*Harl. MSS. Cod.* 247, *fol.* 204.)

the common Lancashire proverb, "draw blood of a witch and "she cannot harm you," has been many times practically verified upon quarrelsome females within my own experience. In extreme cases the "witch-killer" is resorted to, and implicit faith in his powers is not a rare item in the popular creed. Such a person usually combines the practice of Astrology with his other avocations. He casts nativities; gives advice respecting stolen property; tells fortunes; and writes out charms for the protection of those who may consult him. The following is a correct copy of one of these documents which was found over the door of a house in the neighbourhood of Burnley. Its occupier had experienced "ill-luck," and he thus sought protection from all evil-doers.

"Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, "Trine, Sextile, Dragon's Head, Dragon's Tail, I Charge you "all to gard this hause from all evils spirits whatever, and gard "it from all Desorders, and from aney thing being taken "wrangasly, and give this famaly good Ealth and Welth."

Another individual, well known to the writer, was so far convinced that certain casualties which happened to his cattle arose from the practice of witchcraft that he unconsciously resorted to the old worship of Baal, and consumed a live calf in a fire in order to counteract the influences of his unknown enemies. Almost every door about his house had its horse-shoe nailed to it for a similar purpose. Such instances may perhaps be doubted by those who are not sufficiently familiar with our rural population; or they may urge that such credulity is only to be found amongst the most ignorant. This, however, is not always the case, for even the wives of clergymen have been known to consult these "wise "men" on doubtful matters respecting which they desired more satisfactory information!

When we come to examine the miscellaneous customs and superstitions of the county we find many remarkable traces of

a former belief. Tradition has again been true to her vocation; and in several instances has been most careful to preserve the *minutiæ* of the mode of operation and supposed effects of each minor spell and incantation. The principal difficulty now lies in the selection; for the materials are so plentiful that none but the most striking can be noticed. Among these we observe that, a ringing in the ears; shooting of the eyes; throwing down, or spilling the salt; putting on the left shoe first; lucky and unlucky days; pouring melted lead into water; stopping blood by means of charms; the use of waxen images; enchanted girdles; and lover's knots; are all observed and explained almost exactly as amongst the Greeks and Romans. The details in many have been preserved to the very letter, whilst the supposed effects are exactly the same both in the ancient and modern times. Our marriageable maidens never receive knives, or any pointed implements, from their suitors, for the very same reason that such presents were rejected by their Scandinavian ancestors—they portend a "breaking off" in the matrimonial arrangements, and are notorious for "severing love."

"If you love me as I love you,
"No knife shall cut our love in two."

When a Lancashire damsel desires to know what sort of a husband she will have, on New Year's Eve she pours some melted lead into a glass of water and observes what forms the drops assume. When they resemble scissors she concludes that she must rest satisfied with a tailor; if they appear in the form of a hammer, he will be a smith or a carpenter; and so of others. I have met with many instances of this class in which the examples given did not admit of easy contradiction.

We still hold that, if gratitude be expressed on receiving a remedy for any disease, it will in consequence lose its effect. Hence medical men do not always find their patients remark-

ably free in expressing their obligations. We never return thanks for a loan of pins. A "winding sheet" on the candle forebodes death; and dogs howling indicate a similar calamity.* Almost every one is aware that cuttings of human hair ought always to be burnt; that if *thirteen* sit down to dinner one of them will die before the end of the year; that it is unlucky to meet a woman the first thing in the morning; and that a horse-shoe nailed or let into the step of the door will prevent the entrance of any evil-disposed person. We have probably derived nearly the whole of these notions from the Scandinavian settlers in the North of England. They considered it quite possible too to raise the Devil by the same means now practised by our "wise men"; and after their conversion to Christianity they are known to have marked their dough with a cross in order to ensure its rising;—a practice which many of our country matrons still retain. Sodden bread is always considered to be bewitched, provided the yeast was good, and hence the necessity for the protection of the cross.

Our peasantry retain the notion so prevalent in North Germany, that the night-mare is a demon which sometimes takes the form of a cat, or a dog, and they seek to counteract its influences by placing their shoes under the bed with the toes outward on retiring to rest. When eating eggs, our ancestors were careful to break the shells lest the witches should use them to their disadvantage. We do the same for a slightly different reason; it is counted unlucky to leave them whole. They avoided cutting their nails on a Friday, because bad luck would follow; but we have improved upon their practice and now lay down the whole theory as follows:—

"Cut your nails on a Monday, cut them for news;
"Cut them on Tuesday, a new pair of shoes;

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* This popular opinion appears to be very ancient and wide-spread; for it has been noticed by Moses as prevailing in Egypt. *Exodus* xi. 5-7.

"Cut them on Wednesday, cut them for health;
"Cut them on Thursday, cut them for wealth;
"Cut them on Friday, cut them for woe;
"Cut them on Saturday, a journey you'll go;
"Cut them on Sunday, you cut them for evil;
"For all the next week you'll be ruled by the Devil."

We always get out of bed either on the right side, or with the right foot first; we take care not to cross two knives on the table; mothers never allow a child to be weighed soon after its birth; our children still blow their ages at marriage from the tops of the dandelion; and all these for similar reasons, and with similar objects, to those of the peasantry of Northumbria during the period of Danish rule. They supposed that the dead followed their usual occupations in the spirit-world, and hence, probably, the weapons of war and the implements of domestic life which we find amongst the ashes of their dead. They were also of opinion that buried treasure caused the ghosts of the owners to haunt the places of concealment; and many of our country population retain the same opinions without the slightest modification.

The efficacy of lucky-stones worn round the neck—of branches of the "wicken tree," or mountain ash—of spoons made from the wood of the ivy—and of numerous other minor safeguards from evil and disease, is still undoubted by many. No medical man, we are told, will rub ointment on a wound with the fore-finger of his right hand, because it is popularly counted venomous; a dead man's hand is said to have the power of curing wens and other excrescences of the skin; three spiders worn about the neck will prevent the ague; and a string with *nine* knots tied upon it, placed about the neck of a child, is reported to be an infallible remedy for the hooping cough. The same effect also follows from passing the child *nine* times round the neck of a female ass according to the popular creed of the county. Our *wise men* still sell the following charm for the cure of continued toothache; but

it must be worn inside the vest or stays, and over the left breast :—" Ass Sant Petter sat at the geats of Jerusalm our "Blessed Lord and Sevour Jesus Crist Pased by and Sead, "What Eleth thee hee sead Lord my Teeth Ecketh he sead "arise and folow mee and thy Teeth shall never Eake Eney "moor. Fiat + Fiat + Fiat + " *

If we are troubled with warts we must *steal* a piece of beef from a butcher's stall and bury it at a place where *three* roads meet; for as the beef decays the warts will disappear. Galvanised rings have latterly taken the place of silver ones made from the hinges of coffins for the cure of fits, or for the prevention of cramp. Fried mice are yet given to children in order to cure non-retention of urine during sleep. An elderly female, of my acquaintance, confidently predicted the early death of her grand-child, from the fact of its *having cut its double teeth first*; and when the event really happened soon after, she quoted her prediction and its fulfilment in proof of the correctness of the popular notion. Most grandmothers will exclaim "God bless you," when they hear a child sneeze; and they sum up the philosophy of the subject in the following lines, which used to delight us in our younger days. If you

"Sneeze on a Monday, you sneeze for danger;
"Sneeze on a Tuesday, you kiss a stranger;
"Sneeze on a Wednesday, you sneeze for a letter;
"Sneeze on a Thursday, for something better;
"Sneeze on a Friday, you sneeze for sorrow;
"Sneeze on a Saturday, your sweetheart to-morrow;
"Sneeze on a Sunday, your safety seek,
"The Devil will have you the whole of the week."

In most parts of Lancashire it is customary for children to repeat the following invocation every evening, on retiring to bed, along with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed :—

"Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
"Bless the bed which I lie on;

* This is a real instance, and is noticed in *Carr's Glossary*, vol. ii. p. 264; also in *Notes and Queries* as prevalent in other counties.

"There are four corners to my bed,
"And four angels overspread,
"Two at the feet, two at the head.
"If any ill thing me betide,
"Beneath your wings my body hide.
"Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
"Bless the bed that I lie on. Amen." *

The influence of the "evil eye" is felt as strongly in this county as in any other part of the world, and various means are resorted to in order to prevent its effects. "Drawing "blood above the mouth" of the person suspected, is the favourite antidote in the neighbourhood of Burnley; and in the district of Craven, a few miles within the borders of Yorkshire, a person who was well disposed towards his neighbours is believed to have slain a pear-tree which grew opposite his house by directing towards it "the first morning "glances" of his evil eye.† Spitting three times in the person's face; turning a live coal on the fire; and exclaiming "the Lord be with us," are other means of averting its influence.

Should one of your children fall sick when on a visit at a friend's house, it is held to be sure to entail bad luck on that

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* This is noticed by the Rev. W. Thornber in his *History of Blackpool*, p. 99; also in the *Oxford Essays*, 1858, p. 127; and my friend the Rev. James Dugan, M.A., T.C.D., informs me that the Irish midwives in Ulster use a very similar formula when visiting their patients. They first mark each corner of the house, on the outside, with a cross, and previously to entering repeat the following words:—

"There are four corners to her bed,
"Four angels at her head:—
"Matthew, Mark, Luke and John,
"God bless the bed that she lies on.
"New Moon, new Moon, God bless me,
"God bless this house and family."

† See Carr's *Craven Glossary*, vol. i. p. 137—"Look, sir," said Mr. Carr's informant, "at that pear tree, it wor some years back, sir, a maast flourishin tree. "Ivvry mornin, as soon as he first oppans the door, that he may not cast his ee "on onny yan passin by, he fixes his een o' that pear tree, and ye plainly see "how it's deed away."

family for the rest of the year if you stay over New Year's Day. Persons have been known to travel sixty miles with a sick child rather than run the risk. A flake of soot on the bars of the grate, is said to indicate the approach of a stranger—a bright spark on the wick of a candle betokens a similar event—when the fire burns briskly, some lover is good humoured—and a cinder thrown out by a jet of gas from burning coals is looked upon as a coffin or a purse of gold, according to its peculiar shape. Crickets in a house are said to indicate good fortune; but should they forsake the chimney corner, it is a sure sign of coming misfortunes. To kill, or ill use, swallows, wrens, redbreasts, &c., is counted unfortunate; for these all frequent our houses for good; and we have a common stanza current amongst us which declares that :—

"A Robin and a Wren
"Are God Almighty's cock and hen;
"A Spink and a Sparrow
"Are the Devil's bow and arrow."

When we see *one* magpie, it is a sign of bad luck; *two* denote merriment; *three*, a marriage; *four*, the arrival of good news. So says our prose version; but the poetical narrative runs thus :—

"*One* for sorrow; *two* for mirth;
"*Three* for a wedding; *four* for a birth."

We still dislike the moaning of owls and the croaking of ravens, as much as the Romans did of old; they, too, spat upon their enemies, and esteemed it a charm against all fascination. In Lancashire, our boys spit over their fingers in order to screw up their courage to the fighting point; and at other times to attest their innocence of some petty crime laid to their charge. Travellers, and recruits, still spit upon a stone and then throw it away, in order to insure prosperous journeys; and our hucksters always spit upon the first

money they receive in the morning, that they may have ready sale and "good luck" during the day. "Hansell," they say, "is always lucky when well wet."

The Folklore of dreams is an extensive subject, and would require a series of essays for its full elucidation. On this occasion we can only glance at one or two of the most common practices in illustration of the prevaling superstitions of the county. The *Royal Dream Book*, and *Napoleon's Book of Fate*, command an extensive sale amongst our operatives, and may be consulted for additional information. Suffice it to say, that our country maidens are well aware that *triple* leaves plucked at hazard from the common ash, are worn in the breast for the purpose of causing prophetic dreams respecting a dilatory lover. The leaves of the yellow trefoil are supposed to possess similar virtues;—and the Bible is not unfrequently put under their pillows with a crooked sixpence placed on the 16th and 17th verses of the first chapter of Ruth, in order that they may both dream of, and see, their future husbands. "Opening the Bible for "direction" is still practised after any troublesome dream, or when about to undertake any doubtful matter. To dream of the teeth falling out betokens death, or the loss of a lawsuit. Other signs of death are dreaming of seeing the Devil; or hearing a sound like the stroke of a wand on any piece of furniture. The proverb that "lawyers and asses always die "in their shoes," is invariably quoted when any sudden calamity befalls one of the profession.

It is well known that the ancients performed certain rites and ceremonies at the changes of the Moon; and hence that luminary has added some curious items to the popular creed. *Old Mother Bunch's Garland* is an authority on these matters, and amongst many other things it teaches expectant females who desire to pry into futurity, to cross their hands on the appearance of the new Moon and exclaim :—

"All hail! new Moon; all hail to thee!
I pray thee good Moon, declare to me
This night, who my true love shall be."

Our farmers predict fair weather, or the reverse, according as the new Moon "lies on her back," or "stands upright." In the former case "she will hold water:" in the latter not. It is also very unlucky for any one to look at the new Moon, for the first time, through the window. Christmas thorns are said to blossom only on Old Christmas Day; and persons will go considerable distances at midnight in order to witness the blossoming. Oxen, too, are supposed to acknowledge the importance of the Nativity of Christ, by going down on their knees at the same hour; and this is often quoted as a proof that our legislators were wrong in depriving our forefathers of their "eleven days" when the new style was enforced by Act of Parliament.* Should females, or light-haired persons, be the first to enter a house on New Year's Day, they are supposed to bring bad luck for the current year. Various precautions are taken in most families to prevent this misfortune, and hence many persons with black hair are in the habit of going from house to house on that day "to take the New Year in," for which they are treated with liquor and presented with a small gratuity.

When persons hear the cuckoo for the first time in the Spring, it is put down as a sure sign of coming prosperity if they happen to have gold, silver, and copper, in their pockets; —it is also counted lucky for lambs to have their faces towards us when first seen in the fields. Some of our farmers

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* The *use* of the old style in effect, is not yet extinct in Lancashire. The writer knows an old man, R. H., of Habergham, about 77 years of age, who always reckons the changes of the seasons in this manner. He alleges the practice of his grandfather and father in support of his method; and states with much confidence that—"Perliment did'nt change t' seeasuns wen thay chang'd "t' day ot munth."

are superstitious enough to hang in the chimney a portion of the flesh of any animal which has died of distemper as a protection from similar afflictions;—they also preserve with great care the membrane which sometimes envelopes a newly born foal in the hope that it will ensure them good luck for the future. Sailors do not like to set sail on a Friday. Servant girls will rarely enter upon a new service either on a Friday, or on a Saturday; should they do so, they have an opinion that they will disagree with their mistresses and "not "stay long in place." Most females entertain strong objections against giving evidence, or taking oaths, before the magistrates, when *enceinte*. At Burnley, not long ago, a witness in a case of felony was threatened with imprisonment before she would comply with the necessary forms. All children that are born in the twilight of certain days are in consequence supposed to be endowed with the faculty of seeing spirits; and some of our "wise men" take advantage of this and persuade their dupes that they were so circumstanced at birth.

I might multiply such instances to an almost indefinite extent, did space permit; but the preceding will suffice to prove both the probable origin and prevalence of many of our popular superstitions. To a greater or less extent their influence pervades all classes of society; and he who would elevate the intellectual condition of the people must not neglect this thick stratum of *common notions* which underlies the deepest deposits of mental culture. As a recent writer in the *Quarterly Review* reports of Cornwall, so we may state of Lancashire:—"Pages might be filled, not with "mere legends wrought up for literary purposes, but with "serious accounts of the wild delusions which seem to have "lived on from the very birth of Pagan antiquity, and still to "hold their influence among the earnest and Christian people "of this portion of England * * * Superstition

"lives on, with little abatement of vitality, in the human "heart. In the lower classes it wears its old fashions, with "very slow alterations—in the higher, it changes with the "rapidity of modes in fashionable circles. We read with a "smile of amusement and pity, the account of some pro- "vincial conjuror, who follows with slight changes, the trade "of the Witch of Endor; and we then compose our features "to a grave expression of interest—for so society requires— "to listen to some enlightened person's description of the "latest novelties in table-turning, or spirit-rapping; or to some "fair patient's account of her last conversation with her last "quack doctor. Certainly, the Celtic races stand pre-eminent "in the variety and strangeness of their intimacy with the "invisible world;" and it behoves those who labour to effect any radical changes in their mental condition, to acquaint themselves more particularly with these secret causes of non-success. So long as the minds of the bulk of our population are swayed by such subtle influences as these, we need not be surprised that Mormonism finds its dupes—Clairvoyance its advocates—and Spirit-rapping its mono-maniacs amongst those who otherwise deservedly occupy a high rank in the scale of intellectual society.

In these Essays I have advanced little beyond what has been derived from my own experience, and I doubt not but that numerous additions may be made from other localities by those who may interest themselves in the matter. When so much that is curious can be found within a circle of some forty miles in diameter, taking Blackburn as a centre, what a harvest may be expected from a careful gleaning in all the undisturbed nooks and corners of the land; and what if the inquiry were extended so as to embrace the whole of the United Kingdom. The labours of Croker, Keightley, Thorpe and Kemble, following in the wake of the Brothers Grimm, have added considerably to our knowledge of the folklore of

the North of Europe; but much yet remains to be collected before the subject can be examined in all its bearings. A humble labourer in the same field may therefore hope to be excused for presuming to cast in his mite to the common treasury. His collections are by no means exhausted, but enough has been adduced to prove that the Customs and Superstitions of Lancashire are not unworthy of our attention; and he now dismisses the subject in the hope that it will be further prosecuted by abler hands, until the whole of our folklore has been collected and arranged.

THE GOLD FIELDS OF AUSTRALIA.

By J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.

(Read 15th November, 1860.)

During the past year Mr. T. M. Mackay, of the Liverpool firm of Messrs. James Baines & Co., visited Australia in connexion with the extensive commercial relations which his house has formed with that distant colony. During the period he remained there he collected a valuable mass of papers and illustrations relating to the geology, the statistics, and every other matter referring to or connected with the subject now under consideration. He also, on leaving Australia, made arrangement to secure monthly reports on these interesting subjects. These papers he has kindly presented to me, and continues to do so with every new arrival. This act of liberality no doubt originated from a belief that they would undergo a thorough investigation and discussion in my hands, knowing that I took a great interest in these matters. I do not, however, think that I should have done justice to Mr. Mackay's liberality without reading before this or some other Society the result of the perusal of these interesting documents.

Having early in life had considerable practical experience in connexion with the mines in Cornwall and Devon, I found that I was enabled to enter into the matters referred to in these papers with far greater facility, especially the subjects connected with the future prospects of mining operations in Australia, than I should otherwise have had the means of doing. I therefore propose to take a glance at the mining

operations of the past in this country, as far as such a view is calculated to throw a light on the future mining prospects of our antipodes.

There appears to exist, in many respects, a strong analogy between the different mining operations in the gold fields of Australia and the tin mines in Cornwall. In both, as far as we can judge of the past by the present, these metallic minerals are considered to have been first deposited in strata, descending into the earth and forming various angles with the horizon. These planes in this country are called "lodes," in Australia "quartz reefs." This is not the only form in which gold quartz, or other metallic minerals, are found deposited in their primary condition, but, as far as we yet know, it is the principal formation in Australia. We may, therefore, confine our observations to this class of primary deposits.

Although the lodes that contain copper are in most respects of the same character as those which contain tin, yet in one particular tin has a stronger analogy to gold than any other metal found in great quantities in this country. Tin is not only found in the lodes in which it was first deposited, but also in the alluvium, and in the beds of rivers and streams. Such also is the case with gold; in fact, all the earlier mining operations for obtaining either tin or gold were of the class called stream-works. The tin ore and the metal gold when collected from stream works are found in a state of fragmentary deposits and occur associated with and indeed forming a part of the loose superficial beds which occur in the outlays of mineral districts, and no doubt they consist of the detritus of neighbouring rocks which have been worn down by the action of water at remote geological epochs. These deposits are not generally mixed up indiscriminately with the alluvial matter since their greater specific gravity has occasioned them to be deposited towards the bottom of the mass. The cause of tin

and gold being the only metals found in this secondary condition to any great extent, arises from the fact that the peroxide of tin or stream tin as well as the metal gold, is not subject to decomposition by being exposed to the action of the atmosphere and moisture, whereas other ores, copper pyrites or sulphuret of copper for instance, when exposed to these agents do undergo decomposition, the oxygen uniting with the sulphur changing the sulphuret into the sulphate of copper, which being a soluble salt is dissolved in the waters and thus carried into the ocean.*

As we have before noticed, the first operations in the gold fields of Australia were stream works. As compared with mining operations on the lode, stream works are exceedingly simple, requiring little or no capital, and can be conducted by one, two or more labourers for their own benefit. In fact Nature in the case of stream-works has performed the greatest amount of the labour connected with dressing the minerals previously to the process of smelting. It is probable that the stream-works of the Cassiterides produced for two thousand years the principal portion of the tin of the world, although in Cornwall there are workings on the lodes, generally denominated the old men's works, which are evidently of great antiquity. As it was with tin for near two thousand years, so it is with gold up to the present period; the greatest amount being the produce of stream works. We have observed that stream works consist of the detritus of neighbouring formations. But on a close inspection of the product of the lodes and stream works there are difficulties which cannot be satisfactorily explained with regard either to gold or tin. With reference to the latter, the ore found in stream works, notwithstanding

* In some cases this solution of sulphate of copper is arrested in its progress by earthy or alkaline carbonates, and the ore is thus deposited in that beautiful description of mineral called malachites or carbonates of copper, or is sometimes artificially received into reservoirs, as at the Parys mines, Anglesea, and the copper precipitated by means of small pieces of iron.

the great amount of attrition to which it has been subjected, exists in larger masses than are found in lodes; also large pieces of the per-oxide of tin, which are known to miners by the name of wood-tin, are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, of a character in one instance only found in a lode. Wood-tin has much the appearance of the iron ore generally called hematite, and in common with other descriptions of stream-tin it generally yields a much purer tin than that obtained from lodes, the latter being mixed with other metals, especially with the ore of tungsten, known by the name of wolfram. This ore contains also iron and manganese, but it is the tungsten that principally deteriorates the quality of lode tin.* So it is also with gold. All the largest and most valuable nuggets have been obtained from stream works.† It has been thought, therefore, that at the remote epoch when these mineral deposits were broken down by the action of water, the original formation, in which the gold now obtained from stream works existed, was vastly superior to the present reefs; and from this fact the inference has been drawn that gold reefs must yield less as we descend to lower depths. This argument does not, however, appear conclusive. If it were an indisputable argument in the case of gold, it would also be so with regard to tin. But although black-tin is found in larger masses in stream works than in the lode, in very many cases "tin stuff," as in the cases of Buckler's and Polgooth,

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* Mr. Oxland, of Plymouth, has within a few years discovered a method of extracting the tungsten from tin. Whilst thus he increases the value of the tin he applies the tungsten to a valuable purpose in connexion with dyeing.

† There appears to be one exception, in a nugget of 156 ounces found in a reef at Victoria, and also another of 12 ounces. With a few exceptions an ounce is the usual limit of the weight of nuggets found in reefs, and even these are rare; whereas there appear to be no limits to the size of lumps found in drifts. The "Blanche Barkley Nugget" weighed 1,743 ounces, and contained but six ounces of quartz and earthy impurities. It was discovered 13 feet below the surface in the alluvium, at Kingower Diggings, 120 miles from Melbourne.

improves with increased depth, and in Wheal Vor and Old Crinnis it runs good at 300 fathoms, although in other cases the contrary is the fact.*

Sir Roderick Murchison, † however, an authority of the highest order, has given so decided an opinion on this subject, that it would be presumption to doubt its correctness, had we not abundant facts to lead us to another conclusion. Sir Roderick in his *Siluria*, page 448, observes that " experience

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* A large number of the East and West lodes in Devon and Cornwall have tin on the back, or on the shallow levels, and copper at greater depths. These lodes run out of tin for generally ten or twenty fathoms before they are productive in copper. A similar change takes place in gold reefs, running out of native gold, and at greater depths they become more productive, by yielding auriferous mundic. The Cornish United Company on Ballaarat Reef, in June, 1860, extracted mundic yielding 53 ounces to the ton, but we are not informed how much of this mundic was obtained from a ton of quartz.

† Mr. Selwyn, the Government geologist, in a letter to Sir R. I. Murchison, dated 14th February, 1859, (Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, 1st May, 1860,) contends that the finding of larger nuggets in the older drifts is not a conclusive proof of the superior richness of the denuded upper surface of veins or reefs. He suggests that this might have arisen from the natural crushing process and deposit of our gold-drifts and the subsequent consolidation by heat arising from long-continued Plutonic action, of which we have ample evidence during the later Pliocene period. If this theory be accepted with regard to gold, it will equally meet the difficulty we have had to contend with regarding the difference that exists in both the size and quality of the masses of tin obtained from stream-works and lodes. But the same discussion, whether gold reefs improve downwards or otherwise, has been also argued on the data of experience alone, and since this subject is one of great importance in connexion with the future prosperity of the gold fields of Australia, we have devoted a considerable amount of time to investigating this matter by aid of the papers before alluded to. Mr. Selwyn does not consider, from his experience. that the yield is either steadily increasing or steadily decreasing, but fluctuating at various depths. He instances the Port Philip Company's reefs, which are rich at 200 feet and 230 feet; one of the reefs is six feet thick, and in both the quartz contained as much gold per ton as at surface. At Maryborough 400 feet has been reached with similar results, and there are many instances of quartz-reefs containing no gold at surface being remunerative when followed to greater depths.

"too dearly bought has taught the miner throughout long ages, "that in his efforts to follow vein-stone downwards by deep "shafts into the body of the rock he has either found the gold "diminish in volume or so difficult to obtain that the cost of "extraction has usually been greater than the value of the "metal." Mr. Panton, in a paper read before the Mining Institute of Australia, is decidedly of the same opinion as Sir Roderick Murchison, and gives numerous instances of reefs, rich near the surface, but valueless at depths varying from 15 to 75 feet.

I must, however, observe that Mr. Panton's experience appears to be confined to the neighbourhood of Bendigo. * He mentions, as proofs of the correctness of Sir Roderick's hypothesis, that Victoria (Ballerstedt's)*, New Chum, Hustler's, Johnston's, † Windmill Hill, Eagle Hawk, Williamson's claim,

* When this paper was written we were of opinion that Mr. Panton was correct as far as the reefs in the neighbourhood of Bendigo were concerned. But subsequent information from this district proves that the reefs, referred to by Mr. Panton as illustrations of the fact that the gold decreases as we descend deeper, have since the date of his paper supported the contrary hypothesis. Our subsequent November report proves that the Bendigo reefs are not of the class described by Mr. Panton. The New Chum was working very profitably at the depth of 179 feet, and the Glasgow reef, which is a prolongation of the same reef to the south, at the depth of 130 feet was producing 50 oz. per ton. Beaglehole, on the same reef, at 95 feet was producing 150 oz. per ton. Gibbs, on the same reef, at 179 feet was yielding 16.4 oz. per ton. Noble and Co.'s claim, at 112 feet was producing 9 oz.; and Gordon and Co.'s, at 110 feet 7 oz. per ton. We may therefore conclude that even Bendigo reefs do not furnish evidence to support the theory that the yield of gold diminishes with the depth.

† In February, 1860, the following is the report of Johnson's reef:—

PROPRIETORS.	DEPTH OF SHAFT.	YIELDS PER TON.
	feet.	ounces.
Murdock and Co.....	250	8
Lindsay and Co.	260	10
Thorpe and Co.....	250	20
Early and Co.	296	20
Chapple and Co.	250	20

Buhher's Gully and Break-o'-Day reefs, have uniformly yielded more gold at or near the surface than they have at subsequent depths. At New Chum reef, in Power and Thomson's claim, quartz within ten feet of the surface yielded upwards of 100 oz. to the ton, whilst ten or fifteen feet below this it was scarcely paying; and, on further sinking, that portion of the reef was abandoned. Again, on the well-known claim of Ballerstedt's, from the surface to the depth of 66 feet, the reef averaged 6 ounces per ton; and from that point to a depth of 150 feet the reef yielded only a few penny weights per ton—not sufficient to pay expenses. Also on Steven's and Grant's claim, on the Victoria reef, the vein was struck at 35 feet, and yielded paying quartz for 30 feet downwards, below which it yielded nothing, although followed to a depth of 200 feet from the surface. Lastly, it may be mentioned that in a limited space on a claim on Surface Hill, Eagle Hawk, four pounds of gold to the bushel of quartz was obtained at a depth of 40 feet from the surface, whilst at the depth of 70 feet the quantity was not worth working.

Against this theory we have, however, more numerous instances of reefs improving as they increase in depth. We will

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Johnson's Reef Gold Mining Co, consisting of the following claims:—

CLAIMS.	DEPTH OF SHAFT.	YIELDS PER TON.
	feet.	ounces.
McCallum and Co.	230	9
Taylor and Co.	230	7 to 8
Burk and Co.	220	9
O'Brien and Co.	280	9
Robinson and Co.	220	6
Bryce and Co.	240	7
Macintyre and Co.	250	8 to 9

At a meeting of the last-named company in September, 1860, to celebrate the inauguration of the steam pumping engine "Midas," Mr. Thorpe, a miner of considerable experience, expresses a strong desire to see the reef 300 feet lower than its present depth, thus proving that practical men even in the Bendigo district entertain the opinion opposite to that of Mr. Panton.

selectthe Adelong reefs, and from these we instance claims below 100 feet producing five ounces and upwards to the ton, and compare them with those under 75 feet deep, taking in the latter cases those which yield the greatest product.

NAME OF OWNER.	Depth of level.	Width of reef.	Yield per ton.*	REMARKS.
	feet.	ft. in.	ozs.	
Thomas Channon ..	152	2 0	8	At 100 feet the reef was 6 feet; from that to the present depth it has varied.
Bullock and Partner..	100	2 0	8	The three first named were rich from surface.
Fallan and Bunn	140	3 0	8	
Vicque and Harris ..	125	1 6	8	Did not pay until a depth of 40 feet.
Lind and Partner....	100	2 0	8	
Skruner and Co.	116	1 0	8	
Baker and Co.	120	3 0	8	Rich from surface.
Iredale and Co.	120	..	6	No traces of this reef at 150 ft.
Hillhouse and Co. ..	110	2 0	5½	Auriferous mundic.
Griffiths and Co.	100	3 0	5½	Auriferous mundic.
Loemun and Co.	107	2 0	5	These three claims paid from 40 feet downwards.
Dent and Co.	100	1 6	5	
Lewington and Co. ..	100	2 6	5	
Cumberland party ..	100	2 6	5	Unproductive to 36 feet. Struck auriferous mundic at 40 feet.
Hays and Co.	110	0 9	5	No surface reef, and struck auriferous mundic at 50 feet.
Rutter and Co.	120	1 2	5	Paid from surface, but improves downwards.
King and Co.	75	2 0	7½	This claim is improving with depth.
Pierce and Co.	65	0 5	5	No surface reef in this claim.
Jones Brothers	40	0 6	7½	
Edwards and Co.....	60	0 9	8½	
Boyde and Co.....	60	0 9	5½	Up to the present time this claim has not paid.
Shaw and Co.	10	0 9	4	
Dawson and Co.	10	0 9	4½	
Rukleft and Co.	40	1 0	4½	
Standworthy and Co.	30	0 9	4	
Woodward and Co. ..	40	1 0	3½	Paid from surface.
Hatton and Co.	70	2 0	4	
Mosely and Co.	60	1 0	4	This claim is paying well.
Crow and Co.	70	0 3	3	This vein varies from 3 to 12 inches.

It is generally stated that a quarter of an ounce per ton will yield a profit if the reef is a foot wide.

Mr. Bollaert, a gentleman of considerable practical experience with reference to the gold lodes in South America, gave

a decided opinion, during the discussion of this paper, that those lodes did not diminish in value at any depths with which we are acquainted. He stated that he had seen lodes very rich in gold at the greatest depths below the surface with which the miners are acquainted, either in that or any other country. Mr. Pollard, an Australian mining engineer of considerable eminence, advises the miner at once to sink as deep as is practicable.

From these facts and opinions we come to the conclusion arrived at by the majority of Australian geologists, either that reefs vary their products at various depths, or that some reefs improve and others are less profitable as we follow them downward, whilst at the same time those who maintain the opinion of Mr. Pollard have many arguments to support their hypothesis, that reefs generally improve downwards, especially when we take into consideration the greater inducement which miners have to work reefs that are cropping out rich at surface, than to venture downwards in hopes the prospect of success may improve at great depths.

We have shewn the similarity between the production of tin from stream works to the yield of gold from the alluvial deposits. But although the character of both is the same, yet the aqueous action which gave existence to the ancient auriferous drifts must have been far more powerful in Australia than that which caused the disintegration of the rocks in which the tin originally existed which has been recovered by stream works. And again in Australia we have, extended over the whole country, two systems of alluvium, separated by vast beds of basalt, produced by the eruption of volcanoes long since extinct, whilst 160 feet above this ancient alluvium, rivers, or rather creeks of more recent origin have worn down a bed for their diminished volume, and these have also an auriferous alluvium.

In order to illustrate this most interesting phenomenon we

have given a plan of Ballaarat. Plate I represents the East and West sections of the "Ballaarat basin," as seen from the North. A,A represent the beds of two branches of an ancient river, which join a few miles to the southward. These beds have evidently been cut down by the action of water, at some very remote period, 432 feet deep from the summit of Black Hill, to the left beyond the limits of the Plate, and 267 feet below the top of "Old Post Office Hill," which divides Ballaarat East from Ballaarat West, and which is also distinguished by being the highest ground represented in the Plate. After this river-bed had been formed or during its formation large stones of quartz or boulders, evidently much worn down by the action of these floods, have been deposited at the lowest depths, and it is amongst deposits of this character the largest nuggets have been found. The rocks thus broken through consisted of schistose, known by miners as "killas," and having quartz reefs (E,E) running generally in the direction of their beds. Subsequently to the deposit of these boulders and nuggets a lighter sedimentary deposit was formed, during the lodgment of which several secular changes must have taken place, since this sedimentary bed is about 160 feet in depth, and is made up of nine or ten strata, alternating from clay to gravel. Each of these strata is to some extent auriferous. Then occurs a volcanic epoch, traces of which are evident throughout the whole of Australia, as far as its development has been traced. Then it appears that the whole bed of the Ballaarat river was filled up from the surface of this alluvium by lava, producing the basalt formation B, thus evidently causing the formation of a lake which in time became filled up by detritus almost to the level of Ballaarat. Then occurs the more modern epoch. The water at length breaks a passage through the basalt and forms the Yarrowee creek at C, and a smaller creek over the ancient river at D. The whole area of the drift-water basin of Ballaarat is not less than from

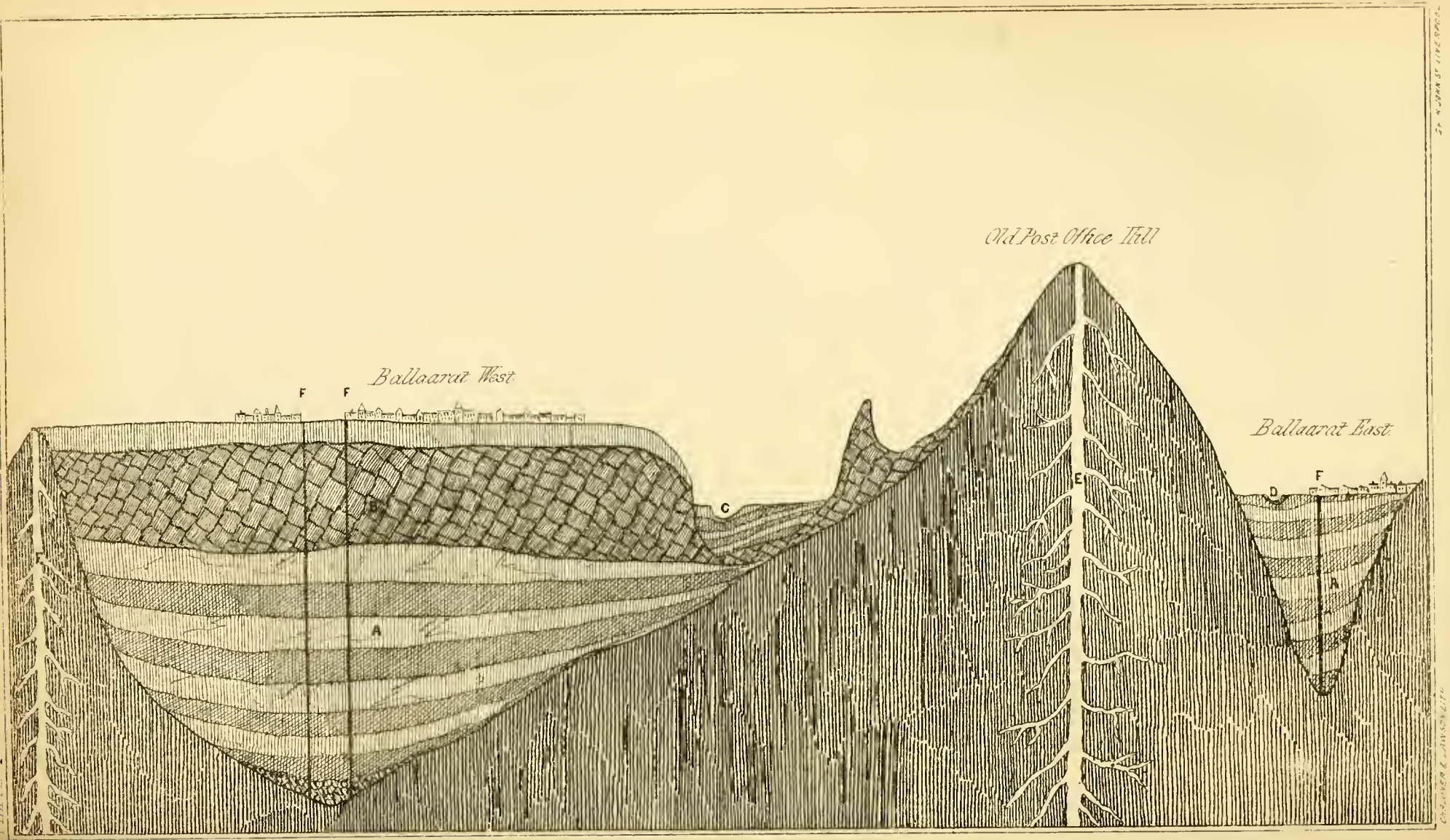
Old Post Office Hill
Ballaarat West
Ballaarat East
F
F
F
A
B
C
D
E

PLATE I

sixteen to twenty miles. When we compare the extent of the Yarrowee creek with the bed of the ancient river which drained the same basin, there is striking evidence that a very much smaller body of water finds its way to the sea by the present river system than at some very remote epoch.

This is partly accounted for by the fact that, up to the present time, a considerable portion of the surface water finds its way to the sea through these ancient river beds. We have already shown that the lower depths of these ancient rivers are filled with rounded bodies, and through the interstices which must exist between an accumulation of rounded bodies a passage must necessarily exist. And these subterranean water-courses form the principal obstruction to the working of these ancient stream-works. The water increases in winter and decreases in summer; in the latter period alone have the miners been able to explore these ancient deposits. But every shaft (F, F, F,) which has pierced through in succession each stratum of impervious clay has admitted the water of the intervening gravel stratum into the lower drift, and thus rendered the deposits almost inaccessible; on this account most of these shafts have been abandoned.

We have already stated that the lodes and reefs in which tin and other metallic ores are deposited are strata of various thicknesses, varying in the angle they form with the horizon. This is also the case with auriferous quartz reefs. But it has been observed that generally the latter are more nearly perpendicular to the horizon than lodes in this country. Generally speaking, the dip of reefs varies from 80 to 85 degrees with the horizon, as in E,E, Plate I, and usually follow the direction of the cleavage or laminæ of the schist rock. In the Boroondara and Balleen gold mines we have reefs at only 60 degrees with the horizon; but such cases are rare.

Another matter connected with reefs worthy of notice is their geological position. They are not found promiscuously distri-

buted throughout all formations, but, on the contrary, there are certain descriptions of rocks to which they may be considered peculiar. The granitic and the older igneous are frequently the depositories of the lodes of tin or copper and the reefs of gold ; but in the old rock they are generally most productive near situations where the * igneous and sedimentary are in contact, or where a metamorphic structure has, from action of internal causes, been superinduced on rock of the older igneous class. Thus, to use the miners' phraseology, the lodes generally run rich at the junction of the granite and killas, and thus a knowledge of the geology of the neighbourhood often greatly aids the miner in selecting the field for his operations.

One very remarkable feature in the deposition of lodes and reefs is the parallelism of all those of the same general character. In the several localities there are classes of lodes which have been formed at different epochs. Although these different systems of lodes, dykes or courses, have bearings different from each other, yet the individual lodes of each system are parallel, or nearly so, to all others of the same class found in the same district. Thus, in Cornwall some geologists have considered that they can discover lodes, the formation of which should be assigned to seven different epochs. The earliest formations of this class, viz., those that contain tin and copper, run east and west in Cornwall and Devon ; but those containing lead, zinc, and antimony, bear north and south. These seven systems of courses are oblique to one another, but the courses of each epoch are parallel. These seven systems include the non-productive lodes traversing the same country. From this it appears that the parallelism of lodes or reefs results from some certain condition

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* In this respect, also, the gold reefs are of a similar nature to tin and copper lodes, being only in the primary rocks. Other lodes, such, for instance, as those that contain lead, zinc, and antimony, are frequently found in the older secondary rock, and are evidently of a later formation.

of the earth's crust existing for one epoch only, and also that all lodes of each particular class have a cotemporaneous period of formation. We find that the gold reefs of Australia possess the peculiarity of parallelism running north and south. We have no account whether there are other dykes or lodes running in other directions; but since we are informed that gold reefs are subject to faults we may conclude that in Australia,* as in other countries, the lodes in such cases are heaved by intercepting dykes of a later formation. There are said by some Australian geologists to be some exceptions to the parallelism of gold reefs. This is a matter deserving of much consideration, since previous investigations of the nature of lodes would induce us to believe that reefs running in such abnormal directions must be formations of a different epoch. In the Sandhurst district we have gold reefs said to be bearing in all directions, varying from nearly east and west to nearly north and south. Of the former we have Albert and Nuggetty, and of the latter, South Nuggetty and Balaclava.

But these abnormal bearings are said to extend for a limited distance only, and may be regarded rather as contortions of the reefs in that locality than as instances of reefs deviating from the parallelism of the system to which they belong. This, it is said, is evident, if the backs of the reefs are traced for a distance far beyond the small limits of the claims on which, at present, mining operations are carried on. Whether this latter statement is correct or not it will require time to demonstrate. But in the meantime we have the opinions of all the eminent geologists in Australia in favour of the hypothesis of the universal parallelism of gold reefs *on the main lead.*

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* From reports, since received, dated January, 1861, I find that this hypothesis is verified. Gordon's Kangaroo Reef, as seen at the 18th fathom-level, is heaved to the left, from 2 feet to 3 feet 3 inches, by three cross-courses nearly at right-angles to the reef; and in the "Last Chance" Company's reef, Specimen Hill, a right-handed heave occurs. Auriferous reefs often heave other courses, proving, in such cases, the more recent origin of the former.

There is another subject to which my mind has been especially directed in reading these valuable papers,—the nature of the action which brought about the deposit of these reefs or lodes. Previously to reading these papers I had no doubt on the subject. I believed that the lodes were erupted in a state of igneous fusion; that they are interposed trap dykes thrown up from the depths of the earth at epochs subsequent to those at which the rocks, in which they are found, were deposited. I was, however, surprised to find that this theory is disputed by two eminent Australian geologists, Messrs. Selwyn and Acheson, both of whom stated in January 1859, that, in all the quartz reefs in every gold field in the colony the auriferous formation contained silurian fossils—the most delicate and beautiful organic remains—shell-fish, etc., in the most perfect state of preservation. The existence of these fossils does not accord with the theory that the quartz reefs were cast up by igneous action. During the succeeding month the former of these gentlemen, Mr. Selwyn, the Government Geologist, made a communication to Sir R. I. Murchison, (Notes on the Geology of Victoria), which are recorded in the transactions of the Geological Society (May 1, 1860, p. 145.) This document I read with great attention, believing that some further information on the above remarkable statement would have been afforded; but I was surprised to find that no allusion was made to the subject. I must, therefore, until that statement receives further confirmation, believe that these gentlemen came to this conclusion on data, that on further examination were found capable of an explanation less at variance with the experience of all other eminent geologists.

The annual export of gold from Australia, taken from "Escort Returns," is between one million and a-half and two million ounces. But when we take into consideration the large amount brought home by passengers secretly, we cannot

believe that the average amount is less than two million ounces, in value eight million pounds sterling.

This paper is not, perhaps, the proper medium of discussing the value of these gold fields as a commercial speculation. But having taken a very favourable view of the future prosperity of the gold fields of Australia, I fear that I shall produce a false impression, if I refrain from referring to a very strongly marked fact, illustrated by the statistics derived from these papers. Although a very large proportion of speculators who superintend the outlay of their own capital, and a large number of those who employ their own labour also, have been eminently successful, it does not appear that there is any encouragement, from the experience of the past, for adventurers in Great Britain to invest capital in Australian gold mines. It is not my intention to discuss fully the cause of this fact, but rather to state the result of my investigation of this subject. The share list exhibits seventy-two mines in the market. Out of this number sixty are at a discount, and * twelve only at a premium ; and when we also take into consideration that most of those mines which are at present offered at a very depreciated rate were sold at the commencement of their operations at heavy premiums, we can form no other idea than that we have already expressed—that these mines are speculations far from encouraging the investment of British capital.

Although, however, we have come to this unfavourable conclusion with regard to the employment of British capital in the Australian gold-fields, we still believe that these mines will be very imperfectly developed until a much larger amount of capital is expended in conducting their operation. But it

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* Two of these twelve successful mines form very striking exceptions to this rule. In September last the produce of "Golden Gully," Bendigo, was so great as to cause a rise to a premium of two hundred and seventy-five per cent., and the price quoted of "Clunes quartz" was thirteen hundred per cent. premium.

is not practicable that any capitalists but those living in Australia can possess the means of obtaining that class of information which is calculated to ensure success. Mr. Selwyn considers that the Port Philip, Clunes, Gold Mine is the only mine at present in Victoria where the requisites for success in gold-mining are to be found. These elements of prosperity Mr. Selwyn states to be good management, efficient machinery, and the mine being on private property, in which last case the operations are not liable to be "hampered by the very "obstructive rules and regulations made by the Government "and the local Mining Boards applicable to the Crown-lands." To meet this requirement large sums of money are necessary. In many instances prices are demanded for known auriferous land that no company could pay with any prospect of success, whilst on the other hand lands have been purchased at moderate prices by gold mining companies which are incapable of yielding a sufficient amount of gold to pay costs. We may therefore conclude that the advantageous outlay of capital in gold mines requires personal, local and scientific knowledge which we have no doubt will ultimately be generally acquired by Australian capitalists. In the meantime it has been asserted that the opinion entertained by eminent geologists, especially that already quoted from Sir Roderick Murchison's "*Siluria*,"* has had the effect of discouraging the employment of Australian capital in following the reefs by deep shafts into the body of the rock; but experience is rapidly removing this impediment if it still exists.

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* Several Australian papers quote and endorse the following extract from the *Argus*, November 8, 1860:—"Sir Roderick never believed in quartz, and any "country that puts faith in its quartz reefs would be certain to come to grief. In "vain we get gold at depths of 300 and 400 feet; *Siluria* has said it, and it is "unknown what serious damage has been done to our gold-mining reputation 'because Sir Roderick refuses to be convinced, or to alter succeeding editions."

ON THE COLEOPTERA OF THE DISTRICT AROUND LIVERPOOL.

By Mr. C. S. Gregson.

Read 20th December, 1860.

It is about three years since I promised Dr. Hume to prepare a list of the Coleoptera found within twelve miles of the Exchange, and, in partial redemption of that promise, I now lay before you the present list of the Geodephaga or Carabidæ.

In preparing it I have been, if possible, even more careful to ascertain the exact locality for each species, than in my lists of the Lepidoptera; as I have not had the assistance of one helping hand, every locality given is the result of personal labour, and every locality has been again visited during the last three seasons to ascertain that my earlier notes were correct.

The British species of Geodephaga number about three hundred, and this list reaches about one hundred and thirty; I possess a few species not yet clearly defined, so that we may hope ere long to reach one-half of the known British species in our own locality. The absence, in our districts, of fresh-water rivers, which have a tendency to bring down mountain species during floods, will account in some measure for the non-appearance in the list of such species as Pterostichus, Aterrimus and Æthiops, and we can only hope to add to them by searching such localities as Bidston Hill, Prenton or Heswell Hill; but, being entirely without fellow-labourers in this branch of study, I have not been able to

give that attention to these districts which they require before they will render up their treasures, and as I am not aware that a line has been written on our Coleoptera by any one before me, I have not been able to take advantage of what may have been done by others. Resting the list, then, entirely upon my own labour, I must claim your indulgence if it is thought incomplete; but feeling how utterly useless it is to expect these lists to be perfect, and presuming it is better to have an imperfect list, which others can add to, than to have no list at all of the wonderful creatures living with and around us, I place my labours in the hands of the Society; my only hope being that, should any one traverse the ground I have gone over after this most beautiful, useful and interesting group of Coleoptera, he may have the same amount of pleasure and healthy recreation as I have enjoyed whilst in search of these insects.

Order COLEOPTERA.

Section I.—Geodephaga, MacLeay.

Cicindelidæ.

Genus Cicindela, Linn.

C. Hybrida, Linn.—Plentiful upon the bare sand hills at New Brighton, and at Crosby. Spring and Autumn.

C. Campestris, Linn.—On the moorlands around Claughton and Bidston, also on the mosses. April and May.

C. Maritima? Said to have been taken—not yet seen by me within the district.

Genus Demetrias, Bon.

D. Atricapillus, Linn.—Sand hills at Wallasey, amongst tufts of long grass.

D. Unipunctatus, Ger.—With the foregoing in Spring.

Genus Dromius, Bon.

D. Linearis, Oliv.—May be taken with the two preceding species.

D. Agilis, Fab.—Wherever old willows grow, under the rough bark.

D. Quadrimaculatus, Linn.—With the preceding species. Spring and Autumn.

D. Quadrisignatus, Dej.—Under bark of willows growing by the side of the Birket, in Upton Valley.

D. Melanocephalus, Dej.—On the shore under rubbish, and on the sand hills in tufts of grass at Crosby. Spring.

GÉNUS BLECHRUS, Mots.

B. Glabratus, Duf.—With the preceding.

GENUS METABLETUS, Sch.

M. Foveola, Gyll.—In profusion amongst the sallow beds at Crosby. Search under the moss and dead leaves on the ground.

GENUS LAMPRIAS, Bon.

L. Chlorocephala, Ent. H.—On the banks of the river Alt, at Sefton.

SCARITIDÆ.

GENUS CLIVINA, Lat.

C. Fossor, Linn.—On the banks of the Alt and Dey's Brook, where it is a little sandy, and banks of the Birket.

C. Collaris, Her.—With *Fossor*. June to Autumn.

GENUS DYSCHIRIUS, Panz.

D. Nitidus? Daw.—There is still a question as to this species being distinct or not; be this as it may, I think it safer to introduce it here; it may be taken in the swampy bottoms on the sand hills at Crosby, in June.

D. Politus, Dej.—I have twice met with this species freely; they were found each time in the large valley on Wallasey sand hills, opposite to Wallasey Village, on very hot afternoons in June, on the damp sand.

D. Salinus, Scha.—This species, the easiest of the large species in the genus to distinguish, is attached to the borders of any little streams which run into the river on the sand hills at Waterloo or Crosby. Its dull appearance and elongated form enable us to know it at once.

D. Impunctipennis, Daw.—Of all the species in the genus this seems to have given most trouble to our writers; it may be separated at once by the form of the foot. Sand hills, Crosby, &c. April and May.

D. Thoracicus, Fab.; *Obscurus,* Gyll.—This species, the most common and most variable of the genus, may be taken from tide-mark to the edge of the sand hills. June, July, August and September.

D. Globosus, Herb.—Plentiful in some damp holes near the public-house at Little Brighton, Crosby. May.

Carabidæ.

Genus Cychrus, Fab.

C. Rostratus, Linn.—Common in woods.

Genus Carabus, Duct.

C. Catenulatus, Scop.—Anywhere under rubbish and old stones.

C. Monilis, Fab.—Is not a common species with us. I met with it first in Edge-lane; since then I have taken it in various localities throughout West Derby and once at Liscard. Mr. Johnson took several at Firgrove and Yellow House, by baiting. Mr. Cooke showed me one taken near his house at New Brighton.

C. Arvensis, Fab.—I have been told this was taken at Prenton Hill, a likely place but not quite high enough; I never met with it under 1,000 feet high on the mountains—shall look for it at Prenton.

C. Granulatus, Linn. — Plentiful around West Derby. Summer.

C. Nitens, Linn.—Sand hills and swamps in May and Autumn, sunning itself on bare damp places on the mosses in May—common.

C. Violaceus, Linn.—Plentiful in West Derby and Liscard under rubbish, stones &c. Spring and Autumn.

C. Nemoralis, Müll.—Not common with us, yet may be found with the above sometimes.

Genus Leistus, Fröhl.

L. Spinibarbis, Fab.—Eastham Wood, at the foot of trees and under stones. Winter and Spring.

L. Fulvibarbis, Dej.—Jackson's Wood, Claughton; and Birch Wood, Woolton; found as the above.

L. Ferrugineus, Linn.—Crosby, edges of the sand hills. July.

L. Rufescens, Fab.—Birch Wood, and upon Crosby sand hills. Not scarce in July.

GENUS NEBRIA, Lat.

N. Brevicollis, Fab.—The commonest beetle we have. Summer or Winter, under stones.

N. Gyllenhalii, Schö.—I have two I took near Burscough Bridge, among a heap of stones.

GENUS PELOPHILA, Dej.

P. Borealis? Payk.—Two specimens in my cabinet from Bromborough I refer to this species.

GENUS ELAPHRUS, Fab.

E. Cupreus, Dufts.—In profusion around the lake in the sand hills at Crosby, near Bousfield's encampment ground. June.

E. Riparius, Linn.—With the preceding. May, June and July.

GENUS BLETHISA, Bon.

B. Multipunctata, Linn.—I possess only two specimens, one of which I took with the two preceding species at Crosby, but could never find any more: the other was not taken within our district.

GENUS NOTIOPHILUS, Dum.

N. Aquaticus, Linn.—Always with the *Genus Elaphrus* at Crosby, and in other swamps around Liverpool.

N. Palustris, Dufts.—On the banks of streams, particularly if sandy loam abounds.

N. Rufipes? Curtis.—In my garden in Edge-lane.

N. Semipunctatus? Fab.—Plentiful everywhere.

CHLÆNIIDÆ.

GENUS LORICERA, Lat.

L. Pilicornis, Fab.—One of our very commonest insects.

GENUS BADISTER, Cla.

B. Bipustulatus, Fab.—Prenton Wood, Stourton Quarry and Huyton Quarry. March to June.

GENUS CHLÆNIUS, Bon.

C. Nigricornis, Fab.—Banks of the Birket, and Knowsley Quarry. April and May—fine.

GENUS POGONUS, Dej.

P. Chalceus, Mar.—On the shore above Eastham under stones. June.

P. Littoralis, Dufts.—With *Chalceus;* and at Garston, on the shore about high water mark.

GENUS PRISTONYCHUS.

P. Terricola, Her.—Common in damp cellars and out-houses under pieces of wood in Winter.

GENUS SPHODRUS, Cla.

S. Leucophthalmus, Linn.—One taken in Murray Street and one seen crushed in the street behind St. John's Market are all I have seen; doubtless plentiful in the poulterers' cellars under the market; lives amongst feathers &c.

GENUS CALATHUS, Bon.

C. Piceus, Mars.—A plentiful insect on the Cheshire side under stones in fields.

C. Cisteloides, Pan.—Common in the poor land around the sand hills.

C. Flavipes, Fau.—A common sand hill insect.

C. Fuscus, Fab.—Is rare here, so far as I know. Two specimens taken at Patrick Wood are all I have seen.

C. Mollis, Mar.—In every overhanging bank on the sand hills.

C. Melanocephalus, Linn. In profusion under stones after rain in the poor lands around the sand hills.

GENUS SYNUCHUS, Gyll.

S. Vivalis, Pan.—On the banks of the river Alt, at Hightown. Not often to be found.

Genus Anchomenus, Auct.

A. Junceus, Sco.—Plentiful in damp marshy ground; comes freely to sugar.

A. Dorsalis, Müll.—This elegant insect is common everywhere.

A. Pallipes, Fab.—Under stones in the beds of brooks everywhere.

Genus Agonum, Bon.

A. Marginatus, Linn.—In the brook at the Copper Works, Seacombe, and in the brook at Crosby &c., beautiful and plentiful.

A. Ericeti, Pan.—On Simonswood and other mosses; scarce. I have one taken on Claughton Heath.

A. Mœstus, Dufts.—Plentiful.

A. Lævis, Müll.—Common.

A. Viduus, Pan.—Common.

A. Fuliginosus, Pan.—Is a scarce species, so far as I know; Eastham and Hooton being the only places I have seen it at.

A. Piceus, Linn.—The above remarks apply to this species, except that I have also taken it at Raby Mere.

A. ?—Not yet determined. From the same localities.

Genus Olisthopus, Dej.

O. Rotundatus, Pay.—I have a single specimen of this species taken in April at Stourton Hill, a locality which is not yet half worked.

Feroniidæ.

Genus Pterostichus, Auct.

P. Cupreus, Linn.—Not uncommon under stones at the mouths of brooks where they join the salt water; bad to find elsewhere.

P. Striola, Fab.—Abundant in cellars and out-houses.

P. Niger, Ill.—Often taken with *Striola,* but distinguishable at sight by its white eyes and more slender form.

P. Parumpunctatus, Ger.—Around Bidston under stones.

P. Oblongopunctatus, Fab.—I possess a pair taken many years ago, but have no memoranda of them.

P. Mandidus, Fab.—Every variety of this variable species may be found plentifully around Bidston Hill under stones.

P. Orinomus, Steph.—Raby Mere and Sutton are the only places I have met with it at. Spring.

P. Melanarius, Ill.—May be found in damp out-houses about farm yards.

P. Nigrita, Fab.—Plentiful in the brook at the Dingle in Spring, under stones &c.

P. Anthracinus, Ill.—Under rejectamenta on the banks of the river Alt, near Hightown.

P. Minor, Sahl.—Everywhere under anything in damp places.

GENUS ARGUTOR.

A. Verinalis, Gyll.—Plentiful.

A. Inæqualis, Marsh.—I have only one specimen and do not know where I got it.

A. Strenuus, Pan.—Is plentiful on the sides of brooks under rejectamenta after floods.

GENUS STOMIS, Cla.

S. Pumicatus, Pan.—Is rather scarce on the banks of the river Alt, at Sefton, in June.

GENUS BROSCUS, Pan.

B. Cephalotes, Linn.—This is the only carabideous beetle I do not like handling; its peculiar smell is very offensive to me: the insect is confined to the sand hills and may be found in May and June, particularly under drift-wood.

GENUS AMARA, Bon.

A. Obsoleta, Dej.—About Wallasey Pool, plentiful.

A. Similata.—Is not scarce in the same place and elsewhere.

A. Acuminata, Pay.—This fine species was not plentiful where I have collected it. Wallasey Pool—now a dock.

A. Trivialis.—Abundant on fine days in Spring on the roads.

A. Spreta, Dej.—I have only two specimens; they were taken amongst *trivialis* and the following—

A. Vulgaris, Linn.—This beautiful and active *Amara* is always to be seen on the roads on the first fine days in Spring.

A. Tibialis, Pay.—Seems confined to the sand hills, where any quantity may be got by shaking tufts of grass in April and May, especially near Leasowe Castle.

A. Communis, Gyll.—Common and beautiful.

A. Curta, Dej., non. St.—One pair taken at West Kirby are all I have seen.

A. Familiaris, Dufts.—Plentiful in Spring anywhere.

A. Lucida, Dufts.—I possess two, one only of which was got within the district. Frankby, June, 1859.

A. Strenua, Zim.—I have a pair, but have no record of their capture. I took them, however, amongst *A. Vulgaris* and *Familiaris.*

Genus Celia, Zim.

C. Orichalcica, Müll.—Mrs. Gregson captured me a fine pair of this rare species, on the sand hills between Southport and Crosby, perhaps a mile beyond our district. Let it be well looked for nearer home in June.

Genus Bradytus, St.

B. Apricaria, Fab.—The above were taken in company with this species; let every one of the *red antennæ* species be examined carefully for the above, and for the chance of finding *C. Brunea* amongst them.

A. Fulva, Deg.—Fine and plentiful on the coast.

A. Spinipes, Linn.—Near the water mill at Sefton, under rejectamenta, September, 1857-58.

Harpalidæ, Waterh.

Genus Anisodactylus, Dej.

A. Binotatus, Fab.—Wallasey Pool under stones.

Genus Harpalus, Lat.

H. Azureus, Fab.—With the above.

H. Pubescens, Pay.—With the above, plentiful. Spring.

H. Ruficornis, Fab.—In gardens, common. Summer.

H. Æneus, Fab.—Wallasey Pool, on the littoral of the river.

H. Fulvipes, Fab.—Under stones near gates of fields on roads.

H. Rubripes, Dufts.—With the above.

H. Cupreus, Dej.—I have three I took where the Great Float is now made at Birkenhead, August, 1858.

H. Anxius, Dufts.—I have a few taken around Puddington and Sutton, under rejectamenta in brooks.

GENUS STENOLOPHUS, Meg.

S. Elegans? Dej.—Two taken on the banks of the Alt at Hightown, June, 1859.

S. Meridianus, Linn.—Two taken with the above, one taken by Sergeant Johnson, in West Derby, but no exact locality given.

GENUS BRADYCELLUS, Er.

B. Cognatus, Gyll.—Under stones on Bidston Hill, in April.

B. Fulvus, Marsh.—Under stones on the shore. Spring.

B. Collaris? Pay.—Bidston Hill. Spring.

B. Similis, Dej.—Bidston Hill in tufts of heath; September. Also on the mosses; Sergeant Johnston, 1860.

GENUS TRECHUS, Cla.

T. Discus, Fab.—Under overhanging banks of the river Alt, between Hightown and Sefton where the soil is loamy. Shake the bank down and watch for them; secure as soon as seen or they are gone. June and July.

T. Micros, Hebst.—With *Discus,* not so pretty or so quick.

T. Rubens, Fab.—Frequents the same places as *Discus,* but is generally over before that species is out.

T. Lapidosus, Dawson.—All the so called *Lapidosus* I have seen are immature specimens of *Rubens* or *Discus.*

T. Minutus, Fab.—Plentiful in gardens and waste places.

T. Secalis, Payk.—Sandy banks of the Alt, in June. Not common.

BEMBIBIIDÆ, Waterh.

GENUS CILLENUM, Curtis.

C. Littorale, Sam.—On the shore at Aigburth under stones below high water mark, where there is clay amongst the stones, also near the Ferry at Eastham. This beetle is covered every tide. Spring and June.

BEMBIDIUM, Lat.

B. Obtusum? Stur.—On the banks of the Alt at Sefton. September.

B. Biguttatum, Fab.—At Garston, near the Salt Works, on the banks of the brook there.

B. Æneum.—Very common in Wallasey Pool in Spring.

B. Rufescens, Gué.—Plentiful with *Æneum*.

B. Femoratum, Stu.—Also abundant with the above and in Autumn.

B. Concinnum, Steph.—Plentiful where the shore is clayey on the banks of pools on the river.

B. Bruxellense ? Wes.—I have a single specimen. I refer to this species with doubt. I took it on the shore at Aigburth, in August, 1858.

B. Littorale, Oli.—Common and variable, but may be known from every other species by its peculiar smell, whatever its marking or shape may be.

B. Lunatum, Dufts.—The finest *Bembid* in the genus, is local in Wallasey and Bromborough Pools, but not scarce when found, under stones or overhanging banks.

B. Saxatile, Gyll.—When on the Aigburth shore with my friend Mr. Haward, of London, July, 1858, I took a single specimen of this beautiful species. Many journeys since made have been fruitless.

B. Decorum, Pan.—In the brooks around Raby, and in the Birket under stones. June.

B. Stomoides, Dej.—Having taken this species with my friend J. B. Hodgkinson, on the river Ribble, at Preston, in June, 1859, I tried for it in July, at Hightown. After a long walk up the river side, I met with it within our district: it was not scarce.

B. Monticulum, Sturm.—This species was in company with the above.

B. Nitidulum, Marsh.—I took freely the day I got *Saxatile*.

B. Affine, Steph. — I have always found scarce at the Aigburth clay banks, yet my friend Mr. Haward once took it freely there.

B. Tibiale, Dufts.—Common in the brooks on the Cheshire side, and at Dey's Brook.

B. Ephippium ? Mer.—I have a few I refer to this species, but am not quite sure about it. I took them at Orrell.

B. Lampros, Herb.—Common in gardens.

B. Pusillum, Gyll.—This pretty little species is not scarce in tufts of grass on the shore where there are muddy creeks, as at Bromborough. Autumn.

B. Doris ? Pan.—Here, again, I cannot speak with certainty without more specimens, but think two specimens, taken with the preceding, will prove true *Doris.*

B. Quadriguttatum, Fab.—Plentiful under bark of willows, growing on the bank of the brook between Upton and Moreton road.

B. Quadrimaculatum, Linn.—With the preceding. Equally plentiful.

B. Bipunctatum, Linn.—Freely on the shore beyond Crosby, at high water mark where there was a little mud. June, 1858-59.

B. Velox, Linn.—On the banks of the Birket, above Upton, under stones &c.

B. Pallidipenne, Ill.—In profusion on the shore at high water mark, at Crosby, under loose sand and rejectamenta. June.

B. Paludosum, Pan.—A single specimen from Raby Mere is all I have seen within our district. April, 1858. So cold I could not look for more.

B. Flavipes, Linn.—Was common where I got the preceding.

B. Pallipes, Dufts.—In a damp hollow near the bridge across the Alt, at Hightown. Common. June.

POPULAR RHYMES AND PROVERBS CONNECTED WITH LOCALITIES IN CUMBERLAND.

By A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A.

(Read 11th April, 1861.)

Sententious fragments of verse and proverbial sayings, in which names of places occur, have been at all times in high favour, and in frequent conversational use amongst the people of the districts wherein the localities they distinguish are situated. They are much sought after, also, by collectors of minor popular antiquities, of which they form an important and, to most of us, a deeply interesting division.

The contributors to that useful repertory, "Notes and "Queries," have gathered up nearly all the relics of this kind that are to be found in most of the provinces of England; and the Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh, have published a very full collection of those current in their own country, where they would appear to be more abundant than in other parts of the kingdom.

There is one district, however, with which I happen to be intimately acquainted, wherein many of these scraps of folk-lore still circulate, and where they have escaped, hitherto, the researches of all collectors. I allude to the western division of the county of Cumberland; and it is from this district that, with a few exceptions picked up in parts immediately adjacent to it, all the examples I propose to adduce in this paper are derived. With one or two exceptions, also, they have never before been published, and those only in works or publications of a local character. I give them a place here, because, either

from my knowledge of the localities they refer to, or from information acquired by intercourse with the class by whom they are principally used, I am able to give some account of their signification, and to throw some light upon their probable origin. I may state, however, that by far the major part of my gatherings is drawn from recollection of quotations by the country people, including persons of all ages, from the great-grandsire to the school-boy. With regard to the character of these scraps of the people's wisdom, I may also state that some relate to local or popular peculiarities—some record fragments of local history, otherwise little known—some predict events still in the future—some contain predictions that have been duly fulfilled, and it is probable that of these some may have had an *ex post facto* origin—some bear reference to topographical, to social, or to meteorological conditions—some to the details of household economy—some to those of agricultural management—some convey a sarcasm, a jibe, or a reproach—some tend to perpetuate an ancient grudge—some hold out a warning—some are meant to be facetious—and some are merely enumerative.

For the sake of topographical arrangement, I shall begin with one or two of the exceptional instances I have referred to above.

In an ethnological paper which I had the honour to read to this Society in a former session, I said that since the time of the great civil war, in which they were largely engaged, the people of the Lake country have shown more than once that the old fighting spirit, formerly kept in activity by the national disturbances and by their proximity to Scotland, has not wholly died out during a long period of disuse. Perhaps the most noteworthy and (except the corn and militia *émeutes* in 1801, when the men of Coniston and the adjacent dales rose in their anger and fell upon and took possession of the town of Ulverston) the most recent development of their ancient combative

propensities, at least to any extent, occurred in 1688, when, on the report of a rising among the adherents of the fugitive King James, the *posse comitatus* of Westmoreland mustered at Kendal, marched upon Kirkby Lonsdale, and there, on the discovery that the alarm was groundless, and after receiving what was needful of rest and refreshment, were disbanded. A contemporary Westmoreland poet has placed on record the leading events of this bloodless campaign, thus—

"In eighty-eight wor Kirkby feight,
Whaar niver a man wor slain;
We yatt our meeat, we drank our drink,
*An' than com' merrily heeam again."**

The manner in which this demonstration has been treated is characteristic of the indifference of the English mountaineers to considerations of mere glory or fame. They have always been ready to fight, and always steady and stubborn when engaged in fighting, but have never thought of making these qualities, or any special manifestation of them, the subject of self-laudatory comment, whether in prose or verse. In this respect, as in most others, their character differs from that of their neighbours to the northward, in whom the opposite tendency is marked, as has been shown, amongst other instances, in the manner in which the readiness of the Lowland Volunteers and Yeomanry Cavalry to appear at their mustering places, on the false alarm of invasion in 1804, was extolled as a wonderful manifestation of devoted patriotism, and the most trivial incident arising out of it recorded by various Scottish writers, from Sir Walter Scott downwards;† whilst the gathering of the Westmoreland men, on a precisely similar occasion, and of like if of more limited character, is celebrated only in this jeering verse.

On the eastern confines of Westmoreland the ruins of a very

* See "Westmoreland and Cumberland Dialects." Published by J. Russell Smith, London.

† See Notes to the "Antiquary;" Ballad of Simon and Janet, &c.

ancient Hold, called Pendragon Castle, are to be seen, and around these, as is said, the vestiges of a wide moat may still be traced, which, according to tradition, the royal founder of the Castle tried to supply with water by diverting upon it the course of the river Eden. His failure is yet noted in the following couplet :—

" Let Uther Pendragon do what he can,
Eden will run where Eden ran !"

The old British monarch whose name lives in this homely Westmerian rhyme was the famous sire of a still more famous son,—the king whose semi-fabulous history has furnished themes to poets of every century, from the sixth, when he lived and died, to the nineteenth, when he has lived again in "The Idylls of the King," and died again in the "Morte "d'Arthur" of Alfred Tennyson.

Thomas Hoggart of Troutbeck, who died in 1730, has preserved in his " testament," a manuscript collection, still extant, of his own poems and those of some earlier writers, a concise description of the now prosperous and beautiful village of Bowness-on-Windermere, which runs thus—

" New church, old steeple,
Poor town and proud people !" *

" Old Hoggart" appends to this an equally terse and still more libellous rhyming commentary, in which he favours us with his notion of the inevitable moral condition of a place with these attributes, but as it applies even less than the old rhyme itself to the Bowness of our day, it is unnecessary to reproduce it here.

The vale of Troutbeck, where, during the greater part of a long life, this Thomas Hoggart discharged the rather incongruous functions of cart-wright and play-

* I have heard a verse somewhat similar to this, but still less complimentary applied to Lockerbie, in Dumfriesshire ; and Dr. Hume says that there is also one attached to Dromore, in Ireland.

wright, song-writer and censor-general, opens upon Windermere, about midway between Bowness and Ambleside, and, like the counties palatine of Lancaster and Chester, is divided into Hundreds. Each of these, three in number, maintains, or did maintain, a bridge over the stream, a bull for breeding purposes, and a constable for the preservation of order, severally known as the *Hundred* bridge, &c.; hence the men of Troutbeck have always been given to astonishing strangers by boasting that their little chapelry possessed three hundred bridges, three hundred bulls, and three hundred constables. It is probable that some revengeful victim of this quibble perpetrated the following :—

"There's three hundred brigs i' Troutbeck,
Three hundred bulls,
Three hundred constables,
And many hundred feuls!"

meaning, I suppose, many fools in each hundred, as the whole population will hardly amount to *many* hundreds.

In a district where the mountains attract to it more than its due proportion of rain, it may be supposed that the weather has given rise to more than one proverbial saying; and in very wet weather I have heard the dales-people say, "*We'll "hev to borrow Langden lid!*" This, I believe, arose from the reply of an old Langdale statesman to the inquiry made by a stranger, of "How *can* you live in this incessant rain?" "Why, badly enough sometimes; but we're thinking of having "a lid!" To those who know the district well, the appearance of the deep mountain recess called Little Langdale, "paled in" as it is by lofty, steep-sided fells, the idea of "a lid" or canopy over it may not appear so very unfeasible.

In that portion of Lancashire called Furness, which lies surrounded by Westmoreland, Cumberland and the sea, the character of the people, their habits and modes of speech are more like those of the two Lake counties than of that with which it is connected. A modification of a well-known school

rhyme, said to have been executed by an old farmer, who in his worldly goods had been subjected to the tender mercies of the law, is frequently quoted there.

" God made man—man made money ;
" God made bees—bees made honey."

So far the old school rhyme : the Furnesian variation runs thus—

" But the divel his-sel made lawyers and 'turnies,
" And placed them at U'ston and Dawton in Furness !"

Many of the performances of this rustic genius, who had the faculty and habit of answering all questions in impromptu rhyme, are still afloat in his own locality, but as, with the above exception, I never heard any that refer to places, they may not be quoted here. The following, however, may indicate their general character. On being asked, on one occasion, how he had contrived to upset his cart, he replied with exemplary candour,—

" Carelessly, thou may depend,
" Pu'ing away at t' helter end !"*

My reason for thus bringing into notice the humble author of these rude scraps is, that I hold him to be one of those, probably the last of his kind, who in their every-day talk have originated those unwritten adages, in prose or verse, some of which, handed down by successive generations, I am thus endeavouring to preserve.

In High Furness, which a favourite old topographer happily tells us, " mounteth up aloft, with high-" topped hilles and huge fels standing thick together,"† it is said that " *the towns are finished and the country un-*" *finished !*" The first part of this paradoxical adage has arisen from the custom of distinguishing Hawkshead, the only town the district boasts, as " a finished town," because it has

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* See the " Lonsdale Magazine."

† Camden's Britannia—edition of 1610.

shown no increase, either in extent or population, probably for centuries. The second part refers chiefly to the western border of High Furness, where the chapelry of Seathwaite extends along the Lancashire side of the river Duddon, in the upper part of its course, and the scenery is remarkably wild, so that the arrangement, or rather the non-arrangement, of

> "Crags, knolls and mounds confusedly hurled—
> "The fragments of an earlier world,"*

has given to the minds of certain imaginative observers the impression that the fair work of creation has been left somewhat incomplete there. Wordsworth has favoured us with an anecdote illustrative of this idea. A traveller who had arrived at Seathwaite over night, walked out before breakfast, and being asked, on his return to the little public house, how far he had been, replied, "as far as it is finished!"†

A romantic district is rarely fertile, and the soil and climate of Seathwaite are not favourable to the production of the finer varieties of grain. The high grounds are all sheep pastures, and the "few small crofts of stone-encumbered "ground," divided by dry walls and attached to each tenement, are devoted to the growth of summer grass and winter fodder for the hardy cattle, and of oats and potatoes for the equally hardy families. This limited range of agricultural produce is remarked upon in two jingling verses, wherein nearly all the farms in Seathwaite are mentioned :—

> "*Newfield and Nettleslack,*
> *Hollinhouse and Longhouse,*
> *Turner Hall and Under Crag,*
> *Beckhouse, Thrang and Tonguehouse,*
> *Browside, Troutwell, Hinginghouse,*
> *Dalehead and Cockley Beck—*
> *Yan may gedder o' t' wheeat they growe,*
> *And niver fill a peck!*"

The seclusion from the world enjoyed by the inhabitants of

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* The Lady of the Lake.

† See Notes on "The Sonnets."

this valley may account for the retention in their domestic economy of some primitive customs that I have not found elsewhere. Thus, in the fall of the year, a caller at any Seathwaite farmhouse will notice upon a hanging shelf, or some such repository, certain bundles of what looks like rather dirty straw, but which on examination turn out to be half-peeled rushes saturated with fat, and are the principal if not the sole provision made for the supply of light to the household in the evenings of winter. This means of obtaining light is very ancient; and in Tusser's husbandry may be found instructions for the manufacture of these greased rushes. It has, however, been so long in disuse elsewhere, that in the dales around Seathwaite a proverbial saying may be heard to the effect that "*A Seathwaite candle is a greased seeve:*" seeve being Cumbrian for rush.

Another domestic custom in Seathwaite has given rise to another proverb. Readers of Wordsworth will remember that in the notes to his "Sonnets on the river Duddon" he has immortalized a clergyman named Walker, recording many circumstances that tend to elevate that remarkable individual in the estimation of all readers, and, I fear, suppressing others that might have had a contrary tendency. Thus, he relates that Mr. Walker was in the habit of boiling on Sunday all the meat his family should consume during the week, that he might supply messes of broth to those members of his congregation whose homes lay at some distance. For thus reducing himself and family to the necessity of eating their meat cold during the remaining six days of the week, our great moral poet claims for his reverend hero the credit of transcendant generosity and self-sacrifice. He might have told us, however, that this habit of boiling the week's meat on Sunday was then the practice in all the households of Seathwaite, and in many is so still. Their meat, being dried mutton, is not very nice eaten hot, but when cold, is excellent, as I can well testify,

while the broth is simply detestable, so much so that people in the neighbouring dales, when they find their soup watery, their tea washy, their porridge thin or their toddy weak, will say—"*It's hot and wet, like Seathwaite broth!*"—implying, of course, that this is all that can be said in its praise. So that the broth dispensed so liberally, and at such a cost, to the distant hearers of "Wonderful Walker," may be said to be, like its chief constituent, "weak to a proverb."

"*We've no back doors in Seathwaite*" indicates the primeval character of their domestic arrangements, as well as their intolerance of modern household conventionalities. It is quoted by their neighbours to illustrate these traits, and is used, also, when any person of homely manners and habits is expected to observe some unaccustomed requirement of a more advanced state of civilization. It had its birth in a Seathwaite youth taking a basket of provisions to the front door of a gentleman at Coniston, and on being desired by a servant to go to the back, replying in a tone of remonstrance, "We've "neah back dooars i' Seeathet!" This supplies us with a proverb which applying well to the district it specifies, and being in common use, is yet of very recent origin. Its author is still living, and is, or was, a rather prominent member of the Birkenhead police force.

A saying that may be heard both in Cumberland and Westmoreland contains curious evidence of the inimical feeling that often exists between the people of adjoining counties even when they so closely resemble each other as do the inhabitants of these. The main line of communication between the central parts of both counties runs over the pass which, from the huge cairn upon its highest part, marking the spot where king Dunmail was defeated by the Saxons, is known as Dunmail Raise, also as the Raise Gap, or simply the Raise. On both sides of this pass old people still aver that "*Nought good "comes ower t' Raise.*" A similar axiom is current near the

coast where the road from Cumberland to Furness winds sharply round the foot of the mountain called Black Combe. The people of Broughton in Furness and of Bootle in Cumberland hold that nothing good ever came round that nook.

The old rhyme claiming pre-eminence of altitude for certain hills on the confines of Lancashire and Yorkshire is well known and often quoted. One of equal antiquity, but less known, though adduced in the "Britannia," pays a similar compliment, and, as has been proved by the Ordnance Survey, with better reason, to three of the Cumbrian fells, and may be heard still in their vicinity.

"*Skiddaw, Helvellyn and Catstycand**
"*Are the highest hills in all England!*"

Camden's notice (as given in his first English edition) of another old adage connected with our northern mountains, and current on either side of the Scottish border, is worthy of transcription were it but for its quaintness. He says—"As "for that mountain *Skiddaw* aforesaid, it riseth up to such an "heighth with two heads like Parnassus, and with a kind of "emulation beholdeth *Scruffell* hill before it in Anandale "within Scotland, that from these two mountains, according "as the misty clouds arise or fall, the people therebye dwelling "make their prognostication of the change of weather, and "commonly sing this note—

"*If Skiddaw hath a cap*
"*Scruffell wots full well of that.*'"

At the present day they vary "this note," especially in Scotland, and rhyme it thus—

"*When Skiddaw fell puts on a cap*
"*Criffel hill begins to drap.*"

The traditional origin of the formation of Criffell, which

* Catsteecam, signifying the top of a ladder, or track available only to cats, is the proper name of this height. The old rhymster has altered it to make it meet a rhyming emergency. Sir W. Scott has done so to make it suit his metre and calls it Catchedecam.

rises in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and not in Annandale, is well known to the people on both shores of the Solway, and formerly was pretty generally accepted by them as an indubitable verity. They relate that one of the great works assigned to Satan by the wizard, Michael Scott, who was bound under a terrible penalty to keep the "Prince of the powers of the air" in constant occupation, was to form a causeway or viaduct from Scotland to Ireland. Satan was carrying from Cumberland, where the formation of the country suited his purpose, the first creel or pannierful of material for the earth-work, along the northern side of the Solway Firth, and had just strided across the mouth of the river Nith, when the straps supporting the load gave way, the laden creel fell and refused to be lifted, and with its cargo still remains there as the mountain. With this account of its formation in view, the name of Criffel is said, with apparent reason, to be a self-evident modification of Creel fell. The children on either side of the Firth often set as "a capper" a short sentence in which this fine hill figures, thus, "Climb Criffel, clever cripple," the rapidly reiterated pronunciation of which is perhaps the most difficult exercise to which even a well practised organ of speech can be subjected.

The tract lying between the foot of Skiddaw and the town of Keswick, and known as the township of Under-Skiddaw, is said to be one of the most rainy localities in England, and bears an unsavoury sobriquet on that account. Its moist reputation has given rise to this catch-saying, frequently used when rain is prognosticated—"*If it rains we mun dee as "they dee under Skiddaw.*" Should one of the unenlightened ask how they do there, he will be favoured with the satisfactory information that "they let it come down!" Perhaps this is what is now called "a sell" rather than a proverb, but no doubt it had existence long before "sells" were invented.

On the northern side of Skiddaw we find the parish and

village of Caldbeck, long famous for its richness in minerals. This underground wealth has given rise, at some remote period, to the following distich :—

> "*Caldbeck and Caldbeck fells*
> "*Are worth all England else!*"

The defective rhyme in this modest assumption may be taken as a proof of its antiquity.

"*A Borrowdale cuckoo*" is the proverbial title conferred by their neighbours upon the natives of perhaps the most picturesque of all the Cumbrian vales. It is said to derive its origin from an unsuccessful attempt made by the people of Borrowdale, in emulation of the wise men of Gotham, to detain the cuckoo for the whole year by erecting a high wall across the narrow gorge of their dale. However acquired, it is not patiently borne; and I should prepare for unpleasant consequences ere I ventured upon any allusion to the harbinger of summer in presence of a Borrowdale man. Of somewhat similar character, or at least conveying a similar imputation of wisdom, is the saying, "*It's a big world when yan sees it o',* "*as t' Loweswater lad said when he got on Mowerkin How!*" The beautiful little vale of Loweswater, unlike most of its neighbours, has its highest hills at its foot, whilst its upper or western extremity is closed in by the comparatively trifling elevation called Mockerkin How, which commands a rather extensive prospect, comprising the fertile undulated slope spread out between the mountains and the sea,—the broad and beautiful Solway, and beyond it the far-stretching heights of Galloway and Dumfries-shire. So that the youth who established this bye-saying, and so conferred upon his native valley the permanent repute of transcendant greenness, might be held excusable for committing himself to some extent on first emerging from its depths.

In the parish of Lamplugh, which lies adjacent to Loweswater, and immediately outside the mountain range, the

residents are called "*Lamplugh Hawkies,*" after a peculiar breed of cattle on which they formerly prided themselves, but which is now extinct, being superseded by races of more profitable qualities.

The name of *Forest* still applied to many tracts of country now all but destitute of trees, is sufficient evidence of the vastly greater extent of territory covered with timber in ancient times than in our own; and besides this, we everywhere find traditions bearing upon the same fact. Thus in Annandale it is said that the Hallidays, who had their head-quarters at Corehead, near Moffat, could, once upon a time, ride upon their own land, in a "contiguity of shade" reaching from the De'il's Beef-tub, where the river Annan has its rise, to the point where it runs into the sea. As the beautiful stream that gives its name to central Dumfries-shire runs a course of nearly forty miles, this is no trifling boast even for a Border clan to make. The more modest as well as the more common form assumed by this tradition, however, is to the effect that a squirrel could formerly traverse the space, generally considerable, between two given places without touching the ground. In Lamplugh they have poetized this saying, and aver that

> "*From Lamplugh fell to Moresbee*
> "*A squirrel could hop from tree to tree.*"

This was probably true, however unlike the present state of the squirrel's supposed line of march. It is, at any rate, certain that Lamplugh could anciently boast of having arboreal giants in the land, for in Lamplugh Hall is preserved a large and massive table of oak, the top without joint or seam, but consisting of one broad plank, said to have been cut from the last tree that remained of the Forest of Lamplugh. It is very rare indeed that an oak is seen of such dimensions as to afford a breadth of sound timber like this.

These two lines—

> "*At Peel of Fouldrey we come in,*
> "*At Wheels of Whillimoor we begin.*"

are all that I have been able to recover of an ancient prophesy said to relate to the landing and subsequent proceedings of an invading army. "Martin Swart and his men," in the reign of Henry the Seventh, fulfilled the first half of the prediction only, for though they landed at Peel of Fouldrey, they did not approach the Wheels of Whillimoor. These so called wheels were certain circles of brighter verdure, three in number, as I have been told, apparent on the face of a high-lying moor near Whitehaven. They have now, I believe, disappeared, though held to be uneffaceable, and were probably what are elsewhere known as fairy rings, and here, as elsewhere, were regarded with a considerable amount of superstitious awe. Amongst other traditions attached to these rings, and probably forming part of the rhyme that contained the lines given above, is one to the effect that at the Wheels of Whillimoor, England will be three times lost and won in one day, and that a king's horse will be held there by a miller with three thumbs. This is one of the many instances of localization of the same tradition in different parts of the country, for a prophesy nearly identical with this is current in the south of Scotland, and ascribed to Thomas the Rhymer.

The district called Whillimoor, being perhaps the coldest and most sterile portion of agricultural Cumberland, gives a proverbial designation to the poor skim-milk cheese made in the country,—called also, with more aptness than elegance, on account of its tough and impenetrable nature, "*leather hungry.*" When exposed for sale at the annual cheese fair at Keswick, the farmers' wives were wont to announce its presence and its properties thus—"*Whillimoor cheese,—clear beath of durt and butter!*" While, as Anderson tells us, at Carlisle fair the proclamation ran thus—"Here's your *Whillimoor cheese,*—"*lank and lean but cheap and clean!*" The Cumbrian minnesinger also says in one of his ballads that

"The Whillimoor ate teugh and teasty."

An animal not generally supposed to be endowed with any leonine attributes is called *" a Whillimoor lion."*

Considerably to the westward of these localities we find the parishes distinguished in this old saw—*" Let us gang together " like t' lads of Drigg and t' lasses of Beckermet !"* Mr. Robert Ferguson in his able and most interesting work—" The " Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland,"—says that tradition ascribes the origin of this adage to a sort of double Sabine rape, perpetrated by the Norsemen, who built the still traceable Danish city of Barn-scar, and then carried off the young men of Drigg and the young women of Beckermet to people it. Whether the *lasses* of Drigg and the *lads* of the other parish consoled each other under this bereavement we are not told. I never heard of this tradition, and would not accept it if I had, for I believe the saying to have sprung from the arrangements observed on some festive occasion; or possibly from some infraction of a rule that was, and perhaps is still observed in the Church of Drigg, as well as in those of some of the neighbouring parishes, where the sexes are seated on different sides of the central aisle, as in Quaker meeting houses.

On the coast of Cumberland, within a range of some twelve miles, there are four sea-ports, the shipping belonging to which is mainly employed in carrying the produce of the great Cumbrian coal-field to the opposite coast of Ireland. The supposed, not the real effect of their staple article of commerce upon the complexion of these ports, is indicated in a popular distich which runs thus :—

" Whitehaven blackbirds, Harrington crows,
" Workington sweeps, and Maryport beaux."

The strongly-contrasted epithet applied to the last may only be accounted for by (besides the exigency of rhyme) the possibility that Maryport formerly was engaged less extensively in the grimy coal-trade than her sister ports, an exception that may not, at the present day, be claimed for that stirring little

town, which is described by Charles Dickens as "a bit of "water-side Bristol, with a slice of Wapping, a seasoning of "Wolverhampton, and a garnish of Portsmouth—a great deal "too vaporous, and a great deal too rusty, and a great deal "too muddy, and a great deal too dirty altogether"—with "ships to load and pitch and tar to boil, and iron to hammer "and steam to get up, and smoke to make, and stone to "quarry, and fifty other disagreeable things to do."* The rhyme cannot be supposed to be of very ancient date, as Maryport only received its present name during the last century.

At each of these seaside towns the following scrap of weather wisdom is quoted by the ancient mariners who are always to be seen lounging about the piers and the watch-houses there—

"*The Isle of Man seen fair and clear,*
"*Is a sign of westerly breezes here.*"

Saint Bees' Head being substituted occasionally for the Isle of Man.

A rhyming invocation is sometimes chanted by young people of both sexes; the chant being accompanied by the act of throwing an apple pip into the air, and a response found in the direction assumed by the point of the seed when it falls. The charm is a common one everywhere,—the rhyme, as I think, is peculiar to Cumberland.

"*Pippin, pippin Paradise,*
"*Tell me where my love lies—*
"*East, west, north, south;*
"*Carlisle or Cockermouth.*"

Workington Hall, the grand old seat of the Curwen family, is said to have been the scene of a curious traditional incident, which has given rise to a popular rhyme. One of the lords of Workington Hall in the olden time is stated to have discovered accidentally a handmaid of the house parading before a mirror her rustic charms, decked out in the garments of her

* In "The lazy tour of two idle Apprentices."

deceased lady and continuously reciting this couplet, since become proverbial—

" Whatever may hap, or whatever befal,
" I'll be lady of Workington Hall."

The tradition goes on to relate that a younger son of the family returning from abroad, fell in love with this ambitious and far-seeing damsel, married her, and ultimately succeeding to the family possessions, fulfilled her somewhat audacious prognostication. I believe there is no trace of any such legend as this in the real history of this very ancient family, of whom Camden, in that pleasant manner that makes Dr. Philemon Holland's translation of the Britannia such delightful reading, says " They fetch their descent from " Gospatric Earle of Northumberland, and their surname they " tooke by covenant and composition from Culwen, a family " in Galloway, the heire whereof they had married; and here " have they a stately house built castle like, and from whom " (without offence or vanity be it spoken) myselfe am descended " by the mother's side."*

One of the minor halls of Cumberland called Warthole, not far from Cockermouth, has a rhyming saying attached to it which aptly illustrates one of the evil habits of the county. The yeomanry and well-to-do farmers in certain parts of Cumberland are still much given to card-playing between Michaelmas and Candlemas, when farming operations are comparatively suspended; and this propensity not unfrequently leads to rather reckless gambling, the favourite game there being unlimited Loo, or, as they call it, Runuing Lant, though the still less reputable game of Put is also frequently played, and for high stakes. It is said that a former proprietor of Warthole staked the whole of his possessions upon a game at Put, and at a critical point of the game exclaimed—

" Up a deuce or else a tray,
" Or Warthole's lost for ever and aye!"

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* Camden's Britannia, edition of 1610.

The tray, I may explain, in the best card in this low game. It is said that the cards thus invoked turned up as called for, and so for the time, saved the desperate gambler from beggary. The rhyme is still quoted when heavy stakes happen to depend upon a single card.

At Harrington they localize the common exaggerative adage "As old as the hills," and say that very old people or things are "*As old as Walker Brow!*"—an instance of the proneness of men to avail themselves of familiar objects in illustrating their every-day talk.

"*Three in a gig, Workington fashion*," is a common form of reference to over-crowding of any kind.

"*In by the Flosh to Carel* (*or Carlisle*)*!*" is used in commenting upon a person's taking "the longest way round for "the nearest way home." The proverbial "*Whitehaven "fortune*" will hardly admit of explanation here.

A very resonant kiss is commonly said to "*sound like the "sneck of Pardshaw yatt!*" Pardshaw being an ancient village near to Cockermouth. When I knew it, the latches of its gates sounded much like those of its neighbours.

Allonby, a pleasant little sea-bathing place, formerly sent a vast crowd of boats to the herring fishery. These, on account of their small size and great numbers, used to be known along shore as "*The Allonby Midge Fleet.*"

There are a few proverbs that have been suggested originally by the mountainous character of the country, and one or two of these are worth preserving. Remarking upon the compensatory principle pervading human affairs, the old-fashioned fell folk will say—"*If there were neah fells there would be "neah deahls!*" leading to the inference that even with the wild mountains, the sheltered and generally fertile valleys render their rugged country, to themselves at least, preferable to a more level district.

In every part of the country we may hear persons or animals,

of peculiarly stout and hardy nature, spoken of as being "*as "hard as a fell teahd;*" a mountain bred toad being evidently the dalesmen's type of endurance and hardihood.

"*He breaks bands* like a Herdwick tip*" I have heard applied to a rustic scapegrace. The sheep called Herdwick are the small, active, restless breed of the mountain district, which my friend, Mr. William Dickinson, in his admirable and comprehensive "Glossary of the words and phrases of Cum- "berland,"—a copy of which is in the Society's library—says "are reputed to have originated in about forty, which "swam ashore from a wrecked Norwegian vessel. They were "taken possession of by the lord of the manor, and on their "increase, being found to be hardy and suitable to the moun- "tains, were let out in herds or flocks with the farms." These sheep are so liable to stray, that the farmers and shepherds hold a meeting annually at the little inn on Kirkstone, above Ambleside, the highest inhabited house in England, for the sole purpose of recovering and restoring those that have been found in the neighbouring herds; and they sometimes stray to great distances, passing through many flocks before they end their rambles.†

Verses of modern date, when they are "aw about Cumberland "folk and kenned pleaces,"—as the ballad goes,—are invested with an amount of popular interest quite equal to that attaching to any relic of antiquity. Hence certain scraps of rhyme, dating from the end of last and beginning of this century, and consisting of little more than a mere string of names, are familiar as household words in Cumbrian mouths; and as they come perfectly within the category of popular rhymes, I may conclude this rather loose dissertation with a few of the

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* Band, a boundary on high and unenclosed land. See Dickinson's Glossary.

† In the Southern Lake district an illustrated octavo volume is published, giving pictorial representations and letter-press descriptions of the marks distinguishing all the herds of the district.

more prominent of these. The first I shall adduce is part of a well known rhyming invitation, addressed to the residents in most places within a circuit of a dozen miles, to one of the famous bidden-weddings or bridewains peculiar to the country, which was celebrated at Lamplugh, on the 30th of May, 1786:

———" Come one, come all,
* * * * *
From Whitehaven, Workington, Harrington, Dean,
Haile, Ponsonby, Bleng, and all places between;
From Egremont, Cockermouth, Parton, Saint Bees,
Dent, Kinneyside, Calder, and parts such as these."
&c., &c., &c.

The next is a verse from one of Anderson's ballads, which, besides standing high in popular favour, possesses some interest to the ethnologist, inasmuch as the places named afford one proof amongst others that this province was first of all occupied by a race of Cambro-Britons.

" There's Cumwhitton, Cumwhinton, Cumrantan,
Cumrangan, Cumrew and Cumcatch;
And monie mair Cums in the country;
But nin wi' Cumdivock can match."

Another, from the same source, similarly indicates the Danish settlements, which were very numerous in Cumberland.

" We've Harraby and Tarraby,
And Wigganby beside;
We've Outerby and Souterby,
And Byes beath far and wide:
Of strapping, sonsy, rwosey queans
They aw may brag a few,
But Thursby for a bonnie lass
Can cap them aw, I trow!"

The name of the first of these villages was, in the old riding times, a word of evil import to the moss-trooping clans across the Borders—Harraby being the famous place of execution on the eminence just south of Carlisle. Sir Walter Scott puts into the mouth of one of his favourite heroes the characteristic admission, or perhaps boast,—

" Letter or line know I never a one,
" Were 't my neck-verse at *Hairibee*."

The neck-verse was the *miserere mei* read of old by criminals who claimed the benefit of clergy. The place last named in these verses, Thursby, bears the name of the great Scandinavian god, Thor. Everard, the Abbot of Holm-Cultram, in the time of Henry II, relates that at this village there formerly stood a temple, containing an image of Thor. And the foundations of this Pagan temple are said to have been dug up and removed only within the last hundred years.*

A versified list of surnames is sure to be popular in the district where the names it contains are common, and in a poem called "Branthwaite Hall," by William Hetherington, such a list is given, purporting to record the names of those who followed Skelton of Branthwaite Hall on an expedition of reprisals into Scotland. It gives nearly all the names to be found at the present day in the villages and farms immediately circumjacent to the ancestral home of the leader, which consists now of a massive square battlemented tower, in good preservation, and still roofed in, with a modern farm house attached. This list of Cumbrian heroes the poet has arranged thus:—

"A valliant band the warrior chieftain led,
Inured to war, and all to battle bred.
The Robinsons, with big John at their head;
Watsons and Woods fought without fear or dread;
Ritsons and Rudds, the Hinds and Fishers too;
Wilsons and Walkers went—a valiant crew;
The Steels and Thompsons followed Skelton's tent;
Fearons and Fawcetts, Greens and Normans went;
Sanctons and Sims, the Allinsons and Dixons;
The Tomlinsons and Nicholsons and Nixons;
Leathes took Lancaster to battle field;
Kendals and Coopers, never known to yield;
The Harrisons, with Harris for their chief,
All went, tall heroes, from their mountain fief;
The Sandersons and all the Pows and Drape
Sallied from Clifton—few could them escape;
Tom Sparks and Emerson, renowned for speed,
With old Bill Mayson, oft made Scotsmen bleed;

* Traces of the Pagan Worship, &c., in Ferguson's Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland.

Fletchers and Flemings, Dickinsons went too;
Bankses and Blacks, or killed or scared a few.
The Heads were never hindmost, and Smith Tom
(Swainson his name) was never absent from
The field of fight, where honour might be won—
He had his share with Miles, his younger son.
The Bells and Bowmans full-yard arrows drew,
And Scotsmen fell where'er their weapons flew."

I would remark if some of the specimens of folk-lore that I have considered worthy of preservation be thought too homely or trivial for the transactions of this Society, that sayings or sentences, expressing the every-day wisdom, the ideas and habits of thought of an unlettered and primitive class, must of necessity be homely, but that homeliness, if decent and unaffected, does not imply vulgarity; that trifles form the sum of human history, and of our knowledge of human nature as well as of "human bliss;" and that every trifle which extends our acquaintance with any distinct portion of our fellow-subjects enlarges our sympathies and conduces to the increase and maintenance of kindly feelings between class and class, the rarity or absence of which, deplored by some of our truest philanthropists, is mainly due to the mutual non-appreciation arising from non-acquaintance. These convictions, and the example of distinguished fellow-workers in the same humble field, induce me to hope that the preservation of even the rude fragmentary remains I have here raked together may not be considered at all derogatory to the dignity of a learned Society.

BOTANICAL NOTICES.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.

(Read 13th December, 1861.)

The following notices of some of the less common Phanerogamous or flowering native plants of this district may prove of interest to several members of the Historic Society. Although the result of excursions eliminated from a very circumscribed leisure, they yet render information additional to what is supplied either by the "Flora of Liverpool," or its "Supplement;" which, when hereafter referred to, will both receive the former title.

Monotropa Hypopitys, Bird's Nest. Crosby, near the old Warren House, is given in the "Flora;" but the plant is not confined to one spot, and may be met with at intervals among the sand hills. This leafless and otherwise most singular vegetable production is uncertain and variable in its appearance, and occasionally remains invisible for several seasons together. It is parasitical, and its normal habitat is the hanging woods of beech (but occasionally of fir) which clothe and beautify many of the hill slopes of our southern counties, as at Selborne, in Hampshire, immortalised by Gilbert White, whose notice of the plant in question led the writer to examine it on the spot, where it still flourishes. Its occurrence, however, upon open level ground is very rare, if not absolutely peculiar to this district, and there can be little reason to doubt its generative growth from decayed roots of the common willow of the sandhills (*Salix Fusca*). The unusual amount of moisture of the past summer season has been peculiarly favourable for

such production, giving its favourite localities an appearance much resembling a bed of young asparagus.

Narthecium Ossifragum, the Lancashire Bog-Asphodel, although common on the mosses on the east, is yet scarce upon the west, side of the Mersey. It grows, however, in Wirral, though very sparingly—namely, on Irby and Oxton heaths; and bordering a rivulet near Claughton village it attains greater luxuriance than the writer ever noticed, even in its peculiar native county.

Trigonella Ornithò-podioides, or Bird's Foot Fenugreek, a pretty but diminutive plant, has been supposed to be confined, as regards this neighbourhood, to a spot on the Parkgate shore and Grange hill. It is nevertheless to be found upon the summits of Bidston and Heswell hills, and probably on most of the higher eminences in Wirral.

Erythræa Pulchella, or Dwarf-tufted Centaury, grows abundantly in the moist hollows of the common at Leasowe.

Dianthus Deltoides, the Maiden Pink, occurs in hedges between Liscard village and New Brighton, occasionally attaining a height of from four to five feet; but its bright starry blossoms, occurring singly, are seldom detected.

Hesperis Matronalis, Dame's Violet, grows sparingly in several moist plantations in Wirral.

Silene Anglica, English Catchfly, is by no means uncommon in cultivated fields in Wirral; at Great and Little Meols being quite abundant.

Hypericum Elodes, or Marsh St. John's Wort, in addition to the published localities, flourishes luxuriantly in a pond on the lower edge of Oxton heath.

Viola Odorata, the Sweet Violet, except as an outcast from gardens, is a scarce plant in the sandstone districts. The purple variety is found near Upton, and the white near Great Meols and Thurstaston.

Hottonia Palustris, the Marsh Violet, vegetates in the dykes of Bidston marsh.

Hydrocharis Morsus-ranæ, the Frog-bit, is found in the same places as last named, as well as in numerous ponds and ditches in Wirral.

Veronica Buxbaumii, Buxbaum's Speedwell. Naturalized about Saughall-Massie.

Corydalis Claviculata, White Climbing Fumitory, grows upon Flaybrick hill; but from this unrecorded locality it is fast disappearing, through the extensive quarrying operations here effecting.

Thalictrum Minus, the least Meadow-rue, is to be met with on the "Eye," or least of the Hilbre group of Islands, as well as upon Little Hilbre.

Geum Rivale, or Water Aveus. Meadows near Woodchurch and Frankby mere.

Sedum Anglicum, White Stonecross. Great Meols and Hilbre islands.

Sambucus Ebulus, Dwarf Elder or Danewort. Near Grange.

Dipsacus Pilosus, Small Teazle. Preston brook.

Samolus Valerandi, Brookweed. Dykebanks at Leasowe.

Habenaria Viridis, Green Orchis. Liscard vale.

Asplenium Marinum, Sea-spleenwort, has been all but eradicated from its old habitats on the Mersey, and even Hilbre. The writer has found it growing sparingly upon rocks on the left bank of the river—an unrecorded locality.

Ophioglossum Vulgatum, Adder's Tongue Fern, occurs in moist meadows, near Leasowe, but the high grass in which it grows causes this plant to escape that notice its curious form would else obtain.

Lycopodium Inundatum, the Marsh Clubmoss, once abundant upon Bidston marsh, is completely banished thence.

The writer has had the pleasure of finding this scarce plant in a new locality, viz., Oxton heath, where it is of uncommonly fine growth.

Within the past twenty years several of the scarcer individuals of our local Flora have become eradicated or in other ways lost to the Mersey district, viz. :—

Geranium Sanguineum . .	The Bloody Crane's Bill.
„ *Pratense* . . .	Meadow ditto
„ *Columbinum* . .	Long-stalked ditto
Erodium Moschatum . . .	Musky Stork's Bill.
Melilotus Vulgaris . . .	Melilot (white fl. var.)
Artemesia Absinthium . .	Wormwood.
Campanula Latifolia . .	Broad-leaved Bell Flower.
Convallaria Majalis . . .	Lily of the Valley.
Allium Vineale	Crow Garlic.
Silene Quinquevulnera . .	Variegated Catchfly.
Lycopodium Selago . . .	Fir Clubmoss (Wirral.)

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE LIVERPOOL BLUE COAT HOSPITAL.

By Mr. John R. Hughes.

(Read 2nd May, 1861.)

Part II.

Having in a former paper, read before this society,* given a sketch of the origin and early history of the Liverpool Blue Coat Hospital, embracing a period of fifty years, viz., from the eighth year of the reign of Queen Anne, 1709,—when the Hospital, the oldest of our local charitable institutions, was founded,—to the death of its distinguished founder, Bryan Blundell, and the closing years of the reign of Geo. II., 1759-60, I now venture, agreeably to an expressed wish of several members of this society, to prosecute my task further, and so far as my knowledge, or means of acquiring that knowledge, permits, to lay before you a few facts which I hope may prove interesting. At the same time I am compelled to request the society's indulgence for laying before it so crude and hasty, and by consequence, so imperfect a paper.

Animated by the best and holiest of motives, our ancestors erected the Hospital, as they declared, in gratitude to God for the many blessings he had bestowed upon their "Port town;" and the Institution has, for many years, participated in the increasing wealth of the town, and stood forth, not only as a monument of charity, but also a memorial of the continuance among us of that spirit of religious dependence on Providence which actuated and directed the original founders.

In my former sketch I have endeavoured to shew the course and effect of the management under its early founders.

* Transactions, vol. xi. p. 163.

At the period of Bryan Blundell's death in 1756, when he had been forty-two years treasurer, there were 100 children wholly maintained, fed, clothed and taught on the foundation. The funds he left amounted to £7,150. His son Richard Blundell, who succeeded him, died 1760, leaving a capital of £7,650 and 120 children on the foundation.

I may here mention that, since writing the former paper, I have been shewn, by a gentleman of my acquaintance, an old deed, being the conveyance of a seat, No. 45, in the gallery of St. Thomas's Church, which had formerly belonged to the Blundell family. In this deed it is named that Richard Blundell died intestate. Finding in the Hospital records for 1760 a legacy of £100 made in his name, I was curious to understand how it had been paid. It appeared that among his memoranda, found in the Hospital after his death, was a written request that one hundred pounds should be paid to the School: this accordingly was the legacy so entered.

It is at this point of time, 1760,—the period of Richard Blundell's death,—that my present record begins.

Jonathan Blundell, the youngest son—as I gathered from the above-named deed—of Bryan Blundell, succeeded, 31st March, 1760, as Treasurer, on his brother Richard's death: his two elder brothers, Bryan and William, becoming his sureties, according to the requirements of the charter obtained in 1739, in a bond of £2,000, for the due performance of his office. This office he held for the long period of thirty-six years, devoting himself with singular energy to the development of those pious ends which he had seen his father pursue with so much fixedness of purpose and high resolve. Old age and its consequent infirmities could alone induce his relinquishment of it. In a letter addressed to the Trustees of the Hospital, dated 28th March, 1796, a copy of which is entered on the minutes—he states "now "being in years, and my health requiring me to live in the

" country, of consequence I find myself not so able to be of " that service to this charity I could wish." He then proceeds to direct that proper notice be given at the Exchange and in the Churches for choosing another Treasurer. This notice was agreeable to the charter, which directed that fourteen days' notice be given immediately after divine service on the Sabbath at both Churches (St. Nicholas' and St. Peter's) and at the Exchange. This practice is, of course, complied with even to this day. Before any Governor or Trustee of the Hospital, as well as Treasurer, can be elected, placards are affixed to the Church doors and put up at the Exchange. It is also incumbent that every Trustee shall be an inhabitant of Liverpool, or seized of property to the amount of £100 per annum in the County of Lancaster. The Treasurer must always be an inhabitant. The latter clause, altogether apart from private motives, while it deterred Mr. Blundell from holding the Treasurership, did not necessarily require his relinquishment of the Trusteeship, which he continued to hold to the period of his death, which occurred in 1801. At the close of his Treasurership, the School funds amounted to £11,220 principal, at interest. A pleasing as well as notable instance of " continuance in well doing," is presented to us in the history of those three worthies, Bryan Blundell and his two sons, who for the long period of eighty-two years, continued with noble self-devotedness and untiring zeal, to manage the affairs of this Hospital; and their descendants of our own day shew themselves equally zealous in behalf of its best interests whenever occasion offers.

Soon after Jonathan Blundell's assumption of the Treasurership, the number of inmates in the Hospital materially increased. In 1763, an addition of eighty children was made, making the number on the foundation at this period 200, viz., 150 boys and 50 girls. In order to accommodate the additional number, a purchase was made of Cheshire's

premises, adjoining the School, which were leasehold under the Corporation, and for which the sum of £780 was paid Mr. Aspinall, July 2nd of this year. A committee was appointed to survey the ground, which formerly was covered with tan-pits, and occupied by John Syers at a rental of £35. The Trustees proposed to erect a new building to run eastward from the end of the then School, to the end of the ground purchased from Cheshire, and therein to have proper accommodation for the whole number of boys, with the conveniences for work-room, lodging-room, dining-room, store-room, sick-room, &c. A plan was proposed which the Trustees approved.

The above mention of a work-room, &c., at once suggests to us that the children at that period were engaged in manual labour part of their time. The old records of the School in 1765 state also that £220 were paid to the proprietors of the stocking manufactory towards a building for boys to weave in. Jonathan Blundell, the Treasurer, was a partner in the stocking manufactory which was carried on in School Lane, and he with his partners proposed to the Trustees of the Hospital to employ the children in that manufacture; the proposals they made were so fair, and the pecuniary advantages so much greater than any which had before been realized from the labour of the children, that the Trustees gratefully and readily consented. This arrangement was continued up to 1771, when it was given up, the following reason, extracted from the Board-room Minutes, being assigned :—"Whereas several base reflections have been "cast upon Messrs. Blundell and Co., proprietors of the "stocking manufactory, as only consulting their own private "lucre and advantage in employing the children, and some "persons make a handle to withdraw their subscriptions; it "is now proposed by the said Mr. Blundell to discontinue the "manufactory and employ the number of children some other

" way, which proposal was agreed to." An opportunity offered in 1778, when the house and buildings lately used as a stocking manufactory, were let to Messrs. Craven, Rosson and Co., for spinning and preparing cotton for weaving: they offered to employ 120 children in carding, roving, &c., for the spinning machines, &c., paying to the Trustees in consideration of the childrens' labour a sum of £312 per annum, payment to be made *half-yearly in bills on London.* The children were to be subjected to no correction in the manufactory but that of the masters. Very soon after, finding from the deadness of the cotton trade that they could not employ 120 children, they humbly requested the Trustees to withdraw thirty, and the Trustees consented. In 1781, they prayed to be wholly relieved of their engagement, and a committee, appointed to enquire into the grievances complained of by Messrs. Craven and Co., reported that their complaint was just, and agreed that the children should be withdrawn, at the same time urging, that the children, in future, should be employed in " carding, spinning, roving, warping, and, if " possible, in weaving of cotton." For some short time they were enabled so to employ them, but in 1789 the cotton manufactory was given up, when it was resolved that, " in " order to promote habits of industry, the children should be " employed in manufacturing their own apparel till something " more profitable was adopted."*

The succeeding year " something more profitable" presented itself. Articles of agreement were made 20th December, 1790, between twelve of the Trustees and Mr. James Meredith, of Manchester, for the labour of 200 children in " pin-making," together with the house and warehouse situate

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* A respectable inhabitant of this town, now verging on four-score years of age, informed the writer that he well recollected, when in the school, weaving a piece of *velveteen*, and that he himself afterwards *wore it.*

in School Lane, during a term of eleven years. It may be necessary here to note that 280 children, viz., 230 boys and 50 girls were at this time on the foundation. To the number of inmates, which, in 1763 was 200, there were added twenty more in 1770, twenty in 1779, ten in 1781, ten in 1783, and twenty in 1787, making up the number as above stated.

The making of pins was decidedly the most profitable of any in which the children had been engaged, realizing as it did during the later years of the agreement, a sum of £450 per annum, but it was deemed detrimental to the children's health, and seems, besides, from the Treasurer's statement in 1802, which was the period of the expiry of the agreement with Mr. Meredith, to have been productive of "several "inconveniences to the house," as well as otherwise disadvantageous to the children, and it was consequently wholly discontinued at the end of the last named year. The Trustees at the same time stated that it was inconsistent with the object and intention of the institution—which was formed for the purpose of instructing children, not only in reading, writing, and arithmetic, but in the principles of religion—"to connect any manufactory whatever "with it." From this period the whole of the children's time has been devoted to learning, and a more liberal mode of education was soon after adopted.

In the list of donors to the School in 1802, the year in which pin-making was discontinued, are found the names of Messrs. James, George and Robert Meredith, of Manchester, for the sum of £21.

Having referred to the articles of agreement made between those gentlemen and the Trustees of the Blue Coat Hospital, there is one point to which I will venture a particular allusion. We frequently hear that in the eighteenth century old customs, festivals and holidays were much more—much

better, as some would say—observed than at present. In the agreement referred to, we are afforded direct evidence of this fact, as the following list of holidays to be allowed the boys will at once and clearly demonstrate :—

Christmas, fourteen days, (for amusement).
Good Friday, one day.
Easter, two afternoons, and from three o'clock the third day.
Whitsuntide, ditto. ditto. ditto.
Shrove Tuesday.
Ash Wednesday.
Conversion of St. Paul, 25th January.
King Charles's Martyrdom.
Purification, 2nd February.
St. Mathias's, 24th February.
Annunciation, 25th March.
St. Mark's, 25th April.
St. Philip and St. James, 1st May.
Ascension.
King Charles restored, 29th May.
St. Barnabas', 11th June.
St. John the Baptist, 24th June.
St. Peter's, 29th June.
St. James's, summer fair.
St. Bartholomew's, 24th August.
St. Matthew's, 21st September.
St. Michael's, 29th September.
Liberty Day.
St. Luke's, 18th October.
King's Inauguration.
St. Simon and St. Jude, 28th October.
All Saints', 1st November.
Gunpowder Plot.
Martinmas winter fair.
St. Andrew's, 30th November.
St. Thomas's, 21st December.

In connection with the subject of the children's employment in manual labour, I would note that a donation of £93 5s. 7d. is set down in 1766, from Aldn. John Tarleton, Esq., who had been Mayor of Liverpool in 1764, which appears to have been the value of five bags of cotton,

presented by him to the School, weighing 1,314lbs. at 17d. ℔ lb. As this was still the age of the "ancient spindle and "loom," while yet the great inventions of Arkwright, Hargreaves, Crompton and Watt were being matured, the fact is, perhaps, noteworthy, and viewed in respect to an occurrence which took place some eighteen years subsequently, and told on the authority of Mr. Bryan Blundell, who was a descendent of the founder of the Blue Coat Hospital, it is equally, if not more, interesting.

A consignment of eight bags of cotton, made *per* an American vessel from the United States, was, it is said, seized by an Officer of the Customs, who believed that cotton was not grown in America! The after history of these eight bags sounds to us in Liverpool, who are now used to such extraordinary importations of this article, as equally singular, viz., that, when thrown on the market, they had the effect of glutting it. Ultimately they were sold to Messrs. Strutt and Co., of Derby.

Having traced the various occupations of the children during the Treasurership of Mr. Jonathan Blundell, and up to the period of the entire discontinuance of all manual labour, I must now advert to other matters which seem to me to claim attention.

The diet used in the Hospital, when Mr. Blundell undertook the management, would seem to be little different from that which had been adopted some eighteen years previously. The caterer or House Stewards' Book of that period, has no entry whatever of diet. Now, however, (and for many years past,) a "Diet Book" is systematically kept up in the Hospital.

The following is the bill of fare which was read, approved and adopted at the first meeting of the Trustees after the exemplification of the Charter, in 1742 :—

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Supper.
Sunday	Bread, Beer.	ffleshmeat, Plucks, Oatmeal, Bread, Beer.	Bread, Broth.
Monday	Drinkmeat, Bread.	Bread, Cheese, Beer.	Bread, Milk.
Tuesday.....	Water Porridge, Butter-milk.	Pease Porridge.	Bread, Cheese, Beer.
Wednesday....	Water Porridge, Butter-milk.	Pudding Pyes.	Bread, Butter-milk.
Thursday	The same as Sunday.		
Fhryday	Drinkmeat, Bread.	Bread, Cheese, Beer.	Bread, Sweet-milk.
Saturday	Pudding, Butter-milk.	Dumplins, Beer, Butter.	Bread, Sweet-milk.

Bread and beer seem to have been in vogue, not alone for breakfast, but also for supper as well as dinner. Quaint old William Cobbett would, very possibly, have highly approved of such fare.*

On the assumption that the bill of fare of all classes, a hundred years ago, assimilated in some degree, however remote, to that here adopted, so far as beer, perhaps, was concerned, one need scarcely wonder that ale and beer brewers were so plentifully found in Liverpool; the home consumption must have been something terrible, whatever might be said of the exportation. Ample proof is afforded us from many circumstances of such being really the case.

The bread used in the Hospital was, of course, at this time, made with leaven and so continued until 1800, at

* "Ordinary beer for ordinary fare," and "good fat ale for holidays," were themes upon which William Cobbett expatiated with delight.

which time "barm" being used in the Workhouse, where there were a great number of "kneaders of bread" employed, a committee was appointed to enquire into the matter, the two Rectors being of that committee, and the result, as was naturally to be anticipated, was a suggestion that the Blue Coat Hospital should adopt the same plan. The School report of 1800 makes mention, "That the bread is now made "with barm instead of leaven, the expense of which is "more, but the quality of the bread with the saving that "arises from being baked in the Hospital, very greatly over-"balances that consideration." Some seven years later there is a copy of directions for baking the bread :—

112lbs. of good seconds flour will gain 44lbs. in baking.—*Remarks on Baking.*

103lbs. of coals and cinders mixed were consumed in making three bakings.

Reference having been made to the Workhouse, it may here be stated that the Old Liverpool Workhouse was built on the land as well as from the funds of the Blue Coat Hospital, the parish paying to the Trust a yearly rental for the same,* but in 1771, much about the time of giving up the stocking manufactory in School Lane, the Workhouse in Brownlow Hill was finished, the poor were removed thither, and what had been the Old Poorhouse became in consequence untenanted. The Trustees of the Blue Coat Hospital resolved that it should be converted into warehouses, and a sum of £281 was expended in making the necessary alterations. To this day these warehouses stand at the corner of College Lane and Hanover Street, where there is a great gateway which opens into the court-yard, in which the old Poor-house, now known as the "wool warehouses," is seen. The buildings are of brick and evidence the fact that very little alteration indeed could have been required to

* *Vide* my former Paper.

adapt them to their present purpose. The rents of these warehouses form part of the income of the Hospital. While occupied by the parish the rental was £40 per annum—£80 with the wings;—but with slight alteration, involving the little outlay we have seen, the Trustees were enabled to let them to Messrs. Earle and Co., at a later period, viz., from 1803 to 1810, for 250 guineas; and from 1810 to 1817 at an advanced rental of 400 guineas per annum, so great has been the rise in value of buildings and land in this locality.

I must necessarily be brief in many of the notices; in some, perhaps, the character of the incident will scarce deserve a more than passing notice, if even that,—in others again, where I might esteem them of greater moment, I must needs be careful that I overstep not the limits usually assigned to readers of papers. On this account I will, briefly, record other and remaining circumstances during Jonathan Blundell's treasurership.

Exactly 100 years ago, in 1761,—when the great Duke of Bridgewater had given, by his example, an impetus to canal undertakings which proved of so signal and immediate advantage to Liverpool,—I find on the records of the Hospital evidence of judicious outlay in placing £500 at interest on the "Weaver Navigation." This sum was repaid in 1771.

The Annals of Liverpool furnish the next record that, in 1765, the "Old Church" organ was presented to the Blue Coat Hospital. From a notice being this year first made of the sum of £6 6s. paid from the School funds to one Ralph Parker for tuning organ, it properly suggests itself that the Trustees had no such instrument in their chapel prior to this date. The organ which they now have cost £230, and was presented them April 3rd, 1821, by the late

John Harrocks, a munificent friend of the Schools, to whom I shall again allude in the course of these pages.

In 1772, the proceeds of the sale of one-sixth of a tract of land were received, amounting, with interest from 29th September, 1767, to £218 0s. 5d. This tract lay at the end of the Salthouse Dock, and the one-sixth part was bequeathed to the use of the School by William Marsh, of Knowsley, under will dated 15th November, 1722. One of the heirs of Mr. Marsh, a Mr. Barnston, sold part of the land in 1768, to his Grace the Duke of Bridgewater,—this was much about the period of his canal enterprizes,—and received £200 for it. In consequence, the Rev. Mr. Mears, an interested party under the will, wished to purchase for a like sum the Charity's share. After some considerable time spent in negociation, the Trustees ultimately agreed "on "behalf of themselves and the other governors of the Hospital, "and of the poor scholars thereof, to revise, release, and "ensure to the said Mr. Mears, and to his good liking," the one-sixth part belonging to them, interest being paid from an agreed date.

Several other pious and well-disposed persons have, at various times, given and bequeathed premises and land to the use of the Hospital, and here I may mention that it has been the custom, from the period of obtaining the charter, to have a table of the names of all benefactors of twenty pounds and upwards hung up in the hall of the Hospital. More recently they have been affixed to the walls of the chapel, where they may now be seen.

An interesting, and to many a profitable study, is to be found in the contemplation of the long list of worthy names which these walls silently point to our view.

It has been to me a pleasing task, while looking over the School records, to note, not only the great interest shewn by the early friends of the Institution, but the

great tenacity of purpose with which—convinced they were pursuing a righteous work—they held on and persevered; conjoined to these advantages there was given to many of them "length of days" to consolidate their good work. I have adduced the case of the founder, who, with his two sons, managed, during the long term of eighty-two years, the affairs of the Hospital. I have now to make mention of the death, in 1773, of a more humble, yet valuable agent in the work of instruction, Mr. Houghton, the master of the School.

He had been the schoolmaster for forty-eight years. On his election, in 1725, he had a salary appointed him of thirty-six pounds per annum, with "diet and candles;" but towards the close of his life he seems to have been in receipt of fifty-six pounds per annum. His successor was Mr. John Smith, the usher, who had been brought up in the School, Ellen Smith being at the same time appointed mistress of the girls, who at the period was commonly called the "dame." Mr. Smith continued to be master till 1798, when he died, having been the head master for a term of twenty-five years.

Placing in juxta-position the long servitude of the two masters, a period of seventy-three years, with the servitude (and I use the term advisedly) of the three Treasurers, Bryan Blundell and his two sons, for a period of eighty-two years, the reflection pleasingly forces itself upon us, that these circumstances were of high and lasting importance to the Institution, and must have tended in no small degree to the permanent advantage of the School.

There being no letter of Mr. Jonathan Blundell's extant in the Hospital, save copies which exist on the minutes, I received lately with great pleasure, from a friend of mine, a letter, which he told me he had exhumed, along with other

papers, from an "old curiosity shop" in this town, where it had been buried. As it bears upon my subject, and was written during the period of his treasurership, though of a simple and very unpretending character, I venture to copy it.

"Liverpool, Mar. 21, 1778.

"Rev. Mr. Tho. Broughton,
"No. 5, Bartlett's Buildings,
"Holborn, London.

"Sir,

"Please to send me the books as under, a part are for the "use of the patients of our infirmary, and part for the children of our "Blue Coat Hospital, and oblige, Sir,

"Yr. very humble St.,
"JONA. BLUNDELL.

"50 Bibles.
"50 Com. prayers, new version.
"50 Dixon Spelling Books.
"50 Psalters.
"50 Christian Monitors.
"50 Present for Servants.
"50 Lord's Day.
"50 Drunkenness.
"50 Chastity.
"50 Stealing.
"50 Lying.
"50 Gaming.
"500 Christian Monitors.
"500 Dr. Sonehouse's advice to Patients."

From the foregoing, it is clear that it was not in one good work alone that he engaged himself. Additional evidence, if such were needed, may be had by a reference to Baines's "History of Liverpool," where at page 413 we have his name entered, along with his worthy father and brother, in the list of the first subscribers, 1745, to the Liverpool Infirmary, the institution he names in his above quoted letter.

Before leaving the subject of Jonathan Blundell's treasurership, I may point out that it was during his time the first

"Account Current Book" was kept in the Hospital, and from which it has since been customary to frame the annual reports of the School. The period of its adoption in 1782-3 was consequently the time in which the first printed report of the School appears, and a report has been annually issued since.

Nicholas Ashton, Esq., who resided at one time in Hanover Street, afterwards in Clayton Square, and still more recently at Woolton Hall, whose name is associated with everything good and great in the annals of our town, succeeded Mr. Blundell as Treasurer, June 27th, 1796. He continued to hold the office for one year, it being at the time understood that the office should thereafter be annual. The number of children in the School was at this time 300, the augmentation having taken place the preceding year; but towards the close of 1796 it was resolved again to increase the number from 300 to 320. Mr. Ashton, at the period of his death, was the oldest Governor and Trustee of the Hospital, having been elected in 1763. The report of 1833, in recording his demise, makes mention of the fact, that for more than seventy years he had been a subscriber of £5 5s. per annum to the funds, and was ever a warm and attached friend to its interests.

Clayton Tarleton, Esq., who succeeded him in 1797, died during his term of office, when Colonel Bolton, a name well known in Liverpool, undertook it for 1798. The number of inmates was at this time 327. As noted in another place Mr. John Smith, the master, died this year, when the Trustees resolved, "That a clergyman be appointed master of the "School, but that he shall not be allowed to officiate for any "of the clergy in the town or neighbourhood." The salary, including house and other advantages, was fixed at one hundred guineas per annum. They then elected the Rev. John Shakleton, of Thornton, in the parish of Bradford, to be master: Mrs. Shakleton to be matron. A head assistant

was advertised for, salary fifty pounds per annum, but no perquisites. Among the minutes of the following board-day it was entered, "That Lewis Richards, late assistant to the "Rev. Mr. Leach, late of Mold, Flintshire, in Wales, be and "is hereby elected assistant teacher," &c. Owing, however, to a complaint being made against the new master, charging him with, to say the least of it, acts of imprudence, it was deemed necessary to convene a meeting for the 10th May, 1799, to examine into such charges. Among the witnesses to his character the Rev. Mr. Shakleton brought, with others, Mr. Baines, the well known master of the Free School, which at that time was in School Lane, and on the Blue Coat Hospital land. After a patient investigation of the complaints urged against him, the minutes record "That having "taken the premises into our consideration, are of opinion "that he is unfit any longer to be master." Robert Parkes, of Liverpool, an excise officer, was elected to succeed him, the whole of the Trustees voting for him, with the single exception of Thomas Earle, Esq., who voted for Mr. Thomas Davies, another candidate.* The salary was fixed at eighty guineas per annum, besides the use of the house, fire and candles, and also perquisites on apprentices' indentures enjoyed by former masters, which were estimated at sixteen pounds more, making altogether one hundred pounds per annum.

To Colonel Bolton's office Edward Houghton, Esq., succeeded in 1799, and after him James Gerrard, Esq., M.D., became Treasurer for 1800.

The years 1799 and 1800 were remarkable as years of great scarcity, and as such could not fail to operate inju-

* The family of the Earles have always taken a most conspicuous part in the management of the institution. One of the family, John Earle, Esq., was Mayor of Liverpool in Queen Anne's reign, 1709, when the institution was first projected, and one of the Trustees, nine in number, first appointed. The present estimable Treasurer of the Hospital, William Langton, Esq., is likewise one of that family.

riously, and press heavily on the School. A minute to that effect appears on the books in 1800, when it is "ordered that "owing to the great arrears in the accounts, and high price "of provisions, the rule made in 1796 for receiving 270 boys "and 50 girls be for the present rescinded, and that till "further orders the number of both at any time shall not "exceed 300, viz., 250 boys and 50 girls."

When we consider the alarmingly high price of provisions at this time, we find every reason for the adoption of such a course. Recently, in the "Liverpool Mercury," I saw a "Lancashire Man's" reminiscences of two wet seasons. Of one of these (the period in question) he says, "I remember, "in 1799, the harvest only commenced on the 30th September; "all the wheat was unsound; meal was six pounds per load; "and potatoes a guinea per load." The four-pound loaf in 1800, consequent upon this state of things, was sold at the awful price—I can use no milder term—of two shillings.

Towards the close of this year, the Trustees advised "that "the tradesmen's bills be paid, and the Report published as "speedily as possible, and that the benefactions, &c., be "advertized in two newspapers." A strong effort appears to have been made to obtain benefactions, for it is remarked in the report, "Dr. Gerrard collected this year, total bene- "factions, £1,289 4s. 6d." Yet for all these efforts, the School was compelled to withdraw from the Corporation, "No. 1 Corporation bond for £1,000," and was in debt £1,474 16s. 3½d. I must assume that the good success of Dr. Gerrard must have spurred the Board of Governors, and justified, to some extent, the course pursued by them in 1801; for we find them at this time ordering, "That as "the distress calls for uncommon exertion," forty-six children be admitted, "notwithstanding the reduced state of the funds," they say, "trusting that, though they will, in consequence "thereof, be still further reduced, they may be reinstated in

"a future day." They cautiously put off, however, to a more opportune moment, sundry alterations in the premises which had been previously projected.

Turning from a consideration of these matters, to others of a dissimilar character, revealing to us something of the inner life of the boys, I observe it mentioned in 1800, that "Friday, the 25th July, being the fair day, the boys were so "determined upon a holyday, that they drew the staple off "one of the gates and went out, to the number of 107." It may here be convenient to place a reminder that the Liverpool fair was then held in front of the Town Hall, and continued during ten days preceding, as well as succeeding, the 25th July. That it was not then the mere form of a "fair day" as now, is well evidenced by the fact of the boys' obstreperous wish to see the fun of the fair. Several of the boys did not return immediately from the fair; for a catalogue of names, dated some days after, is found among the papers in the Hospital. In character with the circumstances above narrated, it is noted that seven boys ran away from the School, and one of them threw a brick into a mug shop, and "broke mugs," it is solemnly affirmed, "to the value "of half-a-crown." This crashing event took place in the same indecorous year 1800. In strict justice we are compelled to say, that it certainly was very bad; but yet, after all, the true philosophy of the matter resolves itself in the every-day saying—"Boys will be boys." Dr. Gerrard and the Trustees of his day seem to have been kindly imbued with the latter sentiment, as we may judge from the tone of the following regulation :—"that the money arising from the "sale of sundries, and also part, or perhaps the whole, of the "money received in the boxes in the chapel, or given by "any individual to any of the children, shall form one fund "for supplying them with balls, tops, marbles and other "indulgences, at the discretion of the master, save and ex-

"cept that the said fund shall first be liable to defray any "expense incurred by the children breaking the windows." The master had also his instructions to favour the boys whose "diligence, civility, cleanliness and decorum most "deserve it."

From an entry of this period I gather that the children were instructed in psalmody, and that their services were granted, as singers, to the different churches of the town; but in 1801 it was found that the attendance of the children at the different churches was very inconvenient—it was detrimental to their clothes—it gave them opportunity of rambling out, and committing many irregularities—it made them, returning from distant churches, late for dinner—and it caused further annoyance by their going to practice during the week days at all hours, even after dark, whenever the different organists thought fit,—all these things were urged against the system, and it was added, "It seems, indeed, to "be doing them not only a present injury, but perhaps laying "the foundation for their future ruin, as the talent for singing "makes them more desirable company for those who frequent "public houses. The examples of some of the instructors, "that of keeping their hats on in church, must in young "minds have a tendency to remove all awe for the place." For the foregoing reasons, it was resolved that the practice should be discontinued from the following Whitsuntide.

The Corporation, at this time, had notice to quit the "Free "School," or pay double rent—the smallness of the rent being pointed out to them. To the payment of an additional rent the Corporation acceded, and from 1801 £18 per annum was paid, for the short time longer which they continued to occupy it.

The Trustees having, in the early part of 1801, taken in a larger number of boys, in consequence of the general distress, felt themselves constrained, in the course of the same

year, to rule that "until the premises be put in repair, and "the funds in a more flourishing condition," the future complement of boys shall be 200.

During near two years Dr. Gerrard had occupied, with great advantage to the School, the dignified yet onerous post of Treasurer, and by his active and zealous interest in its behalf, had introduced many measures regarding the internal economy of the Institution, which from his special knowledge and ability, he was peculiarly fitted to suggest and cause to be adopted. On his retirement from the office, Wm. Cubbin, Esq., succeeded him, from 1802 to 1805.

Early in 1802 the premises in School Lane, consisting of the Free School and a house, together with the factory, &c., being considered in an untenantable condition, the Trustees thought of adapting them to some other purpose; but finding part of the property to be only leasehold, their plan could not be carried into effect without purchasing the reversion. The Treasurer was, in consequence, requested to enquire upon what terms the Corporation would sell the reversion, and to get Messrs. Foster and Eyes, at the same time, to estimate the reversionary interest of some property in Feuwick Street, belonging to the School, and in lease to the Corporation and Mr. Edmund Molyneux. This property, it seems, lay in the line of intended improvements in Fenwick Street, and it was, reasonably enough, surmised that the Corporation would be glad to have the inheritance of it. An exchange was made of these reversionary interests respectively—the Institution deriving a balance of £818 13s. 9d. The Corporation were estimated to pay £1,206 13s. 9d. for the property in Fenwick Street, and the Blue Coat Hospital £388 for the freehold in School Lane, making the balance as above stated. In addition to which, the Corporation appear to have made a liberal grant of some other part of their leasehold property to the use of the School.

The land and buildings which had thus been transferred by the School to the Corporation of Liverpool formed part of the bequest of Mrs. Anne Cleveland, under a will, dated 4th March, 1730, and which accrued to the Hospital on her death in 1735. It may, perhaps, interest the Society to have a few particulars of this property, which was situate in Drybridge (now Fenwick Street), the Old Ropery, &c.

Two dwelling houses and bakehouse, at the corner of Moore Street, let for £10.

A small bakehouse, adjoining the former, £2 15s.

One dwelling house, adjoining the last mentioned bakehouse, let for £3.

A dwelling house, at the East end of Drybridge, £3.

A small house, adjoining the last mentioned, £2 15s.

The ropewalk under the Drybridge, with a small warehouse upon the bridge, £2 15s.

A cellar in Drybridge, £1 15s.

Pertinent to the subject of the enumeration of dwellings, &c., in and about Drybridge, I may be permitted to quote an extract from a paper by J. A. Picton, Esq., Vice-President of this Society, entitled "Ancient Liverpool in its Buildings "and Architecture," read before the Architectural and Archæological Society, 4th December, 1858. He observes,* "When Moore laid out Fenwick Street, there was a ropery "or spinning place, in lease to Wm. Bushell, extending "westward a considerable distance from Castle Street. In "order not to interfere with this, the street was carried over "the ropery on a bridge, as was done, many years after, "in Newington. This went by the name of the Drybridge, "and is so named in the maps, long after the bridge was "swept away. The bridge is gone, but the lower part of "the ropery remains, converted into a street, under the old

* At page 31.

"name. In respect of this bridge, Master Edward Moore "waxeth poetical. There was a narrow alley running from "Castle Street to Fenwick Street, at one end of which was "the Drybridge; at the other end lived a drunken fellow, "named Thomas Bridge. Moore gave the name of Bridge's "Alley to this passage, and composes thereupon the following "verses:—

> "Of old, bridges for water were,
> "But these are made for other fare:
> "The one for spinning—and, it's said,
> "The other's for the drunken trade.
> "Let this be set to England's wonder—
> "Two bridges, and no water under."

The foregoing notice precisely accords with the condition of Drybridge at the period when the Blue Coat Hospital became possessed of the property in and about it.

It may be proper to state that a part of the above named property, held "under lease to James Rutter, tallow chandler, "and his heirs," had been previously sold to the Corporation in 1787, for £500: the total sum realized was accordingly £1,706 13s. 9d.

A condition was attached to Mrs. Cleveland's will, which ordered a payment to be made annually of £5 to one Coppell, and to her poorest relation for ever. This annuity is paid at the present day, to a person named Thompson, and, from what I hear, there seems no immediate fear of the heirs dying out.

Having procured, as we have seen, the reversion of certain premises and land in School Lane, the Trustees in the following year were enabled, after making necessary repairs, to let what had been the pin manufactory to Messrs. Mathews and Phillips, on a ten years' lease, at £60 per annum; and in the same year the warehouses in Hanover Street, to which reference has been made, to Messrs. Earles and Co., for 250 guineas per annum, and likewise upon a lease.

About this time an opinion seemed to be formed among the Governors and Trustees of the Hospital, that the welfare of the Institution required some addition to be made to the decree, and it was judged expedient to apply to the Court of Chancery for that purpose. Mr. Corrie had already mooted the matter as early as 1797, with a view, particularly, of increasing the number of Governors and Trustees, which at that time was fifty, as fixed by the original charter.* The opinion of Ralph Peters, Esq., was taken as to the practicability of making such increase, and following his advice, "it "was requested that the Registrar of the Court of Chancery "be enquired of as to the probable expense of obtaining a "decree to increase the number."

A proposal being made some time subsequently by Richard Walker, Esq., to purchase part of the land belonging to the Hospital,—the Trustees doubting their power of disposing of such land,—afterwards resolved "that a proper case shall "be stated to John Lloyd and Richard Hollist, barristers, "for their opinion whether a decree may be obtained for "enabling the Trustees to dispose of any land belonging "to this Charity, and apply the money raised by such sale in "the erection of another Hospital, and that Robert Richmond "prepare such case." Counsel's opinion proved favourable to the proposal, and application was accordingly made to the Duchy court to grant such powers. Certain other alterations and amendments of the former decree were at the same time proposed. Amongst others, it was sought to alter the quarterly and weekly days of meeting of the Board of Governors from Monday to

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* In Brooks's History of Liverpool during the latter quarter of the 18th century, page 65, there is seen a list of the fifty Governors and Trustees, first appointed under the charter in 1741, furnished by Anthony Swainson, Esq., who was formerly Treasurer of the School, and who has taken a great interest in its welfare.

Tuesday. It was stated to the Court, "that Monday being the "day appointed by the former decree for holding both the "quarterly and weekly meetings, is, by the largest part of the "said Governors and Trustees (who are merchants), found "to be an inconvenient day for, and prevents their attending "at, such meetings, by reason of a mail from London arriving "at Liverpool on that day (which it formerly did not), and "the mail also arriving on Sunday, the next preceding day: "and therefore Tuesday (on which day no such mail arrives) "would be more convenient for holding the said quarterly "meetings. And Friday (being the day on which no mail is "sent from Liverpool to London, and the day next preceding "that on which the great and general market for the said "town of Liverpool is held) would be the most convenient "day for holding the said weekly meetings."

These, and sundry other alterations and additions, were, with slight modifications, adopted by the Court of Chancery, and a decree granted in 1803.

Mr. Richmond observed to the Board that the decree was not closed, and recommended it to be left open, as he stated their present purpose was effectually answered; and upon any future application to the Court for power to sell any part of the premises, or for any other purpose, considerable expense would be saved. The thanks of the Board were rendered to Mr. Richmond, for his great pains and trouble in obtaining the decree, and "more especially for his liberal and exemplary "conduct in declining to accept any remuneration for the "same."

A special meeting, for the sole purpose of electing fifty additional Trustees, according to the provisions of the decree, was held at the Hospital, 1st November, 1803, when the following gentlemen were appointed:—

1. Henry Blundell, Esq., Ince.
2. Daniel Allen.
3. Mr. John Bridge Aspinall.
4. George Brown.
5. W. Beckwith.
6. John Brancker.
7. Thomas Bushell.
8. Thomas Beckwith.
9. Nicholas Crooke.
10. Roger Carus.
11. James Drinkwater.
12. W. Dixon.
13. T. Hinde, Esq.
14. J. Houghton.
15. J. Jackson, Esq.
16. John Keay.
17. J. Lightbody, Jun.
18. Thomas Leigh.
19. W. Leigh, Jun.
20. P. Leicester.
21. R. Makin.
22. T. Molyneux, Esq.
23. John Myers, Wavertree.
24. John Myers.
25. W. Neilson, Esq.
26. W. Naylor.
27. W. Barton, Esq.
28. Thomas Potts.
29. Thomas Rawson.
30. J. Swan, Esq.
31. John Shaw, Esq.
32. John Parker. Esq.
33. Samuel Staniforth.
34. Henry Clay, Esq.
35. W. Gibson.
36. W. Earle, Esq.
37. T. Case.
38. J. Leay.
38. W. Stanistreet.
39. S. Statham, Esq.
41. J. Booth.
42. W. Roe, Esq.
43. J. Mather.
44. W. Aspinall.
45. Cornelius Bourne, Esq.
46. Henry Dixon.
47. J. R. Freme.
48. Samuel Martin.
49. W. C. Lake.
50. Philip Orton.

The whole of these Trustees are now dead, the last survivor of them being Robert Makin, Esq., who died in 1859. It may be remarked that of the above number of newly appointed Trustees, three of them, viz., George Brown, Thomas Bushell and Thomas Potts, merchants of the town, well known in their day, had been brought up in the School, and through life manifested a great degree of zeal for the prosperity of the Institution.

Besides contributing liberally to its funds during their life time, all of them, I find, left to it also bequests at their death. Mr. Bushell, who died in 1838, left a legacy of 100 guineas; Mr. George Brown, who died in 1836, left to it £500; and Mr. Thomas Potts, who died in the same year, left £1000, to be paid at the death of his sister, who, dying in 1840, increased her brother's legacy, by adding to it £500 more.

The tablets on the walls of the Institution, to which reference has been made, record numerous instances of similar benefactions and legacies from those brought up in the School, who, in many instances, have chosen pointedly to identify themselves with the venerable Institution to which in early life they had been so much indebted, and towards which in after life many a noble and true heart has turned in grateful remembrance.

In illustration of the foregoing remark, I may instance a case from the very last report of the School, which came to my hands some three or four weeks ago. Among the list of donations during the year 1860 is found the name of "Joseph "Blackley, Esq., educated in the School, (5th donation,) "£105." This gentleman has now attained the patriarchal age of eighty-one years. He left the School on the 1st of January, 1794, to follow the sea, and having in process of time become a shipowner, and been successful, he has now for many years lived retired, enjoying a well earned competency. In 1854, sixty years from the time he left the Blue Coat Hospital, he went to the School, and remarked to Mr. Wood, the worthy head master of the Institution, "sixty "years ago I left the walls of this venerable Institution, and "I propose to give you sixty guineas, being a guinea for "every year since I left the School." This sum he accordingly paid, and it appears in the year's report, with a brief note of the foregoing circumstances. The last year, while paying the donation to which I have referred, he expressed a wish that a portrait of his, taken some half century ago, might pass into the possession of the School after his death. He left it to the Trustees to elect where it might be placed, his only wish being, as he expressed, that it might have a place in any part of that building he had loved so long and so well.

It is almost needless to remark that Mr. Blackley's pro-

posal was courteously and gratefully received by the Trustees, who have agreed to place it in the Board-room of their Institution. This Board-room contains portraits of the founder, Bryan Blundell, as well as many others. Application was made to the Trustees in 1804, by Hen. Blundell Hollinshead, Esq., for permission to put up, at his own expense, a full-length portrait of his father, Jonathan Blundell, adjoining that of his grandfather. Permission was readily accorded him by the Governors and Trustees, who requested him to attach to the same "an account of the great services rendered to the "charity by those worthy characters."

Pursuing the School records, I find that the children in the Blue Coat Hospital were attended during any sickness by the physician or surgeon to the Dispensary. This is seen on reference to certain rules printed in 1803, on the authority of the Board, respecting the admission, &c., of children, rule eleven enacting, "That the children who are "sick shall be visited by the then attending physician "or surgeon of the Dispensary, and by no other medical "person." The Liverpool Dispensary, from 1782 up to 1829, occupied a position on the South side of Church Street, between Post Office Place and the present Athenæum. It was thus, at this time, within stone's throw of the Blue Coat Hospital. When removed from the site in Church Street the Hospital sought, and obtained, the services of a physician and surgeon specially attached to it.

Following William Cubbin, Esq., who for three years had now held the treasurership, it is recorded that John Keay, Esq., undertook it during another three years—1805 to 1808. The new Treasurer was requested to lay before the Board an estimate of the repairs wanted to the Hospital, and a Committee was appointed to enquire into the real state of the buildings, and the best plan to be adopted for their repair. They were further requested to meet Mr. Foster, and with him to examine particularly into the matter. Mr. Foster

reported that the roof was good, but that the wood work of the windows was incapable of being repaired. We find, accordingly, new door and windows ordered, as well also "that the brickwork be pointed in an effective manner, but "no alteration to be made in the front of the building so "as to injure or affect its present appearance and general "character." The Earl of Sefton gave stone from his quarries in Toxteth Park to repair the front of the building. The value of the freestone given by him we find recorded, 29th December, 1807, to be £16·13s. 4d., at which time a vote of thanks was made to his lordship for the same.

The records of 1806 bear the name of Samuel Austin, entered as admitted into the School at this date, "since cele- "brated as a perspective delineator." In a valuable and highly interesting paper, read before this Society by Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., upon "Roscoe, and the influence of his writings "upon the Fine Arts," * reference is made to this gentleman. "Among the friends of William Roscoe"—enumerating those of an early date—Mr. Mayer adds, "at a later period Mr. "Austin, the well known water colour draughtsman, whose "original sketch of the house in which Mr. Roscoe was born "is now before you, together with a letter of Mr. Roscoe's, "confirming it as the place of his birth."†

During the treasurership of Mr. Keay, the observance of an anniversary by the children belonging to the various Church schools, seems to have first suggested itself to the Trustees of the Blue Coat Hospital. A committee of them was appointed in 1807 to manage a plan to carry this into effect. They appear to have been successful, for in 1809 "a special Board" was convened "to consider of the most

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* Vol. 5, p. 151.

† Anticipating a little the order of events, it may here be stated, in connection with Art, that Richard Ansdell, A.R.A., whose name deservedly stands high, not alone in Liverpool, but throughout the country at large, received his education in the institution, at a subsequent period. A recent number of the *Illustrated London News* gave, with his portrait, a brief biographical sketch of this distinguished artist.

"eligible mode of appropriating the money collected at the "first anniversary in July last." At the present time, on or about the 18th June is the period usually assigned to the anniversary. Upon the last occasion the number of scholars in Church schools who walked in procession, headed by the Blue Coat children, was 23,563.*

The Treasurer of the Hospital after Mr. Keay was W. Leigh, Esq., who undertook it for 1808, and George Brown, Esq., undertook the office in 1809. This was the period of the School's centenary, and no more appropriate election could have been made than the placing of Mr. Brown, a former pupil, at the head of the establishment in which he had been nurtured.

On October 3rd of the year in which Mr. George Brown was Treasurer, John Harrocks, Esq., was elected a Trustee. In the course of a few years he gave to the Hospital various sums, amounting in the aggregate to £3,022. He died in 1823, and a handsome monument to his memory has been erected in the chapel of the Hospital. It was executed by Mr. W. Spence, of Liverpool. The centre is a pedestal, supporting an urn, and on each side the figure of a boy and girl, in white marble, are represented in an attitude of grief, mourning the loss of their benefactor. Upon the tablet is the following inscription:—

Erected
to record the virtues of
JOHN HARROCKS,
a man whose benevolence
knew no other limits
than the wants of
his fellow creatures;
and whose munificent donations
to the Public Charities
of his native town,
And particularly to this
Hospital,
are the noblest
monument of his own worth,
and the most
persuasive incitement
to the liberality
of others.
1823.

* From a general roll of the schools, kept at the Blue Coat Hospital.

A very good likeness of Mr. Harrocks was presented by Mr. Brown to the Hospital; it now adorns, with others—some already named—the walls of the Board room.

In the course of his treasurership Mr. Brown wrote a letter, of which I annex a copy, to the Rev. Mr. Blacow, which he obligingly submitted to the consideration of the Board. The thanks of the Committee were presented to him, "for a "communication so very honourable to his character, and a "convincing testimony in favour of the excellency of the "Institution."

"28th September, 1809.

"Rev. Richard Blacow.

"I again take the liberty of addressing you on a subject "which has given me some degree of concern. When I last saw you "at St. James' School, I asked the favour of your giving us a sermon "for the benefit of the Blue Coat Hospital, and was much disappointed "to find something had occurred that had given cause for your with-"drawing your kind aid in behalf of this Charity. I think I then "informed you I had been brought up in the School myself, and how "gratifying it must be to me being placed at the head of that seminary "under the roof of which I had been nurtured, and to which I, in a "great measure, owe all my success through life. There are now many "applicants for the few vacancies we have for both sex, amongst which "are cases most distressing. It recalls to my memory the time I was "an applicant myself, under circumstances no less distressing than any "which have this day come before me. I may here truly say, I applied "an orphan and they took me in, naked and they clothed me, hungry "and they fed me; under these circumstances it is natural I should "feel a more than common solicitude for its welfare. This emboldens "me to renew my application to you in its behalf, and I feel a flattering "hope that in again pleading to you (who so often holds forth so many "good examples) I shall not plead in vain. On looking over our "accounts I find our resources are very inadequate to our expenditure. "The collection at your church last year was £70, and has averaged "nearly double any of the other churches; to be deprived of such aid, "and at a time, too, when our resources are so low, would indeed be "severely felt. Do, then, my dear Sir, let me intreat in behalf of these "poor children, who so often pray for and lisp their blessings for those "kind friends and benefactors (amongst whom you have heretofore "been so conspicuous), for all the benefits they enjoy, that you will "revoke any determination you may have made, and that you will not "only allow us a sermon, but in order to make it the more profitable "you will yourself be our advocate on the occasion, in complying with "which you will not only essentially serve the Charity, but confer an "everlasting obligation on

"Your most obedient,

"GEORGE BROWN."

This earnest and tender appeal does not appear to have induced a collection to be made at St. Mark's, as is evidenced by the report of 1813, which makes mention of "St. Mark's "church, no collection since 1808." Yet it is but right to state, that among the donors in the year 1809, is the name of the "Rev. R. B., £2 2s.," which of course could be no other than the Rev. Mr. Blacow. The very report of 1813, just cited, has also entry of "Rev. Richard Blacow, "St. Mark's, £2," and other £5 subsequently. Whatever cause may have existed to prevent a collection being made for the School, and many causes may suggest themselves, I know, from other evidence than that I have adduced, that the School had no more firm friend than the worthy pastor of St. Mark's.

There is one part of Mr. Brown's letter which suggests a little history of his orphanage. He dwells on the fact of his own position, when an applicant for admission into the Blue Coat Hospital, "under circumstances," he writes, "no less "distressing" than any which had that day come before him.

He appears to have been received into the School in 1765,—the same year in which Daniel M'Lean, a late merchant of this town, and a great friend to the School, was likewise admitted—and so friendless was George Brown that he had no one in the world even to present him before the Board of Governors to state his case. At the tender age of eight years, an orphan, friendless and alone, he brought his papers and, with his own tiny hands, adduced proofs of his parents' marriage, his own baptism, his orphan condition, together with proofs of his possessing a settlement in Liverpool, required under the charter; and, without recommendation,* was admitted. On leaving the School, his condition and prospects were such as

* Anthony Swainson, Esq., who has been long connected with the institution, was my informant of the latter fact; and it is quite reconcileable with the other circumstances. He had heard it from good authority.

might aptly be described by a line in Milton :—

"The world was all before him, where to choose."

He chose his father's profession—the profession of the founder of the Hospital—the sea. Before, however, he had taken one voyage, his legs got entangled in a rope, breaking them both. For twelve long months he was compelled to lie on his back, and in a sick chamber! A very child of misfortune he truly seemed to be: but a brighter day awaited him. Having recovered from his accident, he determinedly continued to follow the sea, and ere he was twenty years old, became the captain of his ship; while he was yet but thirty years of age, was an owner of a small fleet; in process of time became one of the wealthiest merchants of a wealthy port; and, better still, one of the most exemplary of Christian men. Of his high character, the introduction to the Chapel Hymn Books, used by the children, bears this honourable testimony—"He was one who was no less dis-"tinguished for his commercial integrity, than he was in "private life for his unaffected piety and Christian benevo-"lence." And who may tell but that his early misfortunes may have tended to make him great? The experience of men in every age of the world gives force to this assumption. It was said of one of the ancients,* that he invited his pupils to calamity, promising them, from a participation of it, increased knowledge, enlarged views and multiplied ideas. It is a beautiful, and no less certain truth, that changes of outward circumstances, while they have their inconveniences, bear likewise in their train greater and more abiding advantages.

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† Seneca.

ON BOOKS PUBLISHED IN LIVERPOOL.

By Albert J. Mott, Esq.

(Read 10th November, 1859.)

Our researches into the history of our town and neighbourhood will be complete and valuable in proportion to the degree in which they justly illustrate the conditions of human life and the actual influence of those conditions within the limits of our district. To set our opportunities side by side with our achievements; to measure causes by their effects, and contrast effects with causes; to see on the one hand what we have been, and on the other hand what we might have been, is not always easy or often flattering, but is at least one of the chief ends of historical inquiry.

We occupy a certain geographical position; we have under us a particular series of geological formations; we live in a climate of our own; on the surface of the ground we occupy there is a special growth of plants; a special group of animals; our atmosphere has its peculiar insects, our hedges have their birds and our shores their shells. In the midst of all are the ruins of human workmanship; the ruins, and at the same time, the records. Each successive race has left something, and over what they have left stand the towns we ourselves have built and the people living in them. Those living people are the issue of what I have enumerated. Is the issue worthy or unworthy, or in what measure is it a mixture of both? Have we made the most of our position on the map of the world? Are we the better for our coal and salt and sandstone? Have we been taught to recognise what is sublime by the storms about our coasts; what is honourable

by the faithful tides; what is beautiful by the northern lights, the medusæ, and the peacock butterflies? Contrasting the spirit of our own works with the thought, skill, and industry exhibited in our archæological remains, and taking the difference between present and past opportunities as an element in the comparison, is the result a satisfactory one? and, if we substitute moral products for those of the intellect and compare the moral character of our own generation with that of our distant ancestry, what kind of answer shall we get?

I think we are all agreed that it must be well to remind ourselves from time to time, that the solution of questions such as these forms a proper part and climax of our labours; for, the scientific investigator in almost every field is like the child gathering shells on the sea shore, not only through the comparative insignificance of his individual achievements, but quite as truly through the intense fascination and absorbing interest of the pursuit, which is indeed so great that we are too often content to go on filling our laps with the beautiful fragments or spreading them out before us to clap our hands over the show, instead of reading the graver lessons they were meant to teach by their relations both to God and to human nature.

In any age when books are written, our knowledge of any group of men and women is most imperfect if it does not include a knowledge of their literature. The books they read tell much—still more is told by the books they write. To inquire simply whether they write any books at all, is to settle many points of interest. To learn the titles of their productions is to enter into confidential relations with them. To ascertain the general style and method of their writings, is to see in outline a chart of their brains, and to read their books is to hear secrets out of their bosoms which can be heard in no other way. Not, however, that this is true without restric-

tion, or that it is safe to rely on books for every kind of information concerning the mental condition of the people who have produced them. They constitute, as it were, the zoology of the human mind, the concrete exposition of its vital forces. They are its fauna, and afterwards its fossils, and the analogy is borne out very accurately by the kind of knowledge to be gathered from them. They exhibit the results of their eras rather than the processes. We learn only a little about the actual details of existence, present or past, from a tiger or an ammonite. Their examination gives us no correct idea of the lights and shades, the forms and colours, the rest and motion, the minute and momentary changes either of an Indian jungle or an antediluvian sea. We know that their existence has been dependent on such details, and in its specialities we know the result of them, but they do not lead us farther. In like manner we obtain from books, only a very slight insight into the daily lives of men; the work, the pleasure, the attainments, the conversations, and all the other elemental atoms of the general organism. But they show the products; the ultimate developments of their mental era; and as the living or dead animals of any age attest broadly the general features of the earth's condition during the epochs of their appearance on it, so the writings of men enable us, with strictly scientific accuracy, to assign to different periods and nations their true place in that great series of mental strata which lie over and under one another like the rocks, mud-banks, and coral-beds of the physical world.

What is true in this respect of an age or a nation, is not less so of their sub-divisions. We have made it part of our special business to collect the materials of our local history, using the word in its widest sense, by an exhaustive process which shall, in course of time, leave nothing that is essential to a philosophical view of the whole subject, without a record in our transactions, and a knowledge of the literary products

of the district in recent times, sufficiently wide to make their general characteristics clear, is indispensable if we are to complete our labours.

The difficulties are great and peculiar. We know, up to a certain point, what books have been published; at least, what have been preserved by the nation at large; but there are no ready means of ascertaining which of them have been written in any given locality. If every book in the British Museum were examined separately, nothing like a local classification of them could be made. Numbers of books are published anonymously, and of the rest, very few contain any intimation of the place where they were composed. You may, perhaps, tell an Englishman's composition from a Scotchman's, and a Scotchman's from an Irishman's, but you cannot tell a Lancastrian from a Devonian by looking at their writings. None of our public libraries, moreover, contain more than a small portion of the books that have been published in the provinces. The only way, therefore, in which an estimate of our local literature can be obtained is by patient individual research. By local literature, I mean, of course, what has been written, not simply what has been printed in our locality. The knowledge is wanted as a gauge of mental development, and since the greater number of books composed in Lancashire are published in London, no just estimate of the whole can be arrived at by examining those only which have been published on the spot. Why I have, nevertheless, confined my own inquiry exclusively to the latter, and with the still further limitation of keeping to Liverpool alone, and not merely to Lancashire and Cheshire, and again, of excluding newspapers and pamphlets from consideration; and why, after all, I can offer the Society only an imperfect list of substantive books published in Liverpool between 1712 and 1850, will be easily explained.

Under present circumstances, our local literature can only

be examined in fragments. It was necessary to choose one of them to begin with, and I chose the nearest. It was equally necessary to adopt in this first attempt a plan that would be manageable without too heavy a claim on my own time or the space available in the Society's transactions. Manchester, Warrington, Preston, Chester, and probably other towns in the district, have all published books of their own, but an attempt to give any account of them would only have multiplied the imperfections of the present list. To have included newspapers and pamphlets would have been to increase the bulk of my catalogue enormously, and, I think, without a corresponding advantage, for one special reason. Pamphlets are not usually bound by their possessors, and are not, therefore, in most cases, readily accessible; they are put away in boxes, in bundles, in lumber rooms, and a catalogue reference to them would not often enable any one to find them easily unless a collection of them in one place had first been made. I think such a collection would well repay the trouble of making it, but that is a work distinct from the one I have undertaken. There is an additional propriety in distinguishing between books and pamphlets as materials for historical investigation into the literary aspects of any age and place, because pamphlets generally express the results of temporary feeling and rapid thought, while books reflect the writer's mind in its more permanent phases. The difficulty of getting together even a tolerable list of books alone has proved amply sufficient in itself, and although I have had the heartiest assistance from a number of gentlemen who have for years paid attention to the literature of the town, I am conscious that many books must have been overlooked, and that my catalogue can only be regarded as a first step towards the end proposed.

The Liverpool Library was founded a century ago; works of local interest have usually been added to it; the place

of publication is generally stated in the catalogue, and the catalogue of 1850 contains the names of between one and two hundred works published in Liverpool. These formed the basis of my own list.

Some time ago Mr. John Palmer, Bookseller, of Leece Street, compiled with great care a MS. list of such Liverpool publications as had come under his notice, from the earliest date up to 1820. This MS. passed into the hands of Mr. Mayer, who kindly lent it to me. I found in it the names of about ninety works which were not in the Liverpool Library Catalogue.

For the rest of my catalogue, I am indebted to a great variety of sources, including the collections of private individuals, the records of publishers, old advertising sheets, the Free Library and the British Museum.

On the whole, I imagine that few important books are likely to have been overlooked, but that the catalogue is, nevertheless, far from being an exhaustive one.

Some books have been published in London and Liverpool, or in London, Liverpool and other places. I have included these when I have met with them, but many of them must have been omitted, as they are classed in most lists of books among London publications. Many works, some very important ones, have been printed in Liverpool, but not published here. These, of course, I have not intentionally included, though I may have done so accidentally. There are some such in Mr. Palmer's MS.

Taking this catalogue for what it is worth, a few general considerations suggest themselves:—We do not get from it any comprehensive view of the literary life of our neighbourhood. It does not show the whole literary product of the locality, or any definite portion of the whole. We should be widely mistaken if we were to base any estimate of the intellectual attributes of Liverpool

upon the number, nature or merits of the books enumerated here. Nevertheless, it is, I think, a contribution towards the materials for our literary history, a sort of starting point from which further inquiry may proceed, and I offer it to the Society, in the hope that others will take up the subject and enrich our transactions with the result of individual research in this very interesting field. The field lies fresh before us. No record of the literary work of this district is at present in existence, and to create such a record would, perhaps, be impossible, except to a society like our own. Our members, however, are scattered over all parts of Lancashire and Cheshire. Each of them has some special knowledge concerning his own locality; he knows, perhaps, who have been the writing men in that locality during a given period; what they have written, and what has been the nature and the fate of their productions, and he could get together some brief history of their lives and their general relation to literature. If those who feel any disposition for the work would contribute from time to time information of this kind to the Society, we might get, I think, a series of highly interesting papers, on the authority of which hereafter the literary history of the two counties could be written with a fulness and degree of authenticity very seldom obtained. Mr. Smithers, in his History of Liverpool, published in 1825, seems to have had this subject before his mind. His curious biographical chart, and his short notices of the lives and writings of many men of local eminence, are good examples of the manner in which materials may be collected. Help will turn up also in various directions. The Manchester Free Library, for example, has already printed in its third and fourth annual reports, a list chronologically arranged, of several hundred publications illustrating the local affairs of Manchester and its neighbourhood. These are chiefly pamphlets, and the commercial and political, rather than the

literary history of the city, have been uppermost in the minds of the collectors. The list, however, is highly interesting and valuable in every point of view.

The first book entered in my catalogue, the earliest Liverpool book known to exist, is a small collection of hymns made by Charles Owen, a Presbyterian minister at Warrington, printed in Liverpool in 1712. The book is "printed by "Samuel Terry, for Daniel Birchall." I find by the old records at the Town Hall, that Daniel Birchall, having a wife and six children, and an estate of £24 a-year, applied for his freedom in November, 1707, and got his application rejected. He was admitted, however, in October, 1708, "paying £8 "and giving good security." Samuel Terry is entered as admitted, paying eight guineas and giving security, on May 7th, 1712, but he refused to accept the grant. There is nothing beyond the names, however, to identify the individuals.

The next book is of the same date, but may possibly never have been printed. It was advertised as in preparation, however, in the "Leverpoole Courant," of July, 1712, mentioned by Mr. Brooke in his History of Liverpool. Samuel Terry, of Dale Street, who printed Mr. Owen's hymn book, was also the printer of the "Leverpoole Courant," and as he ventured to start a newspaper and possessed Greek type, was employed to print a book for Warrington, and had at least one other volume in hand in the same year, we may conclude that he was well established as a printer, and that still earlier works had probably issued from his press. It was in this same year, 1712, during the negociations which ended in the peace of Utrecht, that the first stamp-duty was laid upon newspapers, a few months after the first issue of the "Leverpoole Courant." Many papers were extinguished by the tax; probably this among them, for we hear no more of it. Mr. Smithers refers to a sermon printed by Terry in 1719. Palmer mentions the

"Courant" (No. 18, July, 1712), in his MS. list. He says there are two woodcuts on it; one of Orpheus, the other of Mercury.

The next work in my catalogue, the "Liverpool Magazine," 1727, is apochryphal. Mr. Palmer has informed me that he saw it mentioned in an old bookseller's catalogue. The date, however, is four years before the first appearance of the "Gentleman's Magazine," and it seems doubtful whether any magazine, so called, was established earlier.

In 1736 we come into clear day-light again, and begin a series of literary productions never afterwards interrupted for any length of time. Seacome's "Memoirs of the House of "Stanley," of that date, has been re-printed with various additions many times.

In 1738, an important work on the Sea-coast of the Neighbourhood, was published, written by Samuel Fearon and John Eyes, with charts drawn from actual survey. This is the first Liverpool folio book that I have met with.

In 1748 Peter Whitfield, a printer in Liverpool, published "A Dissertation on the Hebrew Vowel Points," written by himself. The book consists of 288 4to. pages, and is extremely well printed. There is a great quantity of Hebrew type, and a good deal of Greek. The author writes to prove the vowel points to have been original and essential parts of the language. He argues that the written language could not, at any time, have been intelligible without them, and especially that the old marginal notes of Hebrew Bibles are not to be satisfactorily accounted for on any other hypothesis. I am, of course, unable to say anything about the value of his argument, which is opposed, I think, to the conclusions of modern philology. Palmer, by mistake, attributes this book to *George* Whitfield; meaning, probably, the founder of Calvinistic Methodism, who preached several times in Liverpool a few years after the date of its publication (in 1755).

In the following year, 1749, Mr. Peter Whitfield published another able and interesting work on the claims of the Roman Catholic Church. It consists of 200 4to. pages, and contains a number of hymns and prayers addressed to the Virgin and the Saints, quoted from Roman Catholic rituals; among them a hymn to St. Catherine in Latin rhyme, somewhat in the manner of the Stabat Mater.

From 1751 to 1760 my list contains the names of twenty-two books. Among them are two theological works published in 1754, two curious volumes of songs and music, and the first and second printed catalogues of the Liverpool Library, dated 1758 and 1760. It is interesting to compare these little catalogues of less than 1,000 volumes, with the six or seven hundred closely printed pages which now record the possessions of the first provincial circulating library in the kingdom.

From 1761 to 1770 there are nine entries. One of them is "The Principles and Duties of Christianity," in Manx and English, 1761, a reprint of Bishop Wilson's work. In the same year were published two very curious collections of the addresses, squibs, &c., issued during the election of the Borough Members, with a list of the poll. A copy is in the Liverpool Library.

In 1763 appeared a Form of Psalms and Prayers for Protestant Dissenters, compiled for the use of the congregation meeting in the Octagon Chapel, Temple Court, afterwards St. Catherine's Church. The service is a Unitarian one and is well printed. There is a copy in the Liverpool Library, whose third catalogue, printed in 1770, is the last book in this decade. The first of Gore's Liverpool Directories was published in 1766.

From 1771 to 1780, I have still but few entries. There is a work on the Liverpool Spa Water, by Dr. Houlston, published 1773. The water question, in one form or other, seems

to have had an early interest here. In 1777 appeared a volume of Dialogues on Friendship and Society, by Mrs. Dobson; a translation of Horace, by Dr. Green; the first edition of Hutchinson's Practical Seamanship, and "Mount "Pleasant," by William Roscoe. "Mount Pleasant" was printed at Warrington and published in Liverpool and London. My catalogue shows the effect of Roscoe's influence on the literary habits of the town. In the next decade, from 1781 to 1790 the increase in the number of books is considerable, and from 1791 to 1800 it is very large.

In 1783, an octavo volume of more than 400 pages came out; a narrative of the Rise and Progress of Differences in the Roman Catholic Congregation in Liverpool. On opening this book I thought I had picked up a curiosity, for the date on the title page is 1583 in Roman numerals; a date at which one did not expect to find here either a printer or a Roman Catholic congregation. The book, I am sorry to say, is very dull indeed. A "Medical Survey of Liverpool," by Moss, published in 1784, is, on the other hand, exceedingly interesting. The writer describes the appearance of the docks; the private signals at Bidstone; the ringing of the bells at the approach of a ship; the pebble pavements and open sewers. He holds up Manchester as an example of public improvement; speaks of Wigan coal as being lately used; mentions Burton ale, and describes London porter as the most singular of malt liquors; refers to the great number of inhabitants who have resided more or less in the West Indies, and has a number of pleasant remarks about miscellaneous matters, such as church-yards, water-carts, bleeding, and passing-bells.

In 1787-88, a controversy on the subject of the Slave Trade, between Roscoe and the Rev. Raymond Harris, illustrates the beginning of Wilberforce's agitation. A number of pamphlets appeared on this subject, many of which

are in the Liverpool Library. In 1790 the poll list, with a collection of electioneering papers, was again published. The papers are hardly so spirited as those of 1761, and on the last page the publisher, T. Johnson, apologizes for a trifling change of plan, in a passage in which sense and grammar are in delightful confusion.

In 1791 an enlarged edition of Hutchinson's Treatise on Naval Architecture was published by T. Billinge. The fourth edition was published in 1794. In 1792 we have a 4to. volume of Scenes in the Lake Districts, engraved by Rosenberg, and a work on Duties and Drawbacks, the first I have got noted in my list as of M'Creery's printing. Palmer mentions the anonymous History of Liverpool, published in 1795. The author's name appears to have been Wallace. In the same year the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici appeared, in two 4to. volumes. In 1796 M'Creery printed an elaborate catalogue of all the known works of Rembrandt and three of his scholars. There was also published an interesting little volume, the Journal of a Campaign in Flanders under Earl Moira, in 1794-95, not a very brilliant campaign, but the habits of the soldiers are well described. At page 20, the writer mentions "the favorite and popular good old song "of 'God Save Great George our King;'" old already, but not yet the "National Anthem," it would seem.

Our predestined association with the water question crops out in 1797, in the shape of "Medical Reports on Water as "a Remedy in Fever, &c.," by Dr. Currie, the husband of William Wallace's descendant, and the biographer of Burns. In this case we have no reason to regret our destiny. Dr. Currie's well known work reached a second edition in 1798, and a third in 1804, the year before he died, and was, I think, the first book in which the value of hydropathic treatment in certain diseases was suggested. In 1798 appeared the four numbers of "The Student;" in 1799, Moss's "Liverpool

"Guide," and in 1800, Dr. Currie's "Life and Works of "Burns," in 4 vols. It was printed by M'Creery. In the same year "The Nurse," translated by Roscoe, first published in 4to., 1798, went through two 8vo. editions; a third was published in 1804.

From 1801 to 1810 I have a large number of entries in my catalogue. Evan's Essays on Commercial Laws appeared in 1801. In 1802, the Catalogue of the Athenæum Library; a translation of Solomon Gessner's works; the curious "Memoirs of the Year 2,500," altered by the translator from 2,440 in the original; Dr. Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini, and several other works. In 1803, M'Creery's well known poem, "The Press," of which a second part was published twenty-four years afterwards, in London. In 1804, Dr. Bostock's work on Respiration, and a second edition of the Memoirs of the Young Roscius; in 1805, the first edition of Leo the X, (the second in 1806); M'Callum's "Travels "in Trinidad;" the lesser poems of Ossian, and other works. In 1807, Dr. Bostock on the Reform of Pharmaceutical Nomenclature. In 1808, the first volume of poems by Felicia Dorothea Browne was published here, as well as Tartt's "Odes and Sonnets," Noble's "Blackheath," and another volume of Ossian; a poetical epoch for Liverpool. In 1810, Troughton's "History of Liverpool" appeared. The "Stranger in Liverpool," so often reprinted, appeared first in 1807.

From 1811 to 1820 the number of books again increases, embracing almost every form of literature, from a folio Family Bible in 1812, to the Squib Book of 1820. There are various theological works. Methodism is attacked in 1813; Quakerism in 1815; there are notes on the Millennium in 1820. The title of Dr. Carson's book, on the "Causes of "the Motion of the Blood," has a somewhat sinister sound in connection with 1815. A "Liverpool Magazine" was pub-

lished in 1816, I think only three numbers. In 1817, Mr. Gregson's important work on the Fragments of our Local Antiquities first appeared. The Royal Institution was opened by Roscoe in the same year, after a fortnight's postponement in consequence of the Princess Charlotte's death; Roscoe's discourse on the occasion being published in a thin 4to. The Narrative, by Dr. Renwick, of the Case of Miss M'Avoy, who was said to distinguish colours by the touch after the loss of her sight, was also published in this year, and called forth a paper war of pamphlets. A new catalogue of the Athenæum Library was published in 1820; two works also by Dr. Raffles; his Lectures on Practical Religion, and his Continental Tour in 1819 and 1820.

Here I lose the help of Mr. Palmer's Catalogue. I have more than a hundred entries between 1821 and 1830. Among them are Mr. Swale's Geometrical Amusements, in 1821, and his Liverpool Apollonius, in 1823-24. Our local mathematicians have not always followed Mr. Swale's footsteps, or done as much credit to the town. A few years ago we had the rotundity of the earth disproved by some one who began by mistaking the relation between an arc and a tangent. A still more singular instance of wasted ingenuity occurred in 1822, when Bartholomew Prescot published the first volume of his attack on the Newtonian System. The second volume was published in the following year, and the two together, with the preliminary address to Sir Humphrey Davy, and the Review of the Reviewers, contain more than six hundred large octavo pages, displaying considerable knowledge and extensive reading, full of mathematical calculations and illustrated with many capital diagrams. He proves to his own satisfaction that the Earth is the centre of the universe; that the diameter of the Sun is about 200 miles, and his distance about 24,000; that the planet Jupiter might be rolled through the Straits of

Dover, and the planet Mercury down the Mersey. His knowledge is, at the same time, so imperfect, that he is able to offer as conclusive argument, the strange assertion that the Moon could not remain in the orbit commonly assigned to her, because the power of the Earth's attraction upon her, on Newton's hypothesis, is less than that of the Sun. Prescot's delusion was of the theological type. He had made up his mind that the Newtonian System and the Mosaic System were at variance, and that the latter must be the true one. He wrote with energy and was a man much respected by his friends; of considerable attainments, and, in some directions, of great ability. His book is one of the curiosities of our local literature. Works of this kind have a peculiar and certainly a melancholy interest. They remind us how easily a man may, in fact, become insane in his relation to any given subject when, from any cause, whether ignorance, vanity, natural defect or wilful blindness, he comes to doubt everything rather than himself.

A volume of Lectures by Dr. Raffles was published in 1822. In 1823, a catalogue of the Medical Library, Shaw's Brow, about 1,000 works. In 1824, the History of the County, by Baines and Parson, with folio maps, and a second edition of Gregson's History, with additions. In 1825, the History of Liverpool, by Smithers. This period was rich in the fruits of local research. In 1826, a volume of Poems by Mrs. Lawrence; a second edition appearing in 1829; Poems, also, by Mr. Higgin in 1828; the Winter's Wreath, an annual, published from 1828 to 1832, contains poetical contributions by Hemans, Howitt, Roscoe, Tartt, Hartley Coleridge, Bowring, &c. Among them are the "Nautilus," by Hartley Coleridge, and the "Song of Night," the "Exile's Dirge," and the "Prayer at Sea after Victory," by Mrs. Hemans. Two volumes on Systematic Morality, by W. Jevons, appeared in 1827, and a work on the Changes in the Bed of

the Mersey, by Mr. Thomas Jevons, in 1828. Dr. Thom's "Three Questions" was published in the same year, and the splendid folio work on Monandrian Plants, by Roscoe.

The memorable year 1830, in which the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was opened, is marked in my catalogue by the publication of Mr. Henry Booth's Account of the Railway and History of the Parliamentary Proceedings connected with it. The book is not dated, rather strangely. It contains engravings of the Locomotives "Rocket" and "Novelty." In the same year a work on Locomotive and Fixed Engines, by Robert Stephenson and J. Locke, appeared.

In the next decade, from 1831 to 1840, my catalogue contains again more than a hundred entries. The "Coffee "Guide," by Syers, dedicated to the Temperance Society, in 1832, reminds us of the beginning of the Temperance Agitation. The society must have been about a year old. Those who are fond of good coffee might find it worth their while to look at this little book. It is in the Liverpool Library. We have in the same year a Memoir of the Rev. John Hincks, published, with selected sermons, by the Rev. John H. Thom. In 1835, Mr. Raincock's Sexagesimal Logarithms, lithographed by himself; intended to facilitate nautical calculations, by making the base 60 instead of 10. An interesting book on the Symbolism of the Cross, by John Holland, was published this year, under the title of "Cruciana." There are some good illustrations. Other works by Dr. Thom follow in 1836-38. In the latter year a new Catalogue of the Medical Library, increased to near 2,000 works, appeared. In 1839, the well known discussion between thirteen clergymen of the Church of England, and three Unitarian ministers, was published in two very bulky volumes. A curious and handsome volume of Poems and Translations, by Mr. John Taylor, with Solar and Siderial Tables, calcu-

lated for the beginning of the Christian era, appeared. A work also by Mr. Brooke, author of the "History of Liverpool between 1775 and 1800"; on the Office of a Notary in England. In 1840, another curiosity of literature; a Chinese Novel, called the Lasting Resentment of Miss Keaou Lwang Wang, translated by Mr. Robert Thom, brother of Dr. David Thom, printed at Canton, and afterwards published in London and Liverpool, in thin 4to. The interest of the book and of the notes appended is very considerable. The affectation of the love-making is exceedingly droll. I cannot say that the story sets the morals of the Celestial Empire in an advantageous light, and when Miss Wang dies at last by her own hand, and her lover by the bamboos of justice, one is inclined to feel that though one was faithful and the other false, they have both got pretty nearly what they deserve.

The works from 1841 to 1850 include Herdman's Liverpool, and some other valuable publications, but on the whole, they are less interesting than those already noticed. Perhaps, we may expect this to be the case henceforth, for the facility with which books written at a distance can be published in London, is now so great that most authors avail themselves of that advantage.

My purpose in making this running commentary on the catalogue itself has not been, as you will have perceived, to criticise the books in detail or to estimate their collective value, but only to suggest something of their general character, and the sort of interest which such a list possesses. I have, of course, mentioned only a very small portion of the whole number. Some well known works and names which it would have been agreeable to see in the list have been excluded by the plan I found it desirable to adopt. Mr. Brooke's History and Mr. Baines's, for example, are dated after 1850. So are Dr. Thom's "Churches and Chapels," Mr. Rockliff's "Yriarte," and others. On the other hand, Dr. Hume's work

on Learned Societies, Dr. M'Neile on the "Church and the Churches," Mr. Philip's Life of Whitefield, all but one of Mr. Martineau's works, and all but one, also, of Mr. J. H. Thom's, have been published in London.

I hope the Society will think with me, that the literary history of our district is in itself worth studying, and that it is desirable to gather even such fragments as I have laid before you, as materials for the furtherance of that object. Whether commerce and the soul can meet without hostility; whether in this district of docks, mines and cotton mills the inner life of Englishmen is higher or lower than the average, are questions of much practical importance, and the more ample the basis of recorded facts in relation to them, the more truthful will the answers be.

A CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE
OF
BOOKS PUBLISHED IN LIVERPOOL,
UP TO A.D. 1850.

By Albert J. Mott.

This Catalogue includes Books only (not Pamphlets) published before 1851, and having the name of a Liverpool Publisher or Printer on the Title-page. It must not be accepted as exhaustive even within these limits. Many books, especially among those published both in London and Liverpool, have doubtless escaped notice. Pamphlets have been excluded, but as a Pamphlet cannot be rigidly defined, some apparent exceptions may be found. As the Books are not collected in any Library, the Liverpool printer's or publisher's name is usually given, to assist in finding the work. To save space, a few works of which the separate issues have been numerous, are mentioned only under the date of their first appearance, with details of subsequent editions annexed. A list of these is given at the end of the Catalogue.

"Pr." means Printer; "Pub." Publisher. The letter "L" indicates that the Book is in the Liverpool Library; "F." that it is in the Free Public Library; "P." that it is mentioned in Palmer's MS. Catalogue.

Books not otherwise described are 8vo. or under.

Date and Title.	Author.

1712.

1. Hymns Sacred to the Lord's-Table, Collected and Methodiz'd. By Charles Owen—*ὑμνήσαντες*—They—sung a Hymn, Mat. xxvi. 30. Speaking among your selves in Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, Ephes. v. 19. Leverpoole: Printed by S. Terry, for Daniel Birchall, and Sold by Nat. Cliff and D. Jackson, at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside, and E. Mathews, at the Bible in Pater-Noster-Row, London. MDCCXII. ... ... Charles Owen.

   (The above is the full Title-page of the first book known to have been printed in Liverpool. No earlier Liverpool publication is known at the British Museum, or to the many collectors of our local literature who have assisted the author of this Catalogue. The printer, however, S. Terry, Dale Street, was also the printer of the "Leverpoole Courant," the first Liverpool newspaper, also in 1712. He possessed Greek type, and advertised another publication, and it is probable therefore that earlier works issued from his press, some of

Date and Title. Author.

which may still be in existence. Charles Owen was a Presbyterian minister at Warrington, the author of a work on Serpents, pub. in London, 1742. A copy of his Hymn Book, possibly unique, is in the possession of John Robson, Esq., M.D., Warrington. A volume of Poems by Mary Molineux, of Liverpool, a Quakeress, was pub. in London, in 1702, and went through many editions; one of these is believed to have been printed in Liverpool, but the date is not known.)

1 vol. sm. 8vo. To the Reader (dated Warrington May 1, 1712), three leaves not paged. Hymns, &c., pp. 1—76.

2. A projected work on Arithmetic, by John Jackson, advertised in the "Leverpoole Courant." See Brooke's History, p. 92.)

1727.

3. The Liverpool Magazine. (Entered, with this date attached, on fly leaf of Palmer's MS. Catalogue. Mr. Palmer saw the work mentioned in a Bookseller's Catalogue, pub. 1788.)

1736.

4. Memoirs of the House of Stanley ... ... John Seacome.

4to. A. Sadler, Liverpool. (Believed to be the date of the first edition.) See 1741 and 1801.

1738.

5. A Description of the Sea-coast of England and Wales, from Black Comb, in Cumberland, to the Point of Linus, in Anglesea, according to an actual survey thereof made in the years 1736 and 1737... Samuel Fearon and John Eyes.

1 vol. folio. The charts originally engraved by Emanuel Bowen; altered for the second edition, in 1755, by Jeremiah Evans, Liverpool; a third edition of the charts, revised, in 1767. The work pub. first by subscription. Pr. Adam Sadler. The first folio known to have been published in Liverpool. A copy is in the possession of Joseph Boult, Esq., Liverpool.

1741.

6. Memoirs of the House of Stanley, with a description of the Isle of Man, &c. ... ... John Seacome.

1 vol. Pr. A. Sadler. This is probably the second edition. (See 1736.)

Date and Title. Author.

1748.

7. A Dissertation on the Hebrew Vowel Points, shewing that they are an original and essential part of the Language ... ... Peter Whitfield.
1 vol. 4to. "Liverpoole: pr. by and for the Author." 288 pp. (Ascribed to George Whitfield in Palmer's Catalogue.) P.

1749.

8. An Essay upon the Supremacy and Infallibility pretended to by the Church of Rome. By way of Letter to a Gentleman of the Romish Communion, occasioned by an accidental conference at H—y—ll, in W——s... ... ... Peter Whitfield.
1 vol. 4to. "Liverpoole: pr. by and for the Author." 200 pp.

1753.

9. Scripture Authority not beholden to Human Antiquity.
1 vol. Pr. E. Owen, Moore Street.

10. The Mistake Rectified, or Remarks upon "Scripture Authority," &c.
1 vol. Pr. John Sadler, Harrington Street.

11. The Rectifier Revised, or Remarks on "The Mistake Rectified."
1 vol. Pr. E. Owen.

1754.

12. Faith of God's Elect; or, the Life of Jesus Manifest in his Saints ... ... John Johnson.
1 vol. Pr. E. Owen. Price 2s. P. F.

13. A Christian Directory, Guiding Men to their Eternal Salvation ... ... Robert Parsons, (Father Parsons, or Persons, the Jesuit.)
1 vol. Sadler, Harrington Street. (First pub. in 1583 as "Of Resolution.") P.

14. The Muses' Delight; an accurate Collection of English and Italian Songs, &c. ... ... Edited by John Sadler.
1 vol. Sadler, Harrington Street. (Words and Music, and Instructions.) F. (See 1756.)

15. The Poll for the Election of M.P.'s for the Borough and Corporation of Liverpool.

1755.

16. A Description of the Sea-coast, &c. ... ... Fearon & Eyes.
2nd edition. (See 1738.)

Date and Title. Author.

17. The Following of Christ ... ... Thos. à Kempis.
1 vol. Pr. J. Sadler.

18. Entertainments for Lent ... ... R. F. N. Causin.
Pr. J. Sadler.

19. Instructions and Devotions for Hearing Mass.
1 vol. Pr. J. Sadler, Harrington Street.

20. Life of St. Mary of Egypt.
1 vol. Pr. J. Sadler.

1756.

21. A Reply to Mr. Abraham Bourn's Free and Candid Considerations, showing the Impropriety and Incompetency of that work ... ... Peter Whitfield.
(Mr. Bourn had attacked Whitfield's "Preface." See 1757.)
1 vol. (74 pp.) Liverpool: Pr. R. Williamson, (2nd edition, 1757.)

22. Apollo's Cabinet; or, the Muse's Delight, an accurate Collection of English and Italian Songs, &c.
(This edition is part of the impression of 1754, divided into two vols., with new title-pages and index, and two leaves pasted together at the end to hide the old index. Several leaves are also added at the end of each volume, causing a curious confusion in the paging of the work.) Above 200 songs with music, and 426 without.
2 vols. Sadler, Harrington Street.

23. The Liverpool Memorandum Book for the year 1756, containing Lists of all Ships, Masters, and Owners, Names and what trade employed in, Lists of Magistrates, Carriers, Streets, Churches, and a Description of Liverpool with regard to its Situation, Trade, &c.
1 vol. Pr. Robert Williamson, near the Exchange.

1757.

24. The Christianity of the New Testament; or, a Scholastic Defence of the Scripture Doctrines of Redemption, Propitiation, &c., with a Preface, in vindication of the Author's conformity to the Established Church ... ... Peter Whitfield.
1 vol. The Preface (40 pp.) is in the British Museum, and was issued separately before the work.

25. A Reply to Mr. Abraham Bourn ... ... Peter Whitfield.
2nd edition. (See 1756.)

Date and Title. Author.

26. Apollo's Cabinet; or, the Ladies' Delight
2 vols. Sadler. Songs, with Music. 218 pp. (Probably a re-issue of the work of 1754.)

27. Translation of the Charter of Liverpool, with Notes by Philodemus (Joseph Clegg)
1 vol. 4to., pp. 46. (Reprinted with additional Charters, 8vo., 1783.)

1758.

28. The Love of God. Sermon on the death of Samuel Hunter, Jun., Mariner ... ... John Johnson.
1 vol. Pr. E. Owen. 67 pp. Price 6d.

29. A Mathematical Question, propounded by the Vicegerent of the World; answered by the King of Glory John Johnson
1 vol. Advertised at the end of the above. Price 1s.
(Published first in London, 1755.)

30. Liverpool Library Catalogue (the first). The Library containing about 450 vols.

Subsequent Catalogues :—	1792, Pr. Nevett & Son
1760, Pr. John Sadler (under 1000 vols.)	1801, Pr. McCreery
1770, Pr. W. Nevett & Co.	1814, Pr. J. Smith
1773, Pr. W. Nevett	1830, Pr. D. Marples
1781, Pr. Geo. Woods	1850, Pr. T. Brakell (36,761 vols.)

(And frequent Supplements between the issues of the full Catalogue.)

1761.

31. Principles and Duties of Christianity, for the use of the Diocese of Man, with short and plain directions and prayers. In English and Manks ... ... Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man.
1 vol. Pr. John Sadler, Harrington Street. (A reprint of the first work published in the Manks language. First pub. in London in 1707.)

32. An entire and impartial Collection of all the Papers, &c., pub. on both sides, concerning the late election in Liverpool, for Members to serve in Parliament. (A list of the Poll, and also of the Boro' Members since 1660, added.)
1 vol. Pub. May 12, 1761, by John Sibbald, Castle St. L.

33. A genuine Collection of all the Papers, Addresses, Songs, Epigrams and Acrosticks printed by all parties during the late contest for representatives, &c.
1 vol. Pr. R. Williamson.

Date and Title. Author.

1763.

34. Form of Prayer, and a new Collection of Psalms, for the use of a Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Liverpool. (The Octagon Chapel, afterwards St. Catherine's Church.)
1 vol. Pr. for the Society. Sold by Sibbald, Liverpool (and in London). L. P.

1764.

35. An Appeal to Roman Catholics and to Protestants. J. Holland.
1 vol.

1765.

36. English Grammar for the Latin Tongue
1 vol. Pr. J. Sadler, for S. Robinson, in Tithebarn St. P.

1766.

37. Gore's Directory (the first)
1 vol. Pub. J. Gore. Subsequent issues as under, up to 1850:—

1769, J. Gore, Pr. W. Nevett & Co.	1818, J. Gore
1773,	1821, Do.
1774, J. Gore	1823, Do.
1777, Do.	1825, J. Gore & Son
1781, Do.	1827, Do.
1789,	1829, Do.
1790, J. Gore	1832, Do.
1796, Do.	1834, J. & J. Mawdsley
1800, Do.	1835, Do.
1803, J. Gore & Son	1837, Do.
1805, J. Gore	1839, Do.
1807, Do.	1841, J. Mawdsley
1810, Do.	1843, Do.
1811, Do.	1845, Do.
1813, Do. (re-issue, 1814.)	1847, Do.
1816, Do.	1849, Do.

1769.

38. Voyages and Adventures ... ... Capt. William Dampier.
3 vols. Pr. W. Nevett & Co.

1773.

39. Liverpool Spa Water ... ... Dr. Houlston.
1 vol. Pr. A. Williamson. L. P.

1777.

40. Dialogues on Friendship and Society ... . Mrs. S. Dobson.
1 vol. L. P.

Date and Title. — Author.

41. Horace. Odes. Poetical Translation ... ... — W. Green, M.D.
1 vol. No printer's name. P.

42. A Treatise on Practical Seamanship, &c. ... ... — W. Hutchinson, Mariner, and Dock Master at Liverpool.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. Cowburne. Illustrated by Billinge. 1st Edition. In British Museum and Chetham Library. Enlarged Edition, 1791, title altered. 4th Ed. 1794.)

43. Mount Pleasant. Poem ... ... — W. Roscoe.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. at Warrington. Pub. in Liverpool and London. L. P. (See 1798.)

1780.

44. The Death of Abel
1 vol. Pr. Charles Wosencroft.

1782.

45. The Christian's Complete Family Bible, (Wood's Family Bible)
1 vol. fol. Plates. Pr. Geo. Woods.

46. The Pilgrim's Progress
Pr. Chas. Wosencroft.

1783.

47. Charters of Liverpool
(See 1757.)

48. Roman Catholic Congregation in Liverpool, Rise of Differences in
1 vol. No printer's name. MDLXXXIII, date on title page. L. P.

1784.

49. A circumstantial Journal of the long and tedious Blockade and Siege of Gibralter ... ... — S. Ancell, 58th Reg.
1 vol. Plates. Pr. J. Schofield. (2nd Ed. 1785.)

50. Medical Survey of Liverpool ... ... — W. Moss, Surgeon.
1 vol. Pr. H. Hodgson. L. P.

51. Liverpool Poll Book. F.

1785.

52. Journal of the Siege of Gibralter ... ... — S. Ancell.
2nd Edition. (See 1784.) L.

1787.

53. Liverpool Directory ... ... — Wm. Bailey.

54. African Slave Trade, original view of. P. ... ... — W. Roscoe.

55. An Appendix to the Psalms used at Key Street and Benn's Garden Chapels
Pr. J. Gore.

Date and Title.	Author.
1788.	
56. The New Expositor ... ... Pr. S. Crane and H. Hodgson.	James Ashton & John Clegg.
57. Colonel Jack; or, Life of a celebrated Thief. P.	Defoe.
58. Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade ... ... 1 vol. Pr. H. Hodgson. (Ascribed to Roscoe in Palmer's List.) Roscoe answered it in a pamphlet. L. F.	Rev. Raymond Harris.
59. The New Testament of Jesus Christ, with Arguments of Books and Chapters, Annotations, &c. (Rheims text.) 1 vol. folio. 6th Ed. (2nd folio Ed.) Pub. R. Ferguson, Dale Street.	
60. Wrongs of Almoona; or, the African's Revenge. Poem. 1 vol. Pr. Hodgson, Pool Lane. (Roscoe's "Wrongs of Africa" was published in London in 1787-8. This is another work.) P.	
1789.	
61. A Descriptive Poem on the Town and Trade of Liverpool ... ... Pr. H. Hodgson.	John Walker, Shoemaker.
1790.	
62. Poems ... ... 2 vols. Pr. H. Hodgson and W. Nevett & Son.	Peter Newby.
63. Sermons ... ... 2 vols. Printed at Smith's Navigation Shop. L. P.	Henry Wolstenholme, M.A., Rector of Liverpool.
64. The New Liverpool Songster Uncertain date. P.	
65. The Poll for the Election of Members of Parliament for the Boro: of Liverpool, 1790, with the Addresses, Squibs, &c. 1 vol. Pr. T. Johnson, Castle Street. L.	
1791.	
66. Naval Architecture and Practical Seamanship, Treatise on ... ... 1 vol. 4to. Pr. T. Billinge. See 1777. L. P.	W. Hutchinson.
67. On Government, addressed to the Public ... ... pp. 257. Pr. T. Johnson.	Thos. Wycliffe.
68. Poesie del magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici. Edited by Roscoe. 1 vol. These poems were among the materials sent to	

Date and Title. Author.

Roscoe from Italy, for the Life of Lorenzo. A small edition of only twelve copies was printed. One of them is in the Grenville Library. (A Liverpool reprint in 1795 seems to have been issued.)

1792.

69. Views of the Lakes, with Descriptions ... ... P. Holland.
1 vol. 4to. 21 plates, engraved by Rosenberg. P.

70. Consolidated Duties, Bounties, and Drawbacks of Customs and Excise, on Imports and Exports, and Liverpool Town Duties
Compiled by Lowndes and Newton. Pr. M'Creery. P. F.

71. The Excursion of Osman, a Political Romance
Pr. T. Schofield.

1793.

72. Miscellanies in Prose and Verse ... ... Charles Graham, Writing Master.
1 vol. Pr. T. Schofield. P.

73. Letters on the Slave Trade. L. P.... ... ... H. Wilckens.

1794.

74. Naval Architecture, Treatise on ... ... W. Hutchinson.
1 vol. 4to. 4th Edition enlarged. See 1777. L. P.

1795.

75. Life of Lorenzo de' Medici ... ... W. Roscoe.
2 vols. 4to. Pr. M'Creery. L. P.

76. History of Ancient and Present State of Liverpool Wallace.
1 vol. Pub. anon. No Date. 1795 supposed, see p. 239. Pr. M'Creery. A Duplicate of this edition printed same date by R. Phillips, 301 pp. (2nd Edition, 1797, pr. Crane & Jones.)

77. Poesie del L. de' Medici. P.
1 vol. 12mo. Pr. M'Creery. See 1791.

1796.

78. Elements of Geography ... ... J. Clegg.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. M'Creery. (With Maps.) L. P.

79. Rembrandt and His Scholars; Descriptive Catalogue of their Works ... ... D. Daulby.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. 13 Heads of Subjects. Preface written by Roscoe. 50 copies on 4to. paper. Portrait. (Both Watt & Smithers describe this work incorrectly as "4to. 1756." But see Life of Roscoe, 1, 227; and Lowndes.) L. P.

Date and Title. Author.

80. English Grammar ... ... J. Knowles.
1 vol. 4th Ed. Pr. M'Creery. Date of 1st Edit.? L. P.

81. Campaign in Flanders, 1794 and 1795 ... ... West.
1 vol. Pub. anon. Pr. Merritt and Wright. L. P.

82. Liverpool Corporation Trials, in 1791, 1792 & 1793
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. P. F.

83. Liverpool Poll Book, with Addresses, &c. F.
Pr. H. Hodgson.

84. Proceedings in an Action at Law, brought by the Mayor, Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Boro' of L'pool for the Recovery of a Penalty under a By-Law
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery.

1797.

85. Medical Reports on Water as a Remedy in Fever, &c. J. Currie, M.D.
1 vol. (2nd Edition, 1798. 3rd Edition, 2 vols., the 2nd vol. being additional matter, 1804; also later Editions.) Pr. M'Creery.

86. Lectures on Chemistry ... ... T. Garnett, M.D.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L.

87. Liverpool Guide ... ... W. Moss.
1 vol. Pr. T. Swarbreck. (2nd Edition enlarged, same date. 3rd Edition enlarged, 1799, Pr. M'Creery. 4th Edition, 1801, Pub. W. Jones. New Edition, 1808.)

88. English Lyrics ... ... Wm. Smyth.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. (2nd Ed., 1798. 2nd Part, 1805.) L. P.

89. History of Ancient and Present State of Liverpool Wallace.
2nd Edition. See 1795.

90. A Selection of Psalms ... ... W. Wise, M.A.
Pr. Robinson and Lang.

91. Life of Bianca Capello, Wife of Francesco de' Medici
Translated by C. Ludger from the German of Siebenkees.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. P.

1798.

92. Call to the Unconverted ... ... Baxter.
Pr. Forshaw, Edmund Street. P.

93. Saints' Everlasting Rest ... ... Baxter.
Pr. Forshaw, Edmund Street. P.

94. Medical Reports, &c. ... ... J. Currie, M.D.
2nd Edition. See 1797. P.

95. Poems ... ... Eliza Daye.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. P. F.

Date and Title. Author.

96. The Student, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 ... ... W. Hilton, "Teacher of the Mathematics."
2 vols. No. 2 is dated Nov. 1, 1798. The rest have no date. L. P.

97. Mount Pleasant. Poem ... ... W. Roscoe.
2nd Edition? See 1777.

98. English Lyrics ... ... Wm. Smyth.
2nd Edition. See 1797. P.

99. The Nurse. Poem ... ... Luigi Tansillo.
Translated by Roscoe. 1 vol. 4to. Pr. M'Creery. (Other Editions in 1800 and 1804.) L.

100. Catalogue of the Minerva Circulating Library
1 vol. Pr. T. Troughton.

1799.

101. Three Essays on Grace, Faith, and Experience ... E. Ecking.
Pr. W. Jones, Castle Street. P.

102. Liverpool Guide ... ... W. Moss.
Directions for Sea Bathing added in this edition. 3rd Edition. See 1797. P.

103. The Liverpool Songster
1 vol. Pr. Hodgson, about 190 pp.

104. Occasional Hymns
Pr. W. Harding.

105. Sermons or Homilies ordered to be used in Churches by Queen Elizabeth, of Famous Memory
4to. Pr. H. Forshaw. P.

1800.

106. Burns, Works of, with Account of his Writings and Life ... ... J. Currie, M.D.
4 vols. Pr. M'Creery. (Often reprinted.) P. F.

107. Euphonia. 62 Psalm and Hymn Tunes, composed for All Saints' Church, Liverpool ... ... W. Dixon.
Pr. Forshaw.

108. A New System of Short-hand ... ... Sam. Richardson.
Pr. M'Creery.

109. The Nurse. Poem ... ... Luigi Tansillo.
Translated by Roscoe. 1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. 2 copies on vellum; one in the Athenæum Library, the other in the possession of Joseph Mayer, Esq. See 1798. P.

110. The Nurse. Poem ... ... Luigi Tansillo.
Translated by Roscoe. 1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. 2nd (small) Edition. (3rd Edition, 1804.) P.

Date and Title. Author.

111. Family Instructor. 5 Parts
Pr. Forshaw, Edmund Street. P.

112. The Moralist: a Collection of Maxims, &c.
Pr. M'Creery. (1799 in Palmer.)

1801.

113. An Abridgement of a Selection of Psalms & Hymns Rev. T. Jones.
1 vol. Pr. Coddington & Co.

114. Liverpool Guide ... ... W. Moss.
1 vol. See 1797. P.

115. History of the House of Stanley, with History of the Isle of Man, and Travels of Sir W. Stanley
1 vol. Pr. Nuttall. See 1736.

116. New Theological Repository, consisting of Original Essays upon the Evidences, Excellency, and Doctrines of Christianity, &c.
1801 to 1803.

1802.

117. Essays on Commercial Laws, Action of Money, Insurance, &c. ... ... W. D. Evans.
1 vol. Pr. Merritt & Wright. No date. Palmer says 1787.
But see Gore's Advertiser, 18th Feb., 1802. L. P. F.

118. Address to the Proprietors of the Botanic Gardens W. Roscoe.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. P. F.

119. Life of Poggio Bracciolini ... ... Dr. Shepherd.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. M'Creery. (2nd Ed. 1837.) L. P. F.

120. Elementa Grammaticæ Ciceroniana; or, an Introduction to Latin Grammar ... ... Rev. Calvin Winstanley.
Pub. W. Jones. P.

121. Athenæum Library Catalogue
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. P.

122. Baxter's Christian Directory, or Sure Guide to Present and Eternal Happiness
Abridged by Adam Clarke. 2 vols. Pr. Nuttall. P.

123. Fleury's Ancient Israelites
Translated by Adam Clarke. 1 vol. Pr. Nuttall. P. F.

124. Solomon Gessner's Works
Translated by a Lady. 3 vols. Pr. M'Creery. Many illustrations, by Stothard. L. P.

125. Liverpool Poll Book, with Addresses, &c.
Pr. Ferguson, Mackey & Co. F.

Date and Title. Author.

126. Memoirs of the Year 2,500. ("L'an 2440," in the original.)
Translated. New Edition, with account of the author, Mercier, who wrote the original in exile, in Switzerland. (1st Edition, translated by Dr. Hooper, pub. 1772, in London.) Pr. W. Jones. L. P.

127. A Selection of Monstrous Droll Songs, with Toasts and Sentiments, for 1802; and the most fashionable Country Dances and Hornpipes
1 vol. Pr. Schofield. P.

1803

128. Thoughts on Religion ... ... W. Beveridge, D.D.
1 vol. Pr. Forshaw.

129. Guide to the French Language ... ... J. J. Le Brethon.
1 vol. Pr. J. Lang. 3rd. Ed., 1822. P. F.

130. A General View of the Decisions of Lord Mansfield in Civil Causes ... ... W. D. Evans, Esq.
2 vols. 4to. Pr. Merritt and Wright. L.

131. Tables of Interest, at 5 per cent. ... ... Joseph King.
3rd Edition. Pr. J. Lang.

132. The Duties, Drawbacks and Bounties of Customs and Excise, &c. ... ... T. Lowndes.
1 vol. Pr. J. Lang.

133. The Press. Poem. (Part 1.) Illustrated ... ... M'Creery.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. M'Creery. (Part 2 published in 1827, in London.) L. F. P.

134. Practice of Piety.
1 vol. Pr. Forshaw.

1804.

135. On Respiration ... ... John Bostock, M.D.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. P.

136. Bibliographical Dictionary. Account of Curious Books in Oriental, Greek, and Latin Languages. (1802 to 1804)... ... ... Dr. A. Clarke.
6 vols. P. (The last 3 vols. pub. at Manchester.)

137. Medical Reports, &c. ... ... J. Currie, M.D.
2 vols. 3rd Edition. See 1797. L. P.

138. Memoirs of William Henry West Betty, the Young Roscius ... ... J. Merritt.
1 vol. 1st Ed. Pr. J. Wright, F. 2nd Ed., ditto. L. P.

Date and Title. Author.

139. Directions, Prudential and Moral... ... ... S. H. Read.
1 vol. Pr. J. Lang.

140. The Nurse. Poem ... ... L. Tansillo.
Translated by W. Roscoe. 1 vol. 3rd Ed. See 1798. P. F.

141. Sermons ... ... G. Vanbrugh.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. P.

142. Letters on the Salt Trade. (1798 to 1804) L. P. Wilckens.

143. Copies of Acts of Parliament relating to the Docks, &c., of Liverpool
1 vol. Pr. W. Jones.

144. The Monitor; or, a Collection of Precepts, &c.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery.

145. Trial of William Sparling, Esq., for the Murder of Edward Grayson
1 vol. Pr. W. Jones.

1805.

146. Innkeeper's and Butler's Guide ... ... J. Davies.
Pr. Nuttall. P.

147. Pious Meditations ... ... Rev. W. Kirkpatrick.
1 vol. Pr. W. Jones. L. P.

148. The Natural Son: a Tragedy ... ... James Mason.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery.

149. Travels in Trinidad ... ... P. F. M'Callum.
1 vol. Pr. W. Jones. With Map. L. P.

150. Ossian. Lesser Poems. With Notes ... ... A. M'Donald.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. F. P.

151. Leo the Tenth ... ... W. Roscoe.
4 vols. 4to. Pr. M'Creery. 6 copies printed on French paper, one of them in the Athenæum Library; printed also on large paper. (2nd Edit., 1806.) L. P.

152. English Lyrics. 2nd Part ... ... W. Smyth.
See 1797. P.

153. The Trident of Albion, with an Oration, &c. ... John Thelwall.
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris. L.

154. Barclay's Dictionary, Complete and Universal
4to. P. (See 1816.)

155. Catholic Emancipation: an accurate Report of the Speeches in Parliament
Pr. W. Jones.

Date and Title. Author.

156. The Picture of Liverpool, or Stranger's Guide
1 vol. Pub. W. Jones and C. Woodward. (New Edit. enlarged, 1808.)

157. Twelve Letters, by Detector
Pr. W. Jones.

1806.

158. Memoirs of Mammoth and other Bones (found in America.) F. ... ... Th. Ashe, Esq.

159. The Speaker ... ...W. Enfield, L.LD.
Pr. T. Milner.

160. Leo the Tenth ... ... Wm. Roscoe.
4 vols. 4to. 2nd Edition. M'Creery. See 1805. P.

161. Reconciler; or, Sketch of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of Christ ... ... Thomas Taylor.
Pr. Nuttall. P.

162. Collection of Psalms
1 vol. Pub. Gore. Date? F.

163. Liverpool Dramatic Censor; or, Theatrical Recorder. Vol. 1 (all that appeared)
Edited by Troughton?

164. Liverpool Poll Book, with Addresses, &c.
2 vols. Two books, by the opposite parties. F.

165. Memoirs of Lord Nelson and Sydney Smith
Pr. Goodchild and Plant. P.

166. The Self-Instructor; or, Young Man's best Companion, &c.
Pr. J. Nuttall.

1807.

167. Reform of Pharmaceutical Nomenclature ... ... J. Bostock, M.D.
Pr. G. F. Harris. L. P.

168. Original Poems ... ... Sarah Medley.
1 vol. Pr. James Smith.

169. Collection of Addresses, Songs, Squibs, &c.

170. Poggii Dialogus, an Seni sit Uxor ducenda, circa aun: 1435 conscriptus, nunc primum typis mandatus, edente Gul. Shepherd
4to.

171. Poll Book
1 vol. Pr. Gore.

172. Psalms for St. Andrew's Church.
1 vol.

Date and Title. Author.

173. Stranger in Liverpool

1 vol. Pr. Kaye.

2nd Ed., with pl., 1810. P.		8th Ed., 1825	
3rd „ 1812		9th „ 1829.	L.
4th „ 1816. P.		10th „ 1833	
5th „ 1818		11th „ 1836	
6th „ 1820		12th „ 1839	
7th „ 1823			

But some Editions have more than one date.

1808.

174. Poems. (Early Pieces) ... ... Fel. Dor. Browne (Mrs. Hemans.)
1 vol. 4to. Pr. G. F. Harris. L. P. F.

175. Angler's Manual ... ... S. Howitt.
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris. Plates. P.

176. Essay on the Life and Writings of — Booth ... Jones.
Pr. J. Smith. P.

177. The New Expositor, for the use of Schools ... Knowles?
8th Edition. Pr. W. Jones.

178. Ossian. Fingal ... ... A. M'Donald.
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris. L. P.

179. Liverpool Guide ... ... W. Moss.
New Edition. See 1797.

180. Blackheath. Poem ... ... Thomas Noble.

181. Odes, Sonnets, and other Poems ... ... W. M. Tartt.
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris. L. P.

182. Botanic Garden, Liverpool, Catalogue of Plants. P.

183. Classical Selections in Verse
Pr. James Smith.

184. The Picture of Liverpool; or, Stranger's Guide
New Edit., enlarged. Pr. Jones & Wright. See 1805.

185. Trial of C. Angus for the Murder of Margaret Burns.
1 vol. Pr. W. Jones. L. P.

1809.

186. School for Orators. Farce
1 vol. Pub. G. F. Harris. P. F.

187. A Tribute to the Memory of Mr. William Rathbone, of Liverpool
1 vol. 4to. Pr. G. F. Harris.

Date and Title. Author.

1810.

188. On the Prohibition of Distillation from Grain ... W. Dixon.
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris. L. P.

189. History of Liverpool ... ... T. Troughton.
1 vol. 4to. (Plan of Liverpool by the same, same year.)
Pub. W. Robinson and Howell. L. P. F.

190. Funeral Sermon on the Rev. Dr. Barnes, preached at Cross Street, Manchester ... ... John Yates.
1 vol., 86 pp. Pr. G. F. Harris. Contains a Biography of Dr. Barnes.

191. The Charter granted to the Burgesses of Liverpool by William III.; also the Charter of George II.; with Proceedings referring thereto
Pr. Egerton Smith and Co. F.

192. Collection of Psalms
1 vol. Pr. Gore. P.

193. Goldsmith's Animated Nature
4 vols. Pub. Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon. (1813 in Palmer's List. Possibly a re-issue.) P.

194. Prayers, Psalms, and Hymns used at the Blue Coat School
1 vol. Pr. Gore. P.

195. A Statement of the Grounds upon which the Trustees of the Liverpool Docks propose applying to Parliament next Session for authority to provide additional Dock space
With Map. Pr. G. F. Harris Brothers.

196. Trial of Lemon, Turner, and others, for Riot at the Theatre, Liverpool, in May, 1810. 1 vol. L.P.

1811.

197. Liverpool Dock Laws, Letters on. (1811-12.) R. F. Breed and another.
1 vol. P. ... ...

198. Trade in Gold Bullion ... ... J. T. Koster.
1 vol. Pr. Harris Brothers. L. P.

199. Ode on the Present State of Europe ... ... T. G. Lace.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. M. Galway & Co. L. P.

200. Poems ... ... J. L. Lewes.
1 vol. Pr. James Smith. L. P.

201. Discourses on Evangelical Subjects ... ... Rich. Wright.
Pr. E. Smith & Co.

Date and Title. Author.

202. Commerce: a Poem. 1 vol. P.

203. Entertaining Companion. A selection of approved Pieces in Prose and Verse. Lives of Generals, Learned and Pious Men, and Notorious Characters 800 pages. P.

204. Minutes of the Society for the Improvement of Plantership in the Island of Barbados
1 vol. Pr. Thos. Kaye.

1812.

205. Statement of the Circumstances which led to the Prosecution, The King *v.* Blacow, for a Libel ... Richard Blacow.
1 vol. Pr. J. Smith. (2nd Edition, 1813.)

206. Four Sermons, preached in the New Church, Duke Street ... ... Rev. R. Blacow.
1 vol. Pub. Galway & Ross.

207. An Inquiry into the Laws of Animal Life—with a General Outline of the Organs and Functions of the Human Body ... ... J. R. Park, M.B.
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow and Brothers. Many anatomical plates. L.

208. Canning's Speeches at Liverpool Election (with Account of the Election, Squibs, &c.)
1 vol. Pub. Kaye. L. P.

209. Christian's complete Family Bible
1 vol. folio. Pub. Nuttall. P.

210. Liverpool and its Environs
1 vol. Maps and plates. P.

211. Nova Grammatica Ingleza e Portugueza. Selecta das melhores authores por Manoel De Freitas Brazileiro.
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris's Widow and Brothers.

212. The Minstrel
Pr. J. Smith. P.

1813.

213. Statement, &c. ... ... Richard Blacow.
2nd Edition. See 1812.

214. Life of Rev. Thomas Spencer ... ... Thomas Raffles, (Dr. Raffles).
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow and Brothers. (4th Edition, 1817; new Edition, 1827.) L. P.

Date and Title. Author.

215. Roman Catholic Tenets, as affecting the Duties of Catholic Subjects under Protestant Governments Rev. E. Slater.
1 vol. (not dated.) L. P.

216. Methodism Displayed, or Enthusiasm Detected; intended as an Antidote against and a Preservative from the Delusive Principles
Pr. Forshaw. P.

217. The Mirror, a Collection of Six Tales from the Caxton Press.
1 vol. Pr. Nuttall, Fisher & Dixon. P.

1814.

218. Catalogue of Paintings at Knowsley Hall
1 vol. Wright & Cruikshank. F.

219. Cowper, W. Life and Poems
Pr. Nuttall, Fisher & Co. P.

220. Defence of the Jewish Religion
Pr. D. Dean.

1815.

221. Bayle on Pulmonary Phthisis ... ... W. Barrow, M.D.
Translated from the French. 1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow and Brothers. L. P.

222. Causes of the Motion of the Blood ... ... J. Carson, M.D.
1 vol. Pr. F. B. Wright. L. P.

223. Winter Season, with an Essay on the Good Things of this Life ... ... James Fisher.
Pr. M. Galway. P.

224. Panorama of Science and Art ... ... James Smith.
2 vols. Nuttall, Fisher & Co. 49 Engravings. F.

225. Earl of Warwick, and other Poems ... ... Frances Watkis.
1 vol. Pr. T. Kaye. L. P.

226. Quakerism Unveiled ... ... Ephraim Wood.
Pr. H. Forshaw. P.

227. Hymns for the Use of Unitarians
Pr. F. B. Wright. P.

1816.

228. Flyfisher's Guide ... ... G.C. Bainbridge.
1 vol. Capital coloured Illustrations of Flies and a Fish. L. P. F.

229. Mechanic; or, Compendium of Practical Inventions J. Smith.
2 vols. (In the Athenæum Catalogue.) P.

Date and Title. Author.

230. History of the Inquisition ... ... Rev. John Weld.
Pr. Forshaw. P.

231. History of Religious Persecutions ... ... F. B. Wright.
Pr. F. B. Wright. P.

232. Barclay's Dictionary, complete and universal. Revised by W. Shorton
1 vol. Pr. Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon. Illustrated. (See 1805.)

233. Catalogue of Roscoe's Library, for the Sale by Auction
1 vol. Pr. in London by M'Creery. L. F. P.

234. Catalogue of Roscoe's Prints, &c., for the Sale by Auction
1 vol. Pr. Smith & Galway. L. P.

(The copies of the Catalogues of Roscoe's Books and Prints in the Liverpool Library contain in MS. full particulars of the auction prices, very carefully recorded. Dated 1814 in Palmer's list.)

235. Catalogue of Roscoe's Drawings and Pictures, for the Sale by Auction
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow and Brothers.

236. The Corrector; or, Dramatic Intelligencer for the Summer season of the Theatre Royal, Liverpool
Pr. Nevetts.

237. Liverpool Magazine and General Provincial Miscellany, for 1816
1 vol. Pr. Roberts, late Johnson, Manesty Lane. L.P.F.

238. Political Essays and Miscellaneous Papers, forming the six published numbers of the Liverpool Freeman, or Weekly Magazine
Pr. F. B. Wright.

239. Poll Book
Pub. J Gore.

240. The Squib Book of the Liverpool Election
Pub. by. W. Bethell.

1817.

241. Travels in the Interior of America ... ... J. Bradbury.
1 vol. Pr. Smith & Galway. (2nd Edition, with Maps, 1819.) L. P.

242. History and Antiquities of Lancashire, Fragments of ... ... Math. Gregson.
1 vol. folio. Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow and Brothers. (2nd Edition, 1824, with Additions.) L. P. F.

Date and Title.	Author.
243. Life of Rev. Thomas Spencer ... ... 4to. 4th Edition. See 1813. P.	T. Raffles, A.M. (Dr. Raffles).
244. Narrative of the Case of Miss Margaret M'Avoy 1 vol. 4to. Miss M'Avoy was said to distinguish colours, &c., by the touch, after the loss of her sight. Many pamphlets published on the subject, in the Liverpool Library. L. P.	T. Renwick, M.D.
245. Styles of English Architecture ... ... Pr. J. J. Smith. (3rd Edition, 1825.) P.	Thos. Rickman.
246. Discourse at the Opening of the Liverpool Royal Institution, 25th November, 1817 ... ... 1 vol. 4to. The opening had been postponed for a fortnight, in consequence of the Princess Charlotte's death. L. P. F.	W. Roscoe.
247. The Lunarian; or, Seaman's Guide ... ... 1 vol. Pr. Smith & Galway.	E. Ward.
248. Sixteen Unitarian Missionary Discourses ... ... Pr. F. B. Wright.	Richard Wright.
249. View of the Principal Courts in the Isle of Man. P.	A Member of the Council.
250. A Cat may look at a King; a Chronicle of the Kings of England, by Sir Anthony Weldone	
251. History of the Inquisition. (See 1816.)	Rev. John Weld.
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1 vol. Pr. J. Mawdsley.

1837.

469. The Grand Junction Railway Companion ... A. Freeling.
1 vol. Pub. H. Lacey.

470. Pocket Book of Etiquette... ... ... A. Freeling.
1 vol. Pub. H. Lacey.

471. Practice of the Borough Court of Liverpool ... John C. Grocott.
1 vol. Pr. T. Taylor & Co. (2nd Edition. 1847.)

Date and Title. Author.

472. Life of Poggio Bracciolini ... ... Dr. Shepherd.
2nd Edition 8vo. Pr. Harris Brothers. (See 1802.)

473. Memoir of Abd-el-Kader
1 vol. Pub. Grapel. L.

474. Practical Suggestions towards Alleviating the Sufferings of the Sick. Parts 1 and 2
2 vols. Pr. Marples. (2 Editions.) L.

475. The Rambler; or, a Budget of Literature and Fun. Weekly Periodical. Edited by the Liver Club
Pr. Geo. Thompson.

476. A Selection of Psalms and Hymns, adapted to the Services of the Church of England
1 vol. Pub. R. Hughes.

1838.

477. Ignatia, and other Poems ... ... M. A. Browne.
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478. Sermons ... ... Rev. R. S. Bunbury.
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484. The Prisoners of Abd-el-Kader; or, Five Months' Captivity among the Arabs in 1836 ... ... Mons. A. de France.
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491. Dialogues on Universal Salvation ... ... D. Thom, D.D.
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494. On the Office of a Notary of England ... ... R. Brooke, F.S.A.
(2nd Edition, 1848.)

495. Lectures on Revivals of Religion ... ... C. G. Finney.
1 vol. 9th Edition. Liverpool, London, Glasgow, Sydney, &c. (See 1838.)

496. The Stranger's Pocket Guide Through Liverpool H. Gawthrop.
1 vol. Pr. B. Smith. Two or three editions published. The work then transferred to other hands, enlarged, and re-published as the "Picturesque Handbook." See 1842 and 1846.

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511. The Lasting Resentment of Miss Keaou Lwang Wang
Chinese Novel. Translated by Robert Thom, H.B.M. Consul at Ningpo. 1 vol. thin 4to. (1st Edition, 4to, published in 1839 at Canton; in Liverpool Library. Re-published (1840) in London and Liverpool. Translated also into German; published in Leipsic.) L.

Date and Title. Author.

512. Catalogue of the Library of the Liverpool Mechanics' Institution
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513. The High School Magazine

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1 vol. Pr. Lace & Addison.

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1841.

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528. Memoirs of Henry Park, Surgeon
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1842.

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1843.

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553. Report of an Educational Tour in Germany, &c. Horace Mann.
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555. Memoirs of the Rev. J. Elias; with Introductory Essay by the Rev. J. K. Foster ... ... Rev. T. Morgan.
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556. North and South Wales ... ... Thomas Roscoe.
2 vols. Illustrated. Pub. Webb. (In numbers. First pub. at Birmingham.)

557. The Handbook of Liverpool ... ... Jas. Stonehouse.
1 vol. Not dated. Published by Lacey. (2 Editions. The 1st pub. as "Pictorial Liverpool," the 2nd in a cheaper form without illustrations, as "The Handbook")

558. A Selection of Hymns for Wallasey Church
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559. Spring Gatherings. Poems ... ... Geo. L. Banks.
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560. A Cypress Wreath for an Infant's Grave ... Rev. J. Bruce.
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577. Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool. Proceedings. Vol. 2.
1 vol. (See 1845.)

578. London and Liverpool at Table
1 vol. Date uncertain. Pub. Webb.

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579. Practice of the Borough Court of Liverpool ... John C. Grocott.
1 vol. 2nd Edition. J. Walmsley. See 1837. F.

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583. Transactions of the Liverpool Polytechnic Society, for 1844-6.
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593. Sketch of the History of the House of Stanley and the House of Sefton ... ... D. Ross.
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594. Sketch of the History of the House of Russell... D. Ross.
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609. Roscoe Magazine. (Monthly Numbers.) ... Members of the Roscoe Club.
1 vol. Pub. Howell. L. F.

610. Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Proceedings and Papers. Vol. 1.
1 vol. (Continued in 1850.)

Date and Title. Author.

611. Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool. Proceedings. Vol. 5.
1 vol. (See 1845.)

612. Transactions of the Liverpool Polytechnic Society, from December, 1846, to April, 1849
1 vol. Pr. R. James.

1850.

613. A Glimpse of Hayti and her Negro Chief ... Rev. C. M. Birrell
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614. Poems (with Essay on the Genius and Writings of the Author, by the Rev. George Gilfillan) ... William Bryant.
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Date and Title. Author.

627. Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Proceedings. Vol. 2.
1 vol. (See 1849.)

628. The Original; a Periodical established by a Few Young Men, as an Amusement for their Leisure Hours
1 vol. Pr. "Albion" Office.

629. Shipbuilding in Liverpool
1 vol. Pr. "Mail" office.

630. A Treatise on the Climate and Meteorology of Madeira, by the late J. A. Mason, M.D. Edited by James Sheridan Knowles. (With a Review of the State of Agriculture, &c., by G. Peacock, D.D., and an Historical Account, &c., by John Driver.)
1 vol. Pub. Deighton & Laughton. L.

631. The following works, of which the separate issues have been numerous, will be found mentioned, with details, under the date of their first appearance, viz.:—

Liverpool Library Catalogues	1758
Gore's Directories	1766
Stranger in Liverpool	1807
Kaleidoscope	1818
Winter's Wreath	1828
Parting Gift	1830
Bridal Gift	1830
Sacred Offering	1831
Thoughts of Peace	1839

HISTORIC PARALLELS.

By David Buxton, F.R.S.L., Hon. Librarian.

(Read 14th February, 1861.)

One of the most curious things in history, and, as I venture to think, not the least instructive of all those which history presents to the consideration of the careful student, is the parallelism which may be discovered between events occurring in different ages, and at remote places.

The subject and period treated of in Mr. Mayer's recent paper recalled to my mind one very striking illustration of this, which I am induced now to bring before you.

Is it not a very singular fact that so many of the events of the "Great Rebellion" in this country, should have been acted over again in the French Revolution? Both these great national outbreaks arose through contentions between the king and his parliament: in both countries, the king was captured after an attempted flight: in both, he was brought to a mock trial before his own subjects: by them he was condemned, and by them beheaded. In both countries the nobility and clergy fell with the monarch: in both, the parliament was at length superseded by an usurper: in both, that usurper was the first military genius of the age: in both (for the period of Richard Cromwell's rule is of no weight to the contrary), the usurping power was not continued beyond the tenure of the first possessor: in both, the legitimate succession was restored with great *éclat:* but, in both, the successors of the restored sovereigns were dethroned: in both cases, the vacant throne was offered to, and accepted by, a different branch of the royal family, the deposed sovereign being driven into exile—the English king

(James II.) into France, and the French monarch (Charles X.) into England: the exclusion of both these sovereigns extended to their descendants; but in both, the power of the hero of the revolution was limited to himself: William and Mary had no child to inherit the crown, and Louis Philippe died an expelled exile.

But there are circumstances connected with these events which are yet more singular than even these strange coincidences. The parallel occurrences took place within a few years of exactly a century and a half. Charles I. was beheaded in the decade 1640-1650 :—add 150 years to this, and we are brought to 1790-1800. It was within that period that Louis XVI. was put to death. Charles II. was restored A.D. 1660. In 1815, a century and a half (plus 5 years) later, Louis XVIII. succeeded Napoleon in the throne of France, as Charles had put an end to the rule of the Cromwells in England. James II. was dethroned, and William of Orange appointed king, A.D. 1688-9 : add 150 years to this, and we are brought to 1830-1840 ; and it was in the "three glorious days of July," 1830, that the dynasty of Charles X. fell, and Louis Philippe was called to succeed him.

Is it fair, or is it safe, to reason from these facts ? They do not stand alone either. There are others which history would furnish, from different periods: as, for example, the efforts of Queen Mary, to re-establish the Papal authority, and stop the Reformation in England, in the middle of the sixteenth century ; and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, intended to extirpate the Reformation in France, at the end of the seventeenth,—the results of which were much alike in the two countries.

Very recently, the present ruler of France boasted before the world, in reference to his campaign in Italy, that France was the only country which could afford to go to war "for an idea." There was a time in our history when we might have made

the same boast. It was at the Peace of Utrecht—a *century and a half ago*. For what more than "an idea" did we go to war when Marlborough commanded our victorious armies in the Low Countries? He won all his battles, yet gained nothing for his cause. We all know old Caspar's pointless story to his grandchildren, and its lame conclusion, about the "famous victory" of Blenheim—when

> "Everybody praised the Duke,
> Who such a fight did win;
> But what good came of it, at last?
> Quoth little Peterkin.
> Why, that I cannot tell, said he;
> But, 'twas a famous victory."

Surely such fighting "for an idea," *and nothing more*, would gratify the vanity and justify the boast of even the Emperor of the French. We have, however, lived on a century and a half in the life of a nation, and have left that age of empty boastfulness so far behind. The war I have just been speaking of was a marvellous instance of doing a great deal for nothing, on the one hand; and losing everything, yet surrendering nothing, on the other. Macaulay describes it as having been undertaken "for the purpose of transferring the crown of Spain from one bigoted Catholic to another." A notable *idea*, truly, for the two successors of James II., *in his own lifetime*, to lend themselves to; and yet, though Marlborough's victories were signal, complete, and crushing—though the actual King of Spain was habitually beaten, and twice driven as a fugitive from his own capital—though the vast power of France was nearly ruined through its efforts to support him, so that Louis had, twice over, begged for terms of peace which yielded everything, but which were scornfully rejected, the final result was the conclusion of peace upon terms which gained nothing to the cause of those whose arms had gained everything, but actually secured the permanent possession of the throne to the very man whom all the combined and victorious efforts of

England and her allies had been aiming to destroy: so that among other things, perhaps, the passion of "fighting for "an idea" may have attacked our neighbours in France, a hundred and fifty years after we had outgrown it.*

May we venture, then, to draw the inference that, historically, these neighbours of ours are a century and a half behind ourselves? Such an inference would, perhaps, be too galling to them, and too flattering to ourselves. I will not presume to theorize upon the subject. I simply place before you the facts and the dates: deal with them as you please; but one reflection seems forced upon the most indifferent observer, which is, that in reference to the political freedom, and the social condition of the French people, a century and a half does not seem too long a term to give them to emerge from their present state, and to overtake ourselves. May the day be nearer than that. The free man knows no jealousy; he is only anxious that those less fortunate than he should rejoice in the same liberty, know how to value it wisely, and to enjoy it with moderation; and in so doing reap all the varied blessings,—social, political, and national,—which freedom brings in its train.

Dr. Arnold, in his Lectures on Modern History, has well said—"The harvest gathered in the fields of the past is to be "brought home for the use of the present." Such is the use of History. "We live, to some extent, in peace and comfort," says another writer, "upon the results obtained for us by the "chronicles of our forefathers. We do not see this," he adds,

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* In reference to the "Freedom of the Press" (if that term is descriptive of the thraldom which still fetters the French Press), perhaps some little advance has been made by our neighbours—they approach us a *little* nearer; for it is not quite a century and a half (though not much less) since that parallel period in our own history, when Dr. Johnson wrote the debates in Parliament, under the title of "The Senate of Lilliput," and evaded the restrictions of the law by giving feigned names to the speakers, or substituting transparent parodies, or clumsy anagrams, which disclosed what they appeared to conceal.

"without some reflection. But imagine what a full-grown "nation would be if it knew no history—like a full-grown man "with only a child's experience." Indeed we do not require to *imagine* such a case. It EXISTS, in that strange people whom we have just defeated in the fortresses of their exclusiveness and their prejudice, in the remotest East. What an astounding and incredible amount of ignorance will be removed from the minds of the Chinese people by a knowledge of our history: when they know *really* who and what we are. Next to the Gospel itself, nothing, we may venture to say, would go so far to render impossible the monstrous proceedings of that people as to know who it is they have been fighting against.*

But this is a wide subject. Our recent enemies have yet to learn the first *rudiments* of that wonderful story which tells how the inhabitants of "this little isle, set in the silver sea," have grown up through the trials and struggles of a thousand years, to be the ruling race of the wide universe. To us it is a familiar story, and we can afford to turn from the grand picture, as it spreads itself on the broad canvas of the past, to a closer examination of some of its smaller details. Indeed, the eminent living author just now quoted, says—"The most "likely way of attracting men's attention to historical subjects "will be by presenting them with small portions of history, of "great interest, thoroughly examined. This may give them the "habit of applying thought and criticism to historical matters."† Such has been my purpose in the notes and queries with which I opened this paper; and when we come to see how events and characters seem to be repeated, and reproduced, in various periods of the world's history: how, in the language of Holy Writ—"The thing which hath been is that which shall

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* Macaulay quotes Voltaire as saying, in one of his 6000 pamphlets, that he was the first person who told the French that England had produced eminent men besides the Duke of Marlborough.

† "Friends in Council," ii. 206."

"be, and that which is done is that which shall be done, and "there is no new thing under the sun," we seem to get at this principle as the law of human progress—that "one thing "is set over against another." Motion is not continuous and direct, but fitful and erratic; action and *re*action are in constant interchange. The advance of the human race may be compared to the climbing up a hill—a struggle against the natural law of gravitation; you go now to this side with your load of drawbacks, and now to that, and it is by the constant tendency upwards that (errors and accidents excepted) the ascent is slowly and surely made, in spite of inevitable obstacles.

If you examine into the history of human thought and action, you will find this to be the common rule. Sometimes slowly, and with a measured tread, and at other times with a quick rebound, this alternation is constantly occurring, and the facts which it discloses are some of the most striking phenomena in the history of man. The martyr of one age is the hero of the next: the heresy of one generation is the creed of its successor: the theories and dreams of to-day are the realized facts of to-morrow: down deep, and nearly lost, they may be, in the trough of the sea at one period, but it is only to be thrown up high upon the beach into the light of day upon the crest of the next succeeding wave. Thus the rebound from superstition is to infidelity: from tyranny to anarchy. The laxity of Charles the Second's reign was the historical consequence of the bow having been too sternly bent during the ascendancy of Cromwell and the Puritans, in the times we have already spoken of. The military despotisms of the Bonapartes have arisen out of the disorganisation of the preceding revolutions. The homœopathist will tell you that his mode of medical treatment, and the pre-Raphaelite will insist that his own particular *craze*, have sprung into existence in precisely the same manner—as the revulsion from their opposites. In

New England, the rigid prohibition of all theatrical amusements has led finally to this result—"That the rage for scenic representation," according to the testimony of a recent traveller, "is, perhaps, greater in Boston, than in any town in the "United States, except New Orleans."

As the grand-daughters of those who used to pin themselves up in the straitest of skirts, now flourish in all the spreading amplitude of crinoline; as the ladies of our time have been wearing a tire for the head which is a great deal less than a bonnet, while those of Queen Caroline's day wore one which was a great deal more than a bonnet; as the reaction from "pantaloons" is to "pegtops;" and the gossamer tie has displaced that stifling winding-sheet about the neck, which even Beau Brummel could not adjust without innumerable "failures;" as the sons of over-strict parents are sometimes the greatest of reprobates; as Voltaire avowed that he was first made an infidel by being required to believe what he felt to be incredible; as the founder of the *Tablet* newspaper—more Romish than the Romanists—had been brought up a Quaker; as Sir Francis Burdett, who had been imprisoned in the Tower as the most refractory of Radicals, became, in his old age, the most tenacious of Tories:—so is it still in every other sphere where the fallibility of human nature opens the door to the operation of the same law.

Not long ago, churches were built like barns: they were mean, and cheap, and hideous: it seemed as if anything was good enough for God's service. That evil has cured itself, or been cured, and now it is evidently thought that nothing is too good to give to Him who gives us everything. If it were necessary to seek for other illustrations, and fitting to take them from the history of the different schools of religious thought amongst us, we should readily see this same truth strikingly exemplified in our various "church parties." An age of cold intellectualism is followed by one of earnest

spiritualism ; and a zealous upholding of the doctrines of the Faith, produces, at length, a closer attention to the externals of church order and discipline.

And thus it is, that while we are ever rushing onwards, we are constantly looking back. We take our lessons from the Past, while we buckle on our armour to do the work of the Present and the Future. Surrounded as we are by new discoveries, and by the novel application of knowledge which is no longer new, the principle of deference to authority and reverence for antiquity meets us at every step. But, more singular still, our own veneration for what is ancient, is altogether eclipsed—absolutely placed out of the reach of all reasonable comparison, by the passion for the relics of old associations and manners which, in our American brethren—in the newest and the most progressive nation upon earth—amounts almost to idolatry. Witness the crowds of enthusiastic pilgrims from the New World to the home scenes which are associated with the names and the works of our common forefathers: witness the anxiety which was expressed to have Shakspeare's house carried across the Atlantic, and set up as it stands at Stratford, in the western world : witness also the avidity with which the best copies of the best editions of English books of value are bought up in this country to enrich American libraries. To what also, but to the wide-spread influence of the same principle can we fairly ascribe the extensive reprint of old books ; the undeniable popularity of old authors ; the prevalent love for antiquities; the intelligent admiration for the Old Masters in painting ; the increasing familiarity with the works of the older musical composers; and the reproduction of old forms and fashions in things innumerable? Indeed, this love of what is old has attained to the dignity of a science, and we have its activity and research evidenced in the various departments of Ethnology, Archælogy, and Philology, in which the lovers of such pursuits may busy themselves, very profitably,

to enquire into the origin of races, their popular customs, and their current languages. "The lovers of poetry" said one who was ardent in his love of it—the late Professor Wilson—"The lovers of poetry have fallen back upon still "older bards. Think ye that Shakspeare and Milton are "without their worshippers? . . . . . In how many thousand "libraries—great and small—are they to be found? Bequeathed "unawares from generation to generation, neglected by whole "families during their whole lifetimes, by their successors "rescued from idle oblivion, their names again household "words, and their spirits household gods."

But it is unnecessary, and would only be tedious, to prosecute this inquiry, or accumulate these illustrations, further.

One conclusion which we may fairly draw from the study of general history seems obviously deducible here: that all results in the life and progress of nations must be allowed the proper period for their natural growth. If they are worth having, they are worth waiting for; and if they are to be beneficial, not baneful—satisfying, and not disappointing—they *must* be waited for—and *must* be the result of natural growth and prudent culture. The gourd which grows up in a night will wither in a day, and afford only the mockery of a shelter; while the sturdy oak, which has grown strong in resisting and braving the storms of centuries, is destined to long life still; to glow in many a summer's sun; to weather many a wintry blast; and to be the refuge and the trust of unknown generations yet to come.

Nor is it forbidden to us to look further; and, assuredly, if we do reverently look, we shall infallibly find, the signs of a Divine Presence, and the workings of a Divine Power in the affairs of the world, which should move us to earnest endeavours that we may realize our own responsibility, and

discharge our own duty. For whatever else may change they can never change. Our own responsibility will survive every change of dynasty: our own duty remain unaltered through every change of polity. And the fact that the various systems which have prevailed in the government of even our own country, were suited to other times, and are not in their completeness suited to our own, suggests this reflection also—that all the different systems of polity which Providence permits at various periods to influence the destinies of nations, have in them something specially adapted to the exigencies of the times in which they exist, and that under Divine superintendence each performs its purpose better than any other institution could possibly perform it. And when that purpose is effected, and society has been benefited thereby, and circumstances have changed, and fresh necessities have sprung up which demand new agencies adapted to their peculiar characters, other systems arise which operate under the same High sanction and for the same great ends, and thus human improvement and human happiness are beneficently and wisely ministered unto by Him whose creatures we are, and whose will is our present happiness as a preparative for our future glory.

INEDITED LETTERS OF CROMWELL, COLONEL JONES, BRADSHAW AND OTHER REGICIDES.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. &c.

(Read 6th December, 1860.)

In bringing before the Society the following letters, through the kindness of the Rev. Cyrus Morrall, of Plas Yolyn, Chirk, a descendant of Col. Jones, whose property they now are, it is not my intention to discuss the legality of the trial and execution of Charles the First, or to offer any remarks respecting the unpatriotic and treasonous conduct of the king towards the people, and his desire to subvert the religion which by his coronation oath he had sworn to defend, but merely to publish them in entirety, leaving the unprejudiced to form their own conclusions as to the genuineness of the piety and religious enthusiasm displayed throughout the whole series; as, now that the lapse of time since the occurrences to which they relate has in some degree moderated the rancorous feelings which prevailed for a long period after the accession of Charles the Second to the throne, we may hope to be able to do with a juster apprehension of the merits of the various actors than has been possible hitherto. The greater reason now I have in doing so is, that the Papers now being published under the surveillance of the Master of the Rolls, are putting us in a better position to understand the history of the times which witnessed such unchristian and bloody executions.

(Col^{l} Jones) To Leift. gen^{ll} Ludlow.

Dear S^{r}

I have to present but my reall affeccens, and my hearty desire of enjoying yor Company, and if I had a Call from the place for it where you are, I should gladly embrace it, and share in yor hardshipp with you. The inclosed contains all the newes wee have here. The Lord is gratious in his Dealing towards us, mixing grains of crosses and afliccons wth oceans of mercies and deliverances, that o^{r} low spirits are apt to grow regardles of the manifestacions of his love when we enjoy them in a continued series, may have the more quicker and more feeling apprehensions of them. I am sorry wth all my soule, that wee are fayne to give my Lord soe sad an accompt of his affairs in these parts. We have Job's messengers from most precincts of the defects and fayler of assessments for pay of the Forces assigned to each precinct, and the fayler is in this precinct more than in any, and yet wee doo not know of any money assigned from England for this place, save the 2500*l* and the 1639, menconed in my Lords' Papers, sent him: Whereof 4000*l* was taken up long since by Bills of Exchange, and wholly issued out. The rest (I hope) not yet come over, for if it bee it is wholly spent. The accompt of that cash wee have not, because the Deputy Tr'er is gone for England when wee were in the North. We have made this morning inquiry what cash wee have in all Treasuries heere, all the stock wee have is about 2500*l* in the Receipts of Customes and excise, whereof we now fayne to issue out this day 1000*l* to provide corne for ye forces in the feild, and to pay some troopes that were much in arrears. This is the last dropp of oyle in o^{r} cruce, and that being spent wee know not what to doe. Want comes upon us like an armed mann, but o^{r} gracious God is all sufficient, and when wee are in our greatest streights he

will bring deliverance. I had communicated what I write to you to my Lord, but that I was to trouble him by my particular relation, you may doe what you please therein. I am glad soe much of my Lord's company, truly my affeccons are very warme towards him. I thinke the Earth doeth not beare a more meeke, upright heart towards God than he, if any thing bee amisse in him, it is his being nimis exact as it idolizing the best morall vertue, Justice. It is a blessed thing to have congregacon and fellowship wth such. I beg y^{r} favo^{r} to present my humble service to Sr Hardres Waller, and Col. Cromwell, and favourably esteeme this trouble put upon you by

Yo^{r} faithfull friend and humble Servant,

JO. JONES.

My services to Mr. Corbett. Yo^{r} houses are in good care, and all well at your house. The sickness decreases, 36 this week of all Diseases. Dublin, 3^{d} September, 1651.

To Agitant Gen^{ll} Allen,

Deare S^{r}

It is a happy acquaintance that is founded in a Gospelle accompt, and although I am one of the least, and the latest, that can challenge that wth you, yet since I have known yor Xtian spirit, and temper to be such, I have rejoyced in my hearte to consider the faithfullness of our Father, who hath said that he is noe respecter of Persons, but pulleth downe ye proud from their seates, and exalteth the humble and meeke, wch he hath not onely made good in o^{r} dayes, whereof we are wittnesses, but he hath raised poor sinfull Creatures, above their spheares in the Affaires of the World, that they might be humble and meeke: This may seeme a Paradoxe, but it is very true. I may say

that I have bene in that condicion, as was scarce capable exercising that grace of humility in the outward conversacon, untill the Lord was pleased to bring me out of it. The Lord grant us more discovery of his eternall love every Day, and keeping us from waxing fatt (as Jossuram), and forgetting our God that formed us, or lightly esteeming of the Rock of o^{r} Salvation. He hath planted his word in o^{r} hearts y^{t} wee may doe it; and this doeing is comprehended in very few (but very sweet) words—"to doe justly, "to love mercy, and to walke humbly wth o^{r} God." Mich. 6, 8. Oh, that o^{r} Spirits were continually bathed in that everlasting fountain of love, that wee might continually bee breathing out that love, for refreshing hungry, barren soules! The Lord hath given you a talent, whereof you are to give an accompt. Examine well whether you are as frequent in speaking a word of exhortacon in publiq^{e} for the helpe of simple ignorant souldiers as formerly, and if not, see that you have a good warrant for it. We must be alwayes listning behinde us, for that word wch is promised in Esaiah 30, 21, saying, "this is the way, walke in it." My purpose was to thank you for yor kind l^{res} wch came to o^{r} hands long since, wch the Com^{r} tooke very kindly, although they contained noe other matter but a representacion of yor Respects. His little Majesty of Scotland, wth an army of 12,000 horse and foote, 20th of last month in Shropshire; Lambert and Harrison, wth a considerable strength of horse and dragoons, but few foot, in Leitchfield; the Lord gen^{ll} within 3 dayes march wth the Infantry and Trayne; Fleetwood wth some force coming up—this is o^{r} last intelligence from England. The Lord give us believing and praying spirits. On the last Lord's day Sherlock, with 150 horse and 30 dragoons, preyed the cattle of this towne of Baggotts Rath; Lt Howlitt, of Col^{l} Howson Troope, got together 40 of his horse and as

many of the Towne horse, and pursued 5 miles, and there engaged upon a disadavantage of number and ground, and was imediately worsted, himselfe wounded, 25 slayne, and Captn Lankey wth 21 more men were taken prisoners. Wee lost in the service and prey about 100 serviceable horse, ye draught oxen, and 130 cowes; I lost an horseman and my best horse. The enemy grow in these partes into a considerable strength, and are much heightened in their spirits, but the cursed thing stickes to them. They abound in oathes and hideous blasphemies, they have Pharaoh's heart to destroy God's people: who knowes but that their spirits are raised to draw them together to destroy them? The Lord's judgm^{ts} are unsearchable, and his wayes past finding out. I pray present my humble service to Col^{l} Cromwell, Dr. Chartwright, whose kindness I shall never forgett, and the rest of my acquaintance where you are. The God of peace, who hath brought againe the Lord Jesus from the Dead by the blood of the everlasting couvn^{t}, make you perfect in every good worke.

Yo^{r} very affectionate Friend,

JO. JONES.

Dublin, September 3rd, 1651.

To Mr. Henry Jones, Scout Mr Gene^{ll}

Honoured S^{r}

I have had a sight of yor intelligence to Aldr̄an Hutchinson, and therein of your kind Remembrance of me, for wch I cordially thanke you; and give me leave a little, as one that doeth love and hono^{r} you, to be free in my weake advice. There be some that doe take notice how you doe write yor name, and from thence make some conclusons to yor prejudice, as the affecting of Titular Dignityes, although empty and scandalous and serving noe end

but that of Pride and vaine glory, wch God in o^{r} time beares testimony ag^{t} or els the opinion of a divine Right in that order wth yor conscience will not give you leave to lay aside, although you fight ag^{t} the uphold^{r} of those kind of ordo^{r} When you have leisure I would wish you would some time write to the Com^{rs} of the affaires where you are, yo^{rs} when it comes being very exact and satisfactory, it will be well taken, and cannot be any diservice to you. The last Lord's Day Sherlock, with 150 horse and 30 firelocks, came to Baggots Rath and preyed the cattle and horses, to the number of 120 cowes and 40 horses, and Capt Howlett, wth about 40 of his owne horse and about as many of the towne horse, pursued 5 miles, and was worsted, lost about 25 slayne and 22 taken prisoners. The Lord discov^{r} unto us his mind in these his dealings towards us. I have noe more at present, but to assure you that I am,

Yo^{r} affeccionate Friend and Kinsman,

Dublin, 3^{d} September, 1651. JO. JONES.

Postcript.

Mr. Henry Jones, Scout Mr Gen^{ll}

Mr. Scott now supplies the office of the Secretary of State, at the Councell of State, desires me to have timely intelligence of all passages, and intellegenc^{es} of concernm^{t}, and hath intrusted and desired me to procure him such. If you please to furnish us wth what occurres to you, it wil-bee a speciall favo^{r} to us; both if there be any appearances of crosse Interests growing amongst o^{r} Friends, it is good it should be timely observed and made known, to prevent the mischiefes y^{t} often happen among prevailing parties occasioned by such Interests. If you bee at any charge in conveying such Intelligence, it shalbee repayed by

Yo^{r} affeccionate Friend and Kinsman,

I was fayne to breake open the JO. JONES.

l^{re} to put in this postscript.

To Mr Morgan Lloyd.

Dearly beloved in the Lord Jesus.

It pleaseth the Lord to exercise his poore creatures under various dispensacons, and all to bring his owne glorious purposes to passe, for good to them that are called according to his purpose, Rom. 8. 28. Att this time, when the mouthes and hearts of all the S'ts are filled wth songs of deliverance, the Lord hath bene pleased to visit my poore family with sad afflicons, my deare wife being brought by sicknes to soe low a condicon, as made those about her to judge that her course was finished, but the angel of his presence was with her, bearing up her spirit in the full assurance of his eternall love, and the spiritts of the S'ts very active in their Addresses at the Throne of grace for her. In the middest of her weaknes yor l'res of the 17th of the last moneth came to our hand, wherein shee did very much rejoyce, causing them to be read over and over in the presence of such as came to visit her, and rejoycing in yor sweet Reproofes, and wishing that her heart and theirs who informed were layd open before you, to remove such hard thoughts as you might have of her. And if it became me to plead in his Justificacon comparatively (for what flesh can be justified from any one sin) I might instance many arguments to evince her indisposition to height and priority, even almost to rediculousnes in respect of or conversacon in the world, and deportments proper to particular stations, consistent wth religious observances, by such as bore that testimony to you of her, if I guesse the party aright they might have testifyed her tenderness of them, using them more like children than servants, endeavouring to cover infirmities, and not denude them. Passion is an unbridled monster, wch many a gracious soule cannot governe.

Although it hath pleased the Lord to exalt himself above

the nations in England and Scotland by casting downe the power of the Earth, and giving his S^{ts} hono^{r} to bind kings in chains, and nobles in fetters of iron, yet here wee labour under more darke appearances, our God in his wisdome permitting the enemy to grow numerous, insolent, and bould about 10 days since. They tooke the towne of Rosse, (except ye church, and a house, which was fortifyed) plundered it, and made the inhabitants pay 700*l* to save it from burning, and they quitted it upon approach of some of our forces that way. They have forced severall small garrisons, they dayly waste and burne our quarters, and take the opportunity to comitt all the wickedness Sathan can invent, while the maine of our forces are ingaged in the seige of Limerick and Galloway. And all this to teach us that he is the Author of those great workes he hath done of late, whereof wee are witnesses. 2dly to humble o^{r} selves under the mighty hand of God, who cann in a moment dash in pieces all the nations of the earth. 3dly that wee are in his hand as the clay in the potter's hand, it is he that gives courage, and casts downe the spirits of men. 4^{thly} That if wee goe not out in the strength of our God, the ashes off o^{r} enemies ruine is sufficient to destroy us. Wee have here some few S'^{ts} who thirst after the water of Life, and long for more discoveries of o^{r} everlasting bridgroome's love, and for more enjoym^{ts} of his blessed presence, and if the Lord would open a way would much rejoyce in yor company and help, although yor stay should not be long. Here is worke for you and deare Mr Powell, and some more of our British Nuntios to divulge the bridgroome's message, and make knowne ye mistery of that union that is betweene ye bride and her head X^{t} Jesus, and what is ye brightnes of the father's glory.

Wee are here much under the letter of gospel dispensacons mingled with clay—humane prudence, weaksighted,

not able to behold the native brightnes of the Sun of Righteousnes. The inclosed paper may inform you how seasonable yor presence had beene wth us at this time, or may be yet.

What becomes of poore Merionethshire, is that countrey denied the tender of gospell mercies? Is there no prophet, noe messenger of X^{t} y^{t} will make Duffryn Ardidwey in his way? Where is Mr Powell, M Lloyd, &c., that once thought it a mercy, and a high priviledge, to bee accompted worthy of being driven to the mountaynes, and desolate places, that they might have liberty to preach the Gospell there. Yo^{r} office and duty is to encounter wth sinn and the power of the prince of the ayre, and where is there more sine to encounter wth where more ignorance, where more hatred to the people of God? where the word saint more scorned? than in Merionethshire. The more the difficulty and opposition, the more is the power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus in gospell administracons manifested and the instruments hono^{ed} I dare not goe no further then Queres in this matter, not knowing where the weight of ye worke lies. I am now called away, my deare Love to yor Wife, and ye rest of o^{r} Xtian friends where you are.

Yo^{r} unworthy brother
in the Lord Jesus,

Dublin, 9^{d} 8^{m} 1651. JO. JONES.

I desire to be remembred to Mr Baker, & his wife, wth thanks for their kind enterteynm^{ts}

To Sr Theoph. Jones.

Deare S^{r}

I have seen an expression of yo^{rs} in Major Cadwyan's l^{re}, wch layd upon mee a deepe obligacon of thankfulness

for yor respects, but it carries wth it too great a weight for acceptacon, by one soe little meriting. Letters from Chester and Beumaris brings the most acceptable newes y^{t} ever wee had of God's crowning mercies, and seasonable Deliverance, promiseing a period to our troubles: The totall overthrow of Scotts P^{r}tend^{er} and all his Forces, not in a blow (wch might be ascribed to chance by those that have noe other God to attribute to) but in a series of successes that his purpose might be seene (who disposeth of all powers) to make this the time of finishing o^{r} troubles, in England and Scotland. I shall onely mencon some, Sterlin Castle, a place of impregnable strength, having in it 40 peices of ordnances, provisions for 500 men a yeare, 5000 armes, great store of powder, Claret Wine, Strong Water, &c., was in less than one day storming with gunnes and morter pieces, delivered to Leif^{t} Gen^{ll} Monk. E. of Derby was left in Lanc^{re} to raise the countrey, and had got together 1500, was by Col. Lilbourne wth his horse, and some foote from Chester, in his own countrey, defeated. Sr Thomas Tildsley, Lo^{r} Witherington, Col. Ashurst, and many other persons of quality, and 500 more slayne and taken, himself wounded, escaping to his king's army, wch army being lodged at Worcester, was on this day seavenight engaged by the Lord Gen^{ll} and his forces, and totally routed. The foote reported all to be put to the sword, and 4 or 5000 horse, as my letter sayeth taken, the rest scattered, not then known. Darbey, and the Lord Lowtherdale wth a party made northward, and in Sherropshire were met wth and both of them taken. The citty and country did vanimously raise, and in great strength to oppose this pretender, and one of my l^{res} mencons, That ye Lord Gen^{ll} had 40000 men come to him, but dismissed above 20000 of them. The countrey sent in provisions, and fresh horses, for his army wthout number as the letter mencons.

Mr Lowe and Mr Gibbons were both executed att Tower Hill, about 3 weekes since. Mr Scott hath desired the safe conveighance of the inclosed by your hand, and I desire you to intimate to the gentlemen from mee, that he shall find those favors and respects he so justly meritts, and may expect made good with him, so far as my interest may carry things to his advantage wch I had written to him my selfe, but that I am not knowne unto him. My humble services to yor sweete Lady.

Yor very affectionate Cousin to serve you,

Dublin, 10th Septh 1651 JO. JONES.

In this Letter was inclosed the wthin mentioned l're, and dirrected thus = for my very worthy friend Mr Terence Coglan, at Killolgan, in the Kings County, Ireland.

Letters sent into England 18° Sept. 1651.

To Watkin Kuffin to enquire of newes, and acquainte him of my wife's sickness, dat 15° Sep.

To brother Humphrey Jones of my wife's sicknes of the losse at Dublin, about Mr Lloyd, and his wife's brother, or some who brought goodes to Waterford, inclosed in Robt Coitmore, dat. 15° Sept. 1651.

To Thomas Scott, Esq.

Deare Sr

Yors with an inclosed to Mr Terence Coghland, came to my hands about 6 days since. The inclosed I have safely conveighed to Sr Theophilus Jones, and because my name was not knowne to the Gentleman, I have written to Sr Theophilus Jones to intimate to him from me, That he shall find the favors and respects he justly merits, and may

expect made good unto him soe far as my Interest may carry things to his advantage. It is probable I shall hear shortly from him upon that account, because I find the Irish not apt to play an after game in Curteseyes, and Trustings. The mencon you made of Majo^{r} Sallwey, made my heart Leape wth in me, he being by the printed Diurnalls rendered to bee past hope of Recovery. Blessed bee the Lord for his kindnes to him in that particular and to^{r} Land and Nation in his appearances, and actings, for, and by his Servants at Worcester. The Lord give us humble, thankfull, uniting, beleeving, and, selfe-denying spirits, That wee fall not into the snares that successes have in them, to lift us up to Pride, allure us to coveteousnes, or rend us into Factions. I should thinke it now very seasonable to passe an Act of Gen^{ll} Indempnity, wth exceptions of all Persons that banished themselves by flying beyond Seas, and all that joyned wth the Irish Rebells and some other notorious Persons and wth other Limitacons, as to bearing of Offices in the Majstracy, That kind of inquisition of Discovering Delinquents, &c., hath bene long enough on foote as to the first and second Warr, and the unanimous Risings of the Countrey to oppose the Comon Enemy, may meritt some consideracon.

Yo^{r} affairs heere are in exceeding low condicon, as the Papers sent the Councell will Demonstrate, and yet those papers doe not represent them as badd as they are. If money come not to Dublin speedily or wee be impowered to charge the Treas^{y} with Bills of Exchange, truely wee know not what to doe. * * * * * *
And yet I could wish, that many more forces were brought over hither commanded by honest, Religious Officers, to finish this worke effectually, and raise that Monarchiall and Cavaleerish interest, and opposition to godliness, wch the greatest of the old Forces, and some of the New, are

affected wth and wch some of us looke upon as more dangerous than any thing the Comon enemy can do: It is good principiis obstare: The Lord direct you in these great Affairs. Some men may be possessed wth high conceits, that Ireland being conquered is little enough to reward their meritt, that have served you in that worke, or that you cutt of the heades of Dukes and Earles to have them placed on their Shoulders, I presume you will not soe much value upon what I write concerning these creatures, as to communicate it to any, wch made mee thus free in my expressions: This is the second tyme since I came to Ireland, that my wife hath bene soe neare death, as was past hopes of Recovery, and yet the Lord hath restored her, my service to yor Lady, Mr Rowe & his wife & Aldran Allein.

Yo^r^ reall & true Servant, as long as my name is

Dublin, 16th Sept., 1651. JO. JONES.

Letters sent by the Post, ye 9th of October, 1651, Dub(lin).

To Thomas Scott, Esq., the newes of Rosse, &c., to move ye Parliam^t^ for Colonel Hewson, that some Irish Lands might be settled on him, to move that Aldran. Hutchinson be Sub Trer.

To Mr. Humfrey Jones my brother, my wifes sickness, &c.

To Bro. Jonathan Edw. to come over, and bring Ann or Mary Edwards wth him.

To Brother Cuffin about Mr. Poore's Lands, to desire him to agree for them, the price about 1000*l*, about ye Ld Cherburyes Estate, in Ireland, in answer to his La. L'^res^ to me.

To Capt. Taylor to impower him to sett Assaph Lands, &c., touching the troope, that the Capt. should Receive my Pay, while the Troope was abroad, and toutching other designes to disband it, &c.

To Dr Wm Stane,

Deare Sr

I have received many sweet Refreshmts from you, the Lord hath given you plentifully to Drinke of the waters of life, that you might refresh barren hearts, and comfort drooping and wounded spirits ; shee who held your memory precious, is now upon finishing her course, and rejoycingly longs to bee dissolved, and to be wth Xt being full apprehensive of the eternall love of the Father, and of the glory of the Lord Jesus, that shalbee revealed unto her, she hath kept her bed this 4 monethes, and hath bene continued wth us by an extraordinary measure of spirit, having for many dayes taken noe sustenance but small beer, but now the frame of her nature is dissolved, she desires to be remembred to the Lady Ireton, whom shee doeth highly honor and the S'ts at Westmr

Dear Sr shall Ireland noe more enjoy you. I am perswaeded that a new Representative may doe much toward the planting of Ireland wth very good people, what qualificacons will perswade a people sencible of their present burthens, and not of the reasons, and necessity of them to choose those persons that laid the burthens, or their adherents to bee of the next representative ? What Interest in England is like to carry the universall vote ? Is not that Interest, that seeing to be in a suffering condicon, and to promisse ease of burthens, and new impositions, if it were againe in power, like to have great stroke in Eleccon ? Who shall jugde wheter Rules, and qualificacons appointed bee observed in Eleccons ? who shalbe of that Comitte ? and who shall appointe such a one ? if the new Representative according to the freedome and usage of former Parliamts ? will the lesser expell the greater number by vote ? if force interpose, will they not cry out, that their freedome is invaded ? If ye hearts of the people bee

generally for the present governm^{t} and Governo^{r} what need Armies, and guarrisons to be kept on foot? I had rather doe a people good though against their wills, than please them in shew onely, to the hazarding of ye peace, and wel being? God gave men Reason, that they should bee guided by it, in the affairs of men, where (by an unavoydable necessity), they are not warranted to expect extraordinary successe by a Devine Providence: let their be patience, used until burthens may be taken of, and the people enjoy some Rest, and opulency under ye new chaunge, let the old weeds that lye dead on the ground, have time to Rott, let the Comonwealth have some time to take roote in the interests of men, before it be transplanted or grafted on another stocke, lett their be some trialls made by Eleccons to vacant places, and by adjoyrnements, and then some Judgm^{t} may be given.

If you have nothing else to doe answer my queres, &c., and hide my folly or weakness in propounding these things, but it is to a friend.

The Lord is pleased to begin to gather a people here at Dublin into a Church fellowshipp, the foundacons off 2 Congregacons are already laid, ye number of either not many, but he that soweth in this vineyard, will give ye encrease.

I long to see what you have to propound for Ireland, I am apt to Jugde it good before I know it; it groweth late, and I am much discomposed. The Lord reward yor labour of Love to yor dying friend, and to your

faithful friend, and Servant,

Dublin, 19th Nov., 1651.

Postscript.

Since ye writing of the inclosed, I have had leisure to thinke of another passage in yor letter, wch was concerning

Com^{rs} and proposalls sent into Scotland. Verite I like the Com^{rs} exceeding well, and I thinck England hath not another sett, but I like not their absence from Westm^{r} where affaires of most concernm^{t} are.

The proposalls are hono^{ble} and honest, but I am soe short sighted that I cannot see how it will doe our worke; the men they shall treate wthall are such as get nothing by being united to England, except loosing their heads when they Rebell: they have now more immunities, and more power over the people, then I hope the Law of England will ever admitt.

It is the interest of the Comonwealth of England to breake the Interest of the great men in Scotland, and to settle the Interest of the comon people upon a different foote from the Interests of their Lords and Masters. The late King seing the interest of the Lords there to bee then (when he attempted to invade them) against his interests, made a Proclamacon that such as were Tennants to those great men that then opposed him should hold their lands of him, paying but one moiety, as I remember, of the Rents and Duties they were bound to pay their Landlords, but they were wise enough to keepe this from the Tennants, and the issue was not tried.

What he would have done upon Injurious grounds the Parliam^{t} may doe upon honest and honourable grounds; the invasion in ye yeare 1648, and ye charge of the army in seeking Reparacon (wch ought to have beene given in an amiable way) amounts to a higher acc^{t} than all Scotl^{d} is worth. The great men will never be faithfull to you, soe long as you propound freedome to ye people and Reliefe ag^{t} their Tiranny. The people will hardly comprend ye excellency of a Com: Wea: & a free people of England, they having noe money to buy lands in England, and by that freedome loosing ye advantage of transporting English

Wool, Leather, and other prohibited comodities into forrigne p^{ts}; they will not app^{r}hend y^{t} it is for y^{er} good and for the safty of y^{t} countrey, y^{t} they should pay great Taxes, Exc. and Customs, but make ye freeholds of their respective holdings upon reasonable termes, you will presntly settle a Revenue, and fix their Interest to you.

Yo^{rs} in ye Lord Jesus,

J. J.

To Mr Morgan Lloyd,

19th Nov, 1651.

Deare Brother in the Lord Jesus,

The Lord Jesus reward you for yor many sweet Refreshments and Christian consolations administered to yor unworthy friends here. I believe most of yor L^{res} came to us; I must desire a further time to give a more particular accompt of them. At present I write wth a trembling heart, my dearest yokefellow being upon the point of finishing her course in this life, and ready to be gathered to the bosome of the father, to behold the glory of the Lord Jesus, her head and spouse. Yo^{rs} that came by the last Packett, being 4 in number, much refreshed her spirit, and raised a conceit in her (upon yor expression of dedd Lazarus) that shee should Recover, saying shee had faith enough to be healed, and pressing earnestly (when shee was not able to turne herselfe in her bedd) to be carried into Wales, to see the Saints at Wrexham, who had soe many prayers at the Trone of grace in her behalfe; but now shee perceives that her Redemption draweth nigh, wherein shee doeth much Rejoyce, earnestly desiring to be dissolved and to be wth X$^{t.}$ Last night I was called up (having watched with her the night before), shee being growne speechles, but after a little time shee Recovered her speech.

I believe shee cannot continue 2 nights longer wthout a speciall worke of God, the frame of her nature being quite dissolved in her. I rejoyce in the paper you sent from Merrionythshire: the Lord grant it proceeds from Renewed Spiritts, and not from carnall compliance. It is not difficult to make use of a gospell Language; but it is a Rare and a blessed thing to have soe many gospell spiritts in that countrey. There may much sincerity accompany a little faith, little knowledge and great Temptacons, wch abound in that countrey. The more tender a plant is, the more often nourishm^{t} must be applied. I intend (as soon as I can attaine to any leisure and composednes of spirit) to write to Cousin Robert Owens, whose heart, I am perswaeded, y^{s} Right, although Discretion and Xtian prudence may be wanting. In a magistraticall cognizance it is good to be severe, that the world may know y^{t} the power is ordeined for a terror to evill doers, and y^{t} ye sword is not boorne in vayne, but in Xtian cognizance and gospell administracons, the ruling power is love; whatsoever proceeds not from love, as to ye persons of men, proceeds not from a gospell spiritt. I must entreat you to excuse mee because I write not to Capt Taylor (and my other friends): I shall, if ye Lord permitt, answer his by ye next. I am not able to write more. Y^{e} Ld Jesus encrease his guifts and graces in you more and more, and deale unto you aboundantly out of those rich Trers of wisdome and knowledge his in him.

Yo^{rs} in the Ld Jesus,

J. J.

Mr Tho. Scott,

Dear and my ever hon^{d} Friend,

The inclosed, from Mr. Frost, is from Mr. Coghlin Comissary Gen^{ll} Reinolds, certifyes here that Clare Castle

is surrendered to Leift Genll Ludlow. The Irish are now endeavouring to have a genll meeting or councell, as they call it, at James Towne upon the Shannon northward. Itt is thought they have some express from their young King, since the defeate at Worcester, and many of them seemes to bee confident that their King hath a considerable army in the Marches of Wales, by whom a considerable overthrowe was given (as they alleadge) to the Parliamts forces in South Wales—this Reported by Dungan to Coll. Markham, who is his prisoner, and now upon his paroll, he hath desired leave to send into England to understand the condicon of affaires there, being resolved (as he sayeth) to lay downe Armes, and get beyond Seas, as soone as he is satisfyed the King's Interest is lost in England, but the Comer will not (without further advice) grant such leave, least such might be sent to negociate with forrigne agents. Lorraine is still high in their hopes and expectations, wth wch they abuse the common people, and endeavor to draw them to a generall rising, perswaeding them that the Parliamt will grant them noe termes for Religion, Lives, or Estates. Longford and severall other Baronies are lately gone out in Rebellion, but the Lord hath cast feares and terrors upon them; when they intend to Rest, apprehensions of feares and allarmes fall upon them, even when noe parties of ors are neere; they are divided into factions and jalousies among themselves; the old Irish looke upon Dungan and Sherlocke and their Adherents, as falling away from them, and all confesse themselves to bee in a desperate and lost condicon. If the Parliamt thinke fitt to hold forth any qualificacons to them, I humbly conceive it is high time they were declared. Sir, I beseech you, afford a little of yor assistance to ye affaires of Ireland, at that comittee, especially in those particulars of money menconed in or letters to ye councell, wherein the condicon of affaires here

are faithfully Represented. Trully I write these lines to you wth a trembling heart; my dear wife, a precious godly woeman, and a faithfull yokefellow, is now finishing her course, after 4 monethes heavy sicknes—shee cannot, without a miracle, outlive this night. In respect of her I have great cause to rejoyce, but I want a selfe-denying spirit. This will occasion, and hath drawne uppon me already, some extraordinary charge, wch makes me presume to desire yor favour to know whether anything hath bene thought of upon the Com^rs^ letters to yor selfe, Sr Henry Vane and Major Galloway concerning o^r^ Sallaries. I thought to have bene silent in this matter, but necessity of conveniency at least makes mee breake through any former Resolucons, rather than hazard an Imputacon of a base Mind: If anything bee ordered in that particular, I desire my brother Humphrey Jones (who professes much beholdingnes to you) might have an order to Receive to my use what is allotted to mee. Here is noe money to be had, and it were a sinne to take it if it were, while soe many poore sick souldiers are dayly perishing for want of competent sustennance. Pardon this my freenes wth you, being soe unworthy of soe many favours and respects as you have bene pleased to cast upon mee. Yo^rs^ of the 4th of November came very seasonably to us with the newes of Man and Jersey, wee having then a convoy goeing to Connaught. If it were not presumption, I could wish that my humble services were presented to my Lord Leif^t^ who sent me hither, the unworthiest and unfittest of many thousands. I wish the Lord would furnish me wth such a head and heart to mannage this great Trust as he hath who designed me for it. I shall noe further adde to yor trouble at present.

Yo^r^ faithfull and true Servant.

Dublin, 19th Nov., 1651.

To Mr Scott

Hon^{ed} S^{r}

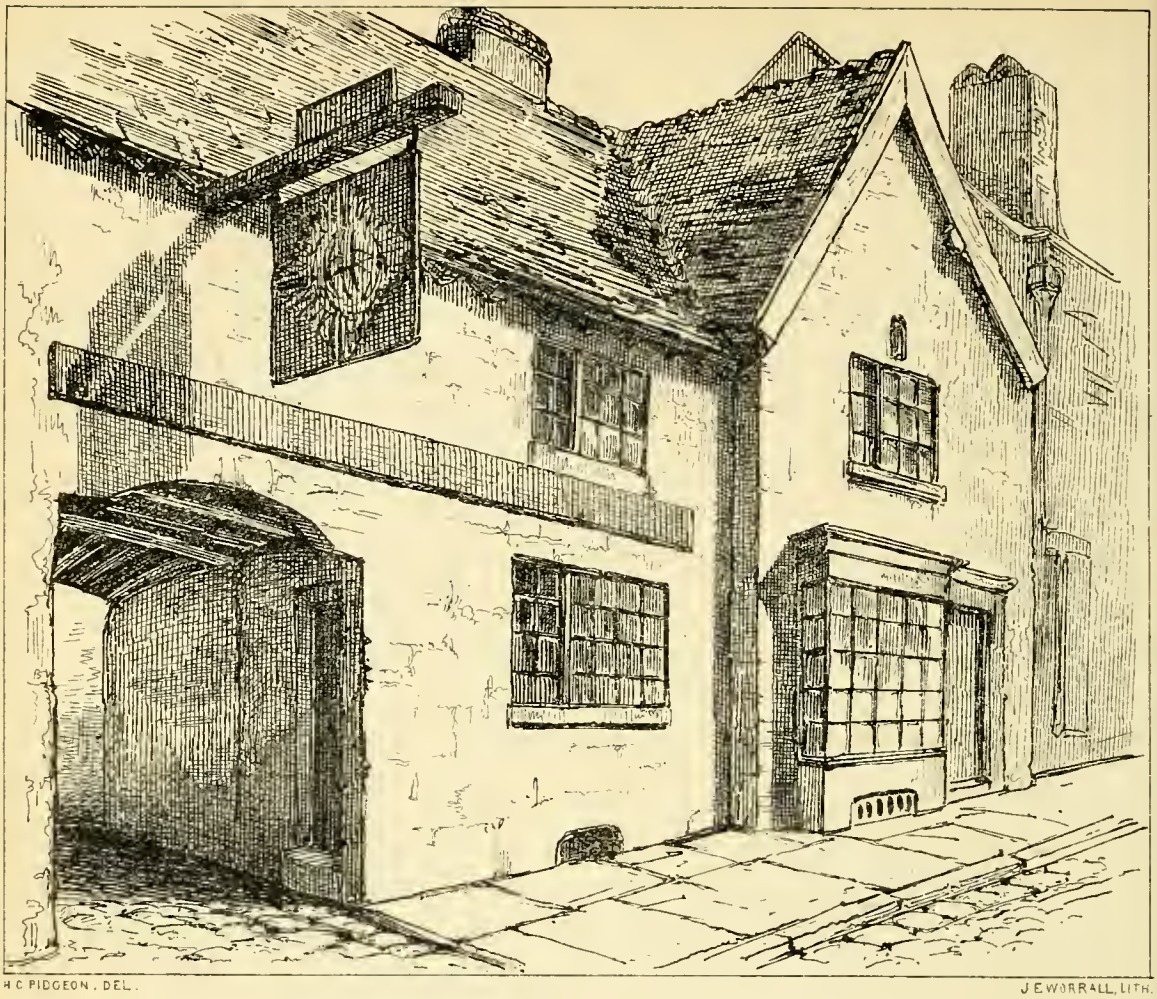
There hath not any opportunity of sending over from (sic) beene offered me, wherin I have not troubled you wth some few lines; Two of wch you mencon (in yo^{rs} of ye 11th of November) to have rec^{d} together; but I beginne to be a little suspitious, whether I keepe within the compasse of good manners, considering how little I can contribute to the satisfaction of wise men, and yet by that litle how much I interrupte yor more weighty affairs, in yor retaliation, truly S^{r} I rejoyce in yor l'^{res} but when I consider how little time you have to spare I am sorry I am an occasion of yor trouble.

I hope by this time ye sadde newes of that blessed St Ireton is in some measure digested by all his Relations, and that some Resolution is already taken for ye suplying of his absence in yo^{rr} service heer, although I can never hope to be acquainted with soe humble, patien^{t} wise, religious selfedenying man, as he was; It wilbee necessary to have the pleasure of the Parliam^{t} and Councell knowne heere in that matter wth all speede. It wilbee a means to settle some humo^{r} wch may beginne to stirr and swell with hopes, and expectacons, and to prevent ye breaking out of those animosities, w^{ch} (by the wisdom of him that is gone) were silenced! but if that be delayed, ambition, crosse Interests, and diversity of Judmen^{ts}, will have time to take Roote, and cast therein Influences upon publiq^{c} affaires, and you may be assured that such tempers there are in the Army; But ye Lord Leif^{ts} presence (if ye most sadd newes of ye Lord Deputies death hath not too much indisposed him and the affaires in England, can admitt his absence from the house and Councell) will remove all difficulties, and give new life to those that desire to promote religious and publiq^{e} Interests; I am very sensible of the condicon

under wch you are in respect of yor dearest consort, myself having bene long exercised under ye like affliccon wch the Lord in much mercy to her (hath now given a period to), by taking her to himselfe, a more religious, discreet, and lovely creature, I believe never dwelt in this unhappy Land. The Lord teaches to find ye cause of o^{r} rejoycings to be above creature comforts.

* * * * *

It is very unusual, especially amongst statesmen, to extend soe much fav^{r} and Respect when there is no expectacon of suitable returns. I am sorry you are put to soe much trouble, as to move the Howse in o^{r} businesse, and for my own parte, I had rather suffer much hardship, than to have o^{r} names come there upon such selfish occason; and yet this may pceed from pride of heart in mee, who have greater Reason than the rest to bee sollicitous therein. My dearest wife's interm^{t} and sickness having cost me neer £500, for wch I stand ingaged to Honest Aldran Hutchinson, who letts noe man that is a friend to the Parliame^{t} nor ye publiq^{e} affaires want anything, that he can help them to. Wee are now goeing to Kilkenny, and from thence to Connaught, to endeavo^{r} the setling of the affaires of the army, untill the Parliam^{t} shall order the conduct of the Forces, and managem^{t} of those in some better hands; wee expect to meete many difficulties when the officers are come together out of the severall quarters, because the contribucons fall exceeding shorte in most places, very many Baronies, and some whole Counties, wch paid considerable assessm^{ts} the last yeare, and ye begining of this summer, are now totally wasted, soe that all the Revenue that can be raised here, and the Treasury that comes from England (except it be in larger proporcon than ordinary), cannot possibly pay the Forces, according to the reduced establishm^{t} here, wch is 4 days pay to officers, 6s. per weeke



H.C. PIDGEON, DEL. J.E. WORRALL, LITH.

THE HOUSE IN WHICH

MAJOR GENERAL HARRISON

WAS BORN, AT

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYNE.

J Harrison

FAC SIMILE OF HIS HANDWRITING

and forrage to troopers, and 3s. 3d. per weeke to private foote souldiers, below wch I thinke it is impossible for them to live; and yet there must be gott at least 12,000lbs. worth of corne into the stores for ye next spring, some speciall significacon of ye Parliam^{ts} care and tenderness of ye Forces in Ireland, would be very seasonable at this time. I doo very well like the course you propound to supply a charracter. I shall hereafter take care that yor l^{res} you shall please to send me be well ayred, and where you find this marke x in mine you may give it a warm enterteynment.

* * * * *

* * * I cannot tell if any further service in that or any other maner may be avayleable unto you, I shall rejoyce in receiving yor further pleasure, and my endeavo^{r} shall bear witness how desirous I am to be found,

Yo^{r} faithfull and usefull
and humble servant.

Dublin, 25° Decr 1651.

Major Gen^{ll} Harrison to Col^{l} Jones.

8th daie 1st m. 52.

Much endeared Brother,

I have beene prevented three or foure poasts in writing my kind acknowledgmen^{t} to you of yor last loving and very Spiritual letter; I am soe assured of yor endeared respects and readiness to cover my failings, that I shall omit to saie anie thing forr my excuse, onely that I thinke I have beene more troubled att the delaie then you. Notwithstanding some (ignorant of you) have enquired after your steadfast-

ness, because Mr Erberry vouched you in a booke wee lately putt forth, yett I thanke the Lord I had not an undervaluing thought, but was able to plead yor innocence. As for the poore requests I have formerly made to yow, where of yor last mentions, I kindly thancke yor remembrance of them, though as yett the Lord hath not cleared yor waie to answere them, in his time I hope for both. Our last letters give us to believe, That not onely the Dutch but France, Denmarke, and Spaine will engage speedily against us : doe not theise things import the Lord of Hoasts about his Threshing-worke. Yett we are labouring after a peace wth the Dutch, notwithstanding a crosse-providence. Whether is most the Saints worke, to run after Christ to Sea whereon hee hath begun to sett his right foote, or to men fearing the Lord to bee putt into all places of power att home. I earnestly beseech you in yor addresses to the Allmightie and o^r owen Father Remember yor Fellow Member.

T. H.

To Col^l Cromwell,

Honored Sir,

I hope the Lord hath brought you safe to yor relations, and that he hath given you a heart never to forgett the loveing kindnes of the Lord, nor to be lifted up in your speritt in the enjoym^t of mercyes as though your owne hand had acquired them for you : A meeke and an humble sperett is a Pretious frame, which the Lord will owne in that day when he maketh up his Jewells, 3 Mal : 17.

Truly S^r I have had many thoughts of that sinne of forgetting the Lord, and what he had done for us; how

dangerous it is produceing naturally the sinnes of Ingratitude and Pride, which the Lord fearfully punisheth. The Prosperous state is the slippery and dangerous state of a Christian, because then the Poore Creature is apt to have his affextions fixed upon outward enjoym^{ts} and to waxe fatt, lightly esteeming of the Roott of his Salvations, and forgetting God that formed him. Deut. 32. In such a condicon it is good to be often looking Back from what state and into what state we are brought, before how many thousands are wee advanced by free grace, and not by any thing in ourselfes. That the higher we are advanced in the world, the more dangerous is the Pinacle wee stand upon, and this should teach us not to be high minded butt feare. If I had observed in you a high and selfish speritt I am affrayd my base heart had not beene free to use this freedome with you, my desier is to mynd you of this Rock whereon many have made shipwracke of good conscience that thorow grace you may avoyd them. I shall humbly desier you to read over these ensueing Scriptures, and I hope wilbe of use to you, to healpe and quicken your sperit to the Dutyes before mentioned. Deu. 4. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Deut. 6. 3 to ye 14^{v} (Cor. 2. 2, 4; from ye 15th to ye 23. These two last demonstrate the haynousness of the sinne of ingratitude Towards God.) Isay 17th 10, 11. I doe not know any one History soe often cyted in Scripture, as that in the 25th of Numbers and in most of them mentioned as a sinne of fforgettfulnes. I hope the Lord hath endued you with a gratious temper of sperit to beare with the weakenesses of men and to accept of a cupp of cold water tendered in Love.

This instant while I was a writeing this letter came a letter to me intimating that there is an intention of putting another Capt to comand my Troope; so farr as myne owne interest is concerned therein I doe most freely submitt into

it but with all I doe most ernestly desier, that it may be soe disposed of that those few p'sons in that country who have sett their hearts to seeke the Lord (and have bene hitherto counttenanced, and encouradged therein by that troope, more then by any other power or p'sons in civill authority in that country may be protected by them, and that the officers of the troope may receive ye benefitt of the remove, they being religious, faithfull, and stout, not inferior to any of their degree, I am pswaded. And therefore I conceve it a sinn to putt any unnecessary discouragem^t^ upon them, for my owne pte. If I conceived that by this removeall, I should want any parte of that intimacy, and freedome, I have had with those precious godly p'sons of the troope, it would much trouble me. But in other respects (I hope that consideration wil be had of them.) I submitt and therefore make bold humbly to begg yor favo^r^ to represent my sence in this matter to such as are to act more properly in affaires of that nature and especially to my honorred and deare friend Major Gen^ll^ Harrison unto whom I cannot possibly write at present, the packett being just now going away, wch I hope he will take in good pte, considering he hath knowne me soe long, that my age may plead something for my penn, But as yet he hath not a right to that plea for not remembering an old acquaintance in above two yeares time, however, I confesse the duty runnes retrograde in these outward expressions of Respects, and I have been fayling in mind towards him: I am confident he hath made good his promisse of often minding me and the rest that came to Ireland at the throne of grace, and y^t^ ye efficacy of such prayors and wrestlings hath hithertoe preserved us. The Lord guide you by his spiritt to lay out yourselfe for him according to the opportunity he putts into your hands) in a spiritt of meckness, humility, and sobriety,

and teach you to enquire every stepp you goe, whether this be the way of the Lord and whether you are ledd by his councell to what you undertake.

Your very faithfull and reall Servant,

JO. JONES.

Dublin, 22nd January, 1852.

I have sent enclosed the
Articles of Arran.

To Ma^{r} Scott,

Hon^{ed} Sir.

The Lord is pleased (by varyous providences) to afford some matter of late to communicate unto you, to teach us our strength is in him who guids the affaires and councells of men, according to his Eternal purpose and will, and that wee have noe strength or wisdom of our owne whereon wee may relye.

I shall first mention those p'ticulars wherein God is pleased to owne his weake instruments, as the delivering of Inis Buffin, and the rest of the adjacent Islands, into the Parlia^{nt} possession; the articles of surrender are sent to the Parliam^{t} and counsell, and may be thought suteable to the difficulty of gaining of that place by fforce.

Questionless that service was owned by God, for during all the time of that Treaty, there was soe greate a calme that our shipps Ridd in safety close to the Island all the while, which they could not possibly have done if any winde had beene stirring, as Capt Clarke informs us; secondly, the delivering of several Islands in the Loughs in Ulster to our fforces, in one of which Sir Phelim O'Neale was taken, and was Isterday tryed at our high court of Justice at

Dublin, and condemned of High Treason, and within a few hours a period will be given to his high titles as being created Earle of Tyrone, by the Ultaghes, according to their Rude solemnityes, Prince of Ulster by the Pope's Commission or Bull, Gen^{ll} of all the Leinster and Ulster fforces, by comission from the lords of ye Pale, and the Prince and Cheefe actor in the Horrid Massacres and Rebellion, by comission from the late Charles Stuart, as himselfe hath often confessed, and published in his manifest^{as}; all which was made good by evidence at his tryall. This course of inquisition after Blood, and doeing exemplary justice, is terrible to this nation; insoemuch that the murtherers hearts faint, and theire joynts tremble even to admiration, when they come to ye Barr. This cruell monster of men when he came first to the Barr was scarce able to stand for trembling, or to speak for teares. I beleefe tho some of their guilte of murthers have driven many out of late, insoemuch that the rebbles are lately growne numerous, and have beene instruments to give us some sharpe rebukes about the 6th of ffebruary, neare Rannile Castle, in Erconaught, almost over ag^{t} Inis Buffin; 800 Irish fell (out of an ambush in a narrow pass) upon 270 foote, which were marching that way to meete the fforces that went by sea to reduce Buffin, and routed them, in this ingagem^{t} Capt Hassett, who commanded the party, and Capt Weston, Lt Lewis and Lt Hall, and about 46 private souldiours were slayne; yet the remainder of the party rallyed, and routed the enemye, and ye enemy rallyed, and our party routed them the second tyme; butt being foote and strangers they could not p'sue to considerable effect. A Capt of ye enemy and some more men were slayne, and our own armes, and the enemyes armes upon the last rout were recovered by oure men, and the next day they tooke Lt Gen^{ll} Burke in ye Island, which I hope will be delivered

up to justice. The Lord Muskerry is lately landed at Corke, and sayes he will cast himselfe upon the Parliam^{ts} mercy, pretending that Clergie in Spaine had determined to murther him, and that Portugal would not entertayne him, of all which I beleeve, but my share, he is sent for to Dublin in Salvia Custodia.

In Kerry, and Corke, and those parts very many are gone out lately, Co^{ll} O'Sillinan Beere, and Co^{ll} O'Driskall, and divers others who formerly came in on Muskerry's articles are gone out, and reported to be 1500 men strong. They have taken Islands, in the Bay of Bantry (as I take it), for recovery of which place fforces are ordered both by sea and land; those Muskerry Rebbles fell upon one Capt Gibbons and 40 musketteres wth him, killed the said Cap^{t,} Lt Boone, Ensign Booth, and 34 private men, 6 only escapeing. The enemy then lost a Cap^{t,} a L^{t,} and 6 men, and 27 wounded; this success made the enemy to attempt to surprise a convoy of about 90 foote, which was goeing from Dingle to fforce Needham, commanded by Lt Lambart, wth provision for that Garr^{isn} who being come within two myles of ye fort, ye enemy appeerd unto him, conceaved to be in number 800, and thereupon the whole party left the carriadges, threw down theere armes and ranne to Co^{ll} Macffinnens howse being not farr off, except the L^{t} and sixe men, who it seemes stood and were slayne; the enemy pursued them to Macffinnins house to putt them all to the sword, but Mcffinnin being not soe unhospitable or barbarous as his neighbours would have him to bee, protested that himselfe and every man with him would dye in their own defense, unless they would accept of a Ransome for the men, which being (wth seeming difficulty) accepted, Mcffinnin payd the money presently and sent the men home. I have been the more p'ticular in these two, because in them the Lord seems to rebuke us, and yet he does not leave us

without daily testimony of his love and tenderness towards us. A party from Limerick fell lately upon those y^{t} are out in y^{t} county, and killed about 60 of them; the like number were killed by Corke fforces lately, and at another tyme about 40; and this day we have intelligence from Co^{ll} Barrow that Trinity Island, in the county of Cavan (as I take it), and some other Island thereabouts, are delivered up unto him, and that he is now before Cloughwater Castle, and hath by a fiery floate burnt theire Boates or Cotts (as he hopes), and with sluges hath burnt theire corne, and hopes in a short tyme it will be rendered or quitted. This is theire most confideing garrison in Ulster. God hath Brought them very low, both in spirit and number in the north. There is noe way to reduce this land to a p'fect and lasting peace, but by removing all heads of Septs and Preists and men of knowledge in armes, or otherwise in repute, out of this land, and breaking all kinds of interest among them, and by laying waste all fast countreyes in Ireland, and suffer noe mankind to live there, but within garrisons, for which end Declarations are going out to lay wast the whole County of Kerry, and a great part of the countyes of Corke, Lymerick, Typerary, Clare, Galloway, Roscomon, Sligo, &c., the whole countyes of Letrime, ffermanagh, Cavan, Tyrone, Monaghan, and Ardmanagh, except peeres of Barrownyes in some of them, not considerable. Likewise part of Longford, Meath, and Lowth, bordering upon those countyes; the whole county of Wicklow, and part of King and Queen's Countyes. I am afrayd I have too much presumed upon yor patience in soe tedious a narration, butt yor goodness will beare with more faults then this in

Yo^{r} reall and humble servant

J. J.

Dublin, 1st May, 1652.

To Major Gen^{ll} Harrison.

Deare S^{r}

Nott long after the Lord Deputyes departure from us there was a strong apprehention uppon ye speritt of one Eminent Coll. in ye army (who I hope is now at rest), y^{t} most of the principall officers and command^{rs} of the forces in Ireland were designers of some dangerous interest, and that they would promote ye same by theire power and commands in the army, which being made knowne to the Com^{rs} of Parliam^{t} they have seriously inquired into, and examined the grounds, of such an apprehention, and found it to have neither Evidence to warrant it, nor any probability of reason to support it. Butt the contrary was very evident, and cleere to the Judgmen^{t} of most, if not all ye Com^{rs} vizt that the Persons conceived to be those designers, are the most godly, most praying, and most self-denying men, that ever served any state in theire capacity, whereof they have not only before, butt alsoe since that time given most ample and pregnant testimony, and nevertheless it is reported here, y^{t} those apprehentions of them have been transmitted into England, and there represented as truths to theire prejudice, I am persuaded y^{t} theire frequent and ernest prayers to, and wrestlings with the Lord for his appearance, in, and with the Parliam^{t} in the manadgm^{t} of the great duty and trust y^{t} lyeth upon them in the settlem^{t} of the peace and tranquility, of the nations committed to theire care, and in ye advancem^{t} of the Gospell, in ye Power and purity thereof hath p̄vayled much on theire behalfe, and I hope y^{t} ye Lord will never suffer the Parliam^{t} (whom he hath soe highly honored), in his work, even to ye terror and admirac̄on of all ye Nations round about you) to weaken ye hand or sadden the hearts of such pretious Saints, and faithful servants to theire interest, the temper of whose Speritts, in ye manadgm^{t} of affaires here may be gathered

by the inclosed * wch I have sent you for that end, and have psumed (upon that old acquaintance I have had with you, and those warm expressions of your love to myself (the unworthyest of all your acquaintance), as to all those that have any appearance of the Image of Christ, and worke of grace upon theire heartes) to trouble you with these hasty lines, that (if you see cause) you may make use of them, for ye vindicacon of the servants of Christ, in Ireland, (concerned in this nation) soe farr as you shall conceave fitting, wee are here in a longing expectacon of some persons armed with authority to Exersize the power formerly placed in the Deputy Generall to be sent over to ease those that are unskillfull in Imploym^t of such importance, and doe really and cordially desier to be eased therein. I can truly and freely say that although I account it the greatest earthly favor attaynable by me to be thought worthy by the Parliam^t to be Imployed in theire service (wherein I hope through grace to be found faithful), yett I cannot take much comfort in any Imploym^t for which I am not fittly Qualified; and I believe the rest of my fellow Com^rs are of the same minde, I beseech ye Lord Jehova to guide you in your walkings before him to manifest unto you more and more of his Eternall love, and free grace in Christ, to fill your heart with a Speritt of Humility, and the feare of his greate name, and to purg you of all rising thoughts or desier of greate things in the world, wch I finde to be close and dangerous snares, attending high Imploym^ts. I shall add noe further to your trouble at present, butt to assure you both with heart and hand that I am, &c.,

JO. JONES.

Cork, June 21st, 1652.

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* No Copy is inserted.

To Mr Morgan Lloyd.

Most Deare and beloved in ye Lord,

Yours of ye 21st of ye 5th came to my hand this day, I have not time to make knowne our wants unto you in this poore Ireland, the Irish bloody party in all places subdued, except a few in the North who keepe in woods, boggs, and mountaynes, inaccessable with an army, wch will require time to subdue them by planting Garrisons upon them to starve them, and yet God is pleased to hould forth some tokens of his displeasure, the sickness rages in Galloway and is spread over all that province. It fearfully brake out at Cashell, a few days since the people being taken suddenly with madness, whereof they dye instantly, 20 dyed in that manner in three days in that little towne. The sickness is in Dublin and countrey about, but not soe violent as in other places, but few escape that have it, Mr. Richardson, our auditor, sometimes a member of Allhallowes Ch. came home with us on Munday night, and the next day his wife, his maid, and two of his children were visited, Poore Colonell Barrow continues still in ye hands of cruell bloody men, who will not release him under 2000*l* ransome, or pardon to them for their murders, I desire in ye behalfe of ye servants of God here that our ffellow members with you doe earnestly seeke the Lord on our behalfes, that his mind may be revealed unto us in these his reproofs, and that the Lord may deliver such of his servants as are now cast unto ye furnace of afliccon. It is good at all times, (but especially when the Lord appeares terrible to ye children of men by his judgmts) to be striving and wrestling with the Lord for a spirit of prayer, of humility, of love, and of ye feare of ye Lord wch proceedeth from love. It is good then to be dwelling with him in the coole under the mulberry trees, in and under his ordinance, not in speculations, or unwarrantable empty

notions, soaring soe high, that the wings of holy zeale are ———, Gospell ordinances and administracons, accounted contemptible, and carnall, and esteemed yokes, not priviledges, from whence must follow a fearfull and a hideous falling downe into the sea of perdition, these things I mencon, because some such wee have in Ireland, Lt. Col. Bowen is gone soe farr in that way, that he is become a professed Atheist, and is shortly to come to his trial for ye same, there be some others of that way towards Corke, the Lord helpe us to watch over our spiritts, and to disserne this spirit of Delusion, this Dragons Tayle, that strikes soe many professors out of ye Church, whose fall shakes, and darkens heaven, makes poore weake saints stagger, I have not time to enlarge, nor to write to my boy, nor other friends at present, I desire you to remember me to them. The Lord give you much comfort of your little one,

Your assured friend in Christ,

JO. JONES.

I am not sorry for ye Welch Peticon, the more the Saints are tryed, the more their luster will appeare, it is good to observe what hands promote it, who they be that subscribe it, and to take exact notice what temper they are of, and what kind of ministry they are and would promote.

To Maio^r^ Sallway.

I have aduentured once more to convey unto you a cast of Hawkes by the Bearer (being a ffalken and a Tassell), if they come not to y^r^ hands in good condicon, I desire he may not Receave any incouradgm^t^ by yor bounty towards him. As to the hopefullness of theire being as serviceable as usually creatures of theire kind are, I must wholely depend

upon my good friend y^{t} helpes mee toe them, not haveing any judgment to decerne the goodness of them: The Lord keepe your Speritt constantly upon the wing y^{t} the marrow and substance of your delight may be above any Earthly creatures or comforts, and that those greate Endowments which God hath qualifyed you with to decerne of things beyond the ordinary Pitch of men, may not be like your high flown Hawkes, who although they be carryed up farr above the Earth, yet they have theire backes towards heaven, and theire Eyes are fixed upon the Earth.

Your most affectionat frind and very reall servant,

J. JONES.

Drogedah August 19th 1652.

To Mr Morgan Lloyd.

Most deare and beloved in Christ,

It is a most blessed thing to have a close comunion with our God, in the motions and workings of that love which the eternall Speritt of love and life begetts in the heart, those are the Rivers of living waters, which flow from the humble and meek speritts of a Saint to refresh barren and dry hearts and to quicken dead, dull, and slow speritts. These flowings from your heart to your penn hath through grace conveyed much Refresm^{t} and comfort to your friends here in Ireland that dwell in the midst of snares, and being called to spend theire whole tyme in earthly and carnall Imploym^{ts}, have theire Speritts much deadened, and cooled in the things of Heaven, and affaires of the Soull. If a stone or piece of Earth were placed in the braine and at the heart, how could and heavy would the Speritt be, even such are the affaires of the world (although honest

and necessary.) And therefore happy are they that are least incumbred with them; my brother Harry being now more than formerly Engaged in those affaires (having the Governem^{t} of Dublin cast uppon him in Co^{ll} Hewsons absence), is more then ordinarily sensible of this, although God hath given him a strong lively Speritt in the wayes and workes of Christ. The Lord is pleased to continue the Rodd of his anger upon this Land some off his owne people in Dublin are in the furnace, and some taken away. I pray you sett our X̄ian frends with you upon seeking the Lord Earnestly and frequently for us, and Likewise for themselfes and all the saints of God least his anger burn against our couldnes and inactivity. Great actions are abroad, wherein the hono^{d} of God are greatly concerned, who knoweth whether the faith, prayers and graces of the Saints are given for such a tyme as this butt if they stand not in ye gapp they will not be approved when deliverance cometh. Your Generalls torment me by putting me into a longing to know particulars, what are the things that are printed against the Saints at Wrexham, unto whom (I hope) the Lord hath given a Speritt of Sobriety, as well as X̄ian zeale not to affect empty vaine speculations which hath deceaved many into a contempt of the Ordinances of Christ, and his written word, and at length (like him that beleved himselfe to be that great Starr which he looked upon and pointed at) beleeve that themselfes are God and Christ, that noe Act of theires is sinfull, that Cheques of Conscience against the Committall of any Act be it ever soe sinfull or monstrous, proceeds from the want of that Perfection which they have acquired, and professedly Act in as the enjoym^{t} of that liberty, and Priveledg which the Perfection entitles them unto. Truly many of those we have heard off, and some of them we met with in Ireland, and I believe that the knowledg and report of

these things have bredd Jelouses in many well meaning people that what to them seemes new (although an Evangelical truth) proceeds from a Speritt of a Delusion, the Lord keepe us close in the sure word of truth in our walkeings that the ordinances of Christ which are as soe many Spirituall Buoys, to Direct us in the right Channell, may not be esteemed nugatory and of noe force nor advance above theire due Latitude, as the Papists doe I would have binne glade to have seene what is in printe questionless it may be guessed from what Speritt, and from what hand it proceeded, lett Patience worke and you shall see that shame will be the reward of the Authors and promoters of these lyes. The Lord reward your great love and kindness to my boy and give strength to (my deare friend) your wife: I thanke you for your freedome with mee as to Marriage, I desire to know from whom and of whom the report you mention came, and for your satisfaccon I doe really profess unto you that since the departure of my deare wife (of most pretious memory) I have not seene nor do I know, nor can thinke of that woeman on whom I have Pitched my thoughts to be in that Relation to mee, and if all the world were sett before mee to make my choice off, my thoughts doe not yett lead mee to any one numerically, my minde as yett suites not with the ofspring of this climate. If I were in my native country, and could meete with one endued with soe much grace, meekness, humility, love, comelines, and wisdome as she had who is removed from mee, and one that in the course of nature might promisse children, and would love my boy as her owne, and be content he should be the Elder Brother, I should blesse God for such an acquaintance. I wish Mr Powell would leave his disputeing and that he and you would come over for Ireland for some time. Many Gratious hearts and heades here conceave that disputes produce neither grace nor

knowledg but administers and ingenders striffes: pray remember my deare love to Mr Powell and Mr Mostin when you write, and to all our friends.

Your very affectionate frind in the Dearest obligaton,

JO. JONES.

Drogedah August 23rd 1652.

Major Genl Thomas Harrison to Col^l^ John Jones.

Deare Brother,

I thank yow for yor last, so full of sweetnes & light, though complayning of ignorance. I shall now trouble you wth little, save the desire of Manie Bretheren, (sent as messengers from divers Churches) whereof I have formerly made mention, that yo^r^selfe would come to Towne with all convenient speed, and (if itt may bee) by the appointm^t^ of yor Congregation, and one or Two wth you, to consult wth the Bretheren here of the propagating of o^r^ Lord's Gospell and Kingdome, and love amongst all Saints, because some here laie weight upon yor sending. Though here bee a very greete ebb to carnall sense, yett Manie pretious Ones think itts a time of much Mercie; and that o^r^ blessed Lord will shortly worke wth eminence. I have much very much to acquaint you with, but purposely forbeare in expectation to enjoy you the next week. Thowe methinks, we have scarce lived a time more requiring concurrence of the Lord's people, nor yeelding greater encoragement to laie heads and heartes and more tthan all together for him that hath so sweetly loved and dearly bought us; wherefore I beseech you laie this to heart, hasten to us in the feare of the Lord, and thinke there maie bee Somewhat extraordinary, that you, Powell, Jenkin, Jones, and Craddock, w^th^

some Bretheren wth you (however yo^{r}selfs ye messengers from the Churches) are soe this juncturre. The Lord guide you herein and all things.

Yo^{rs} yo^{rs} T. H.

Whitehall, 7th of the 9th m. 52.

9th Daie 9th m. 1652.

Major Genl Thomas Harrison to Col^{l} John Jones.

Pretious Brother.

Yo^{rs} of very much price came wellcomely to my hands the last weeke, for wch I retorne you very manie thanks. I have little more presently to saie to you, because I am att a Com^{ttee} where I want opportunitie. Mr. Frake told mee last night, that nexte weeke he will give yo^{rs} a retorne, and then Ile speake a little larger if the Lords will. Richard Creed having now compaired my bookes and receipts, also an accompt from the Gouvernor of Carlisle, I understand I am yor debtor (though 10000 times more then heele expresse to you) for yor troope, wch I will thither transmitt to yor selfe, or paie here if youle but hint to him. *Let me have a word from you upon receipt hereof,* and how it faires wth you and yor familie because one hinted yor selfe or some of yo^{rs} were not very well.

I am,

Yo^{r} much endeared Brother and servant in o^{r} Lord,

T. H.

(? To Mr. Morgan Lloyd.)

Deare friend,

I have written to you and to my friends at London, but have not heard from any on yor side these many days. The greate stormes which continued heere these 3 weekes past, and my immoderate desire to see my boy which may

have occasioned his shareing in those stormes hath bred some perplexity in my mind, and hath discov[r]ed my very much want and weaknesse of faith. Nid oes na mwng na rhawn i'r dwfr ond fe rill Christ y gwynt a therfysg y môr a Gwneuthyr i 'n aulodau rodio ar y tonnau fel pet-faur ar dir sych, ac un or rheini yw fy machgen innan, ag am hynny mae ei fywyd ef mewn llaw gadarn ffyddlon ddifeth ; others are not soe fearfull of the waters as I am, Coll[l] Sankey not being assured of the faith of his parents to make his infant washing effectuall, nor haveing the verety of that conveyed unto him but by tradition, which he conceieved not to be a firme foundacon for him to depend upon, in point of obedience in spiritual things, fell againe into the water 2 dayes since, and was taken up by Mr. Patience. Lett every man doe as he is persuaded in his owne heart, but let noe man despise his brother that hath not attained to his light, or withdraw his communion with him, because he submitts not his judgm[t] to him, the comunion and fellowship of saints in the ordinances of X[t] is one of the most principall parts of the S'[ts] privilidges and enjoyment in the fflesh, and the greatest Tirany that can be exercised upon any member of X[t] is to debar him from those Privilidges and enjoym[ts] upon the acc[t] of being different in judgm[t] or upon any account for which our heavenly father will not keepe him out of heaven, and y[t] in y[e] prejudice I have ag[t] these men who otherwise are very precious praying people. I did not intend to have bene thus long when I began. The bearers hast (for feare of loosing his passage) not admitting me to consider what I want. If my boy be with you convey y[e] blessing of a father unto him, and desire him to write to me. I desire my affeccons may be p'sented to all y[e] sons and daughters of Sion with you.

Yo[rs] most affeccionably,

Dublin, 15th Sept., 1652. JO. JONES.

Major Genl Harrison to Col^{l} Jones.

Deare Sir, 27th d. 9th m. 52.

I praie yor pardon for my last, which was in much love, and soe exceeding hast (att a Com^{ttee} of Parliament where good Mr. Brooke was desired to be outed because he would not baptize, bury dead, and accept wicked persons to breake bread) that I could scarce tell w^{t} I wrote, and had not time to conclude itt.

I have now inclosed Mr. Frakes to you, wch should have come sooner, but hee told mee hee had beene disappointed. I hope the Lord will make yor communion and intercourse usefull, and that prove I shall have cause to blesse him, in being a hand betweene you. I entreated his unsealed, for the favo^{r} and helpe of perusing.

Wee are in daily expectation of engagement with the Dutch, Blake yesterday certefying us that some of his men had discovered 80^{tie} saile a making upp towards him. That in the evening from a steeple wch hath advantage for itt, was desirned 300 [vessels.] They are merchantmen in generall, and the rest are theire convoy, but hope the Lord will cause them to enforce us, or ours enforce them to fight. Manie of the Lord's deare servants long for engagem^{t} care not for the inequalitie to [numbers] knowing the cause engaged, and who is for us. A sweet spiritt of praier begins to issue forth, and some hope will never againe decline. If you are not free to see London this winter without a very speciall call, where I thinke you might bee very serviceable, yet put yo^{r}selfe into some readiness for itt. Itts probable yor troope maie bee called hither to doe dutie for 3 or 4 monethes, and then I hope you maie see an opportunitie of coming with them. My endeared respects to all yo^{rs} and Christ's,

Whose I desire to remain approvedly,

T. H.

Major Genl Harrison to Col^{l} Jones.

Deare bro.

According to w^{t} I hinted (as I remember) in my last, after wee had spent yesterday 4 or 5 howers in prayer (wherein indeed we found a sweet p^{r}sence of ye Lord) ye Elders came together, having many of them (as I have good reason to judge) their harts full of propositions according to God, wherein the Churches might be serviceable to the fullest propagation of ye Gospell, but ye consideration thereof was putt off till one day more might be spent in solume seeking unto God for the pouringe forthe of his Spirit, whereby wee may certainely know o^{r} duty and bee fully enabled to it. And by comon consent the 5th day of ye next weeke, at Alhallowes, ye Churches of S'^{ts} are to attend upon ye Lord of ye Harvest in this great thing, and truly I hope wee shall come as one man wth hearts engaged to approach unto him. And this I write not onely y^{t} you may have fare understanding of o^{r} affairs, but chiefly that you may gett together on ye same day the people of God in yor quarters to joine wth us in putting up this great request. There are thoughts of having up my whole Regim^{t} and consequently yor troop up to the guards here. Itt may bee you may see a cleere call to come wth them, and give the Churches here a visitt. Wee hope if you come it will be in the fullnesse of ye Gospell, upon wch accompt you cannot but bee welcome to the spiritual S'^{ts} and to mee (tho unworthy to be reckoned amongst them) you will be upon all accompts most deerly welcome, who am

Yo^{r} brother in o^{r} deere Lord,

9 m. 30 d. 1652. T. H.

To Col[l] Philip Jones, one of y[e] Counell,

Deare ffreind,

Thy Brother gives me a cordiall acco[t] of your retaining mee in your memory. I blesse the Lord that any who feare him have mee in the least measure in their thoughts for good unto mee. Your greate and hon[ble] Imploym[t] doth necessarily free you from those intercourses which your friends at other times might expect as a favour from you, yet themselves are more obliged then formerly to comunicate unto you what the Lord shall putt upon their spirits for y[e] strengthening you in your performance of that high trust comitted to you, upon which account I take this boldnesse to trouble you at this tyme, not intending to putt you to the trouble of a returne unless you finde goode leizure for it. The suddennesse of the late change, with the occasion and somewhat of the formality of it, doth amuse many precious S'[ts] in this Lande, and it cannot be rationally expected that there should be soe sudden and cleare an aprobation in it in those that feare the Lord, as there were in them y[t] were p'sent upon the place, and know the grounds and Reasons of this alteracon. ffor my owne p[t] I am very willing to act under this Goverment those trusts that the Lord hath or shall lay upon mee, for the good and service of my country, soe long as the authority (under w[ch] I am) judge mee any way serviceable; and when I shall be thought an uselesse Instrum[t] I hope I shall willingly acquiesse and rejoyce in a private course of life, and that the Lord will bring my gray head in peace to my grave, and I hope most of them that serve the Comonwealth in Ireland have the same freedom of spirit in them.

If the Governm[t] be soe Established as may produce the fruits of Righteousness, peace and love to the S'[ts] I am not solicitous what forme or shape it hath, "when the righteous

"are in authority the people rejoice, but when ye wicked "beareth Rule the people mourne." Prov. 29, 2 verse. Have a care that you (that greate burthen of ye governm^t^ of 3 Nacons and preserveing the Interest of all the S'^ts^ in the world is fallen) aprove yo^r^selves Righteous on the acc^t^ of Christ and that you prove not a burthensome stone and a rock of offence to his people, least he breake you with a Rodd of Iron and dash you in pieces like a potter's vessel. You are now lead unto a master^r^piece of Sathan's Temptations, and are sett upon a high pinacle, where you may see all Nacons, peoples and contries bowing to you and prostituteing their riches, Splendour and all other carnall and worldly hono^r^ and contentm^t^ if you will but fall downe and worship their Prince. You have neede, therefore, to guird your lynes with the strenght of Christ, and engage all his people to wrastle manfully for you at the throne of Grace, that you may be strenghtened in the power of temptation and delivered from ye snare y^t^ is spread before you, remember that your life here is but a moment of tyme and anon you must give an acco^t^ whatsoever you have done in the flesh, and the first Question will be how you have delt with the S'^ts^ of the most High when you were in your power? One glance from the face and countenance of Christ on a poore soule in the hower of our change, is worth all the welth pomp and hono^r^ of the world. Wee are here listening very narrowly what kinde of persons you call to yor Councell and in other Imploym^ts^ of Hono^r^ and trust, and what kinde of Court you are setting up, whether wee are like to have a Councell and Court of sober zealous Christians (as wee hope, many of them whose name wee have seene in print are) or whether you alloy them with a mixture of persons carnall and persecuting spirits, and according to w^t^ you doe in these thinges the people of God will judge how the temper of your spirits

and ye fruite of yor government is like to prove. The Lord hath not given mee the tonge of the wise, nor the pen of the learned to administer advice, my aime is to minde you of these thinges, as one who really and unfeignedly wisheth your welfare. It were presumcon in mee to desire to be p'sented to him that is in Cheife Authority and is indeed in the front of danger, and sett up as a Butt for envy and malice to shoote at, but truly he is remembred in my prayers with a trembling heart for him. The Lord preserve him in an humble, meeke and patient frame of Spirit, zealous for Christ and cause and people. If you send mee one lyne to reprove mee for being thus troublesome to you I shall esteeme it a favour to

Your antient faithfull friend (though I cannot say most humble) servant,

Dublin, 13th January, 1653. J. JONES.

To Mr Humphrey Jones,

Deare Brother,

I have by my last given you an acc^t^ of my intencons touching my interest in the Lordshippe of Bromfield and Yale, that I am not willing to part with it upon the Tearmes propounded by those Gentlemen that would purchase it. I cannot, indeed, see how my couzen Vaughan and you that are intrusted in that purchase can convey over the interst of any man conserned therein whose debentures are delivered up in satisfacion of y^t^ purchase without their consent in writing under their hands and seales, you being only intrusted to take ye Estate for their use and not to convey it away. If any of those whose Debentures are in that purchase, have conveyed their Interest therein to those

gentleman, they may enjoy soe much Interest in the Lordships as belongs to such persons without necessitating you to prejudice that trust reposed in you by the rest. I desire to know who those p'sons are that have an Interest therein, and how much each man's interest is that I may know how farr I may provide to take in yor Interest upon better tearmes, for them then what is offered, or be otherwise more serviceable unto them. I presume Coll^{l} Mason and Majo^{r} Elliot may have some Debent^{rs} in that purchase, and if soe, they are willing to put the Interest they have therein into my hands and I presume that there are others of them that will be willing to doe the like. I am not much in love with such interest as holds up any burthensome power over the people and therefore would willingly part with all the interests I have of that nature. But the way now proposed in this perticular tends not to ease the people of such burthens, but rather to continue it upon them by putting it into such hands. But my aime is to improve my owne and that interest of those other concerned wth mee to the gaining of what is really due unto us and thereby to make the people free when they have given due satisfac-con for what doth issue out of their respective Estates unto us, and for ye end I doe propose to myself that by the consent of all those that have their Debentures in y^{t} purchase, or by buying in their interests to impower Com^{rs} to treate with the respective Tenants of ye Lo^{pps} for the acquitting of those Rents and the emolum^{ts} due from them upon reasonable Tearmes and thereby reemburse ourselves, and if wee must abate of the price I had rather do it to ye respective Tenants then to any other that are soe earnest to interlope other men's interest for lucar or setting up of a power in their hands over the people who may expect but little ease from such Instrumen^{ts}. As touching the negociation you mencon, I am yet free either to continue

or breake it of as the Lord shall incline the hearts of such as are concerned therein, but I doe not yet see how that matter can be brought to a speedy and comfortable period by reason of my fixedness in this Country and the improbability of consumating it w^th^out my presence and therefore I am silent in y^t^ matter, expecting an answer of a letter I lately sent into South Wales, being unfree to bee obliged by previous condicons in a matter of y^t^ nature, looking upon myselfe under higher obligacons in y^t^ thinge then those y^t^ are accustomed to be made amongst men upon the like occasion. I pray remember me to Mr Courtney and Capt Price, from whom I have not herd of late, and have not any thinge to comunicate unto them but what I have written in my last to Mr Courtney. Present my kinde Love to my Sister. In haste I remayne,

Yo^r^ very affecconate Brother,

JO. JONES.

To Coll^l^ Marke Travo^r^

Worthy S^r^

I am informed that there is a Tenem^t^ in the Township of Brinkinnalt neare unto ye Dee River, which yor father Sr Edward Trevo^r^ bought of one Winter and that yor father afterwards mortgaged the same for 400*l.* with power of redempcon at a day long since past and y^t^ yor father by his will did bequeath his interest and power of redemcon of the said Tenem^t^ unto you, I am further informed that the said Tenem^t^ is worth but 30*l.* ℔ annu^m^ and y^t^ (by reason of diverse yeares arreares of Interest upon the said mortgage, before the mortagagee tooke possession thereof) the redempcon of the said Tenem^t^ will amount to above 500*l.* My desire is (if you judge my request may not be

prejudicial to you) that you would convey unto mee or unto such person as I shall appoint youʳ interest in, andpower of redemption of the said Tenemᵗ upon such tearmes as yourselfe or any other indifferent man shall judge Reasonable, any man may perceive by what I have here set downe can not be worth much in these tymes. Yet I conceive it fitt that you should propound yoʳ owne satisfaccon. I desire the favouʳ from you to lett me receive yoʳ resolucon in this perticular with all convenient speede, because some affaires of myne doe something depend upon what you shall please to doe in this. I have noe farther to trouble you at present, but rest

Your assured friend and servant,

Dublin yᵉ 28ᵗʰ ffebruary 1653. JO. JONES.

To Collˡ Philip Jones.

Honorᵈ ffriend,

I humbly and heartily thanke you for yoʳ kinde letter and wholesome advice therein.

Haveing all this while waited for some signification of the pleasure of them that are in authority with you, touching yᵉ late greate change in Governmᵗ and heareing not one syllable thereof, tending to require or direct such as serve you here, what to doe thereupon, wee have at last caused the inclosed paper to be publised, which was very solemly done this day, being the 1ˢᵗ of ffebruary. You doe very truely observe that there was some hesitation upon the spirits of some Godly people heere, touching the late alteration; but those doubts were by many dayes seekeing of Councell from yᵉ Lord (I hope) well settled. I presume you will not account them the worst freinds to yoʳ Governmᵗ

who are tender in enquireing after the minde of God in every publique turne of Providence, and are not easily given to aprove of every change, upon an implicit faith of the integrity, zeale and wisdome of those that make such a change, and that being settled in their judgm^{ts} to aprove or acquieace in the resolutions of those that are in power. You will value them as farr more precious Instrum^{ts} to serve their generation then those that jump with you into the worke upon personall accompt (if any such there be), and whereas you seeme to apprehend that some of my good freinds and yo^{rs} might missrepresent things heere, I must needs take leave soe farr to justifye them as to let you knowe, that since the late alteration I have not received one letter from any of them who seemed in the late Assembly expressing anythinge of their dissatisfaccon in that greate Act, thereby to justifye themselves, and those others of that Assembly which were of our Judgm^{t} ; although I doe knowe that it is naturall for dissatisfacon to rest upon the dissenting party. If justice and Righteousnesse flowe as streames from y^{r} Governm^{t} all that feare the Lord will rejoice in it. If not, it is not the splendo^{r}, greatnesse or forme of Governm^{t} that will preserve it from ruine; ffor my owne part I have a large measure of faith to believe that the advanceing of Righteousnesse and holynesse in these Nations is yor Ayme and Scope. I have many things to write unto you concerning ye Affaires of this Land, if I conceived it proper to trouble you with them. If you doe not forthwith settle a Comittee with you, to carry on ye affaires of Ireland, you will find those affaires in greate disorder shortly. I shall not further trouble you at this tyme, but rest

Yo^{r} affecconat freind and humble servant

Dublin, ye 1st ffeb., 1653. JO. JONES.

Major Gen[l] Harrison to Col[l] Jones.

Deare Brother.

Though in few words, I must thank you for yo[r] last, as manie former lines I have received full of gravitie and grace. I was bold to read itt in open Councell, and the Generall came to mee to know from whom it came; it was strengthening to divers. Being resolved to have in power, men of truith, fearing and loving our Lord, his people and Interest; the difficultie is to gett such: *whether my Lord onelie* shall call them, or the Saints should choose them; very much sweetly said both waies.

What are yo[r] thoughts still of the Dutch? Some very deare to the Lord, inclining much to o[r] seeking after peace from Heb. 12, 14., Rom. 12, 18., James 3, 17. Conceiving itt would honno[r] that greate Profession we make of Christ, and very much of that kind; as also in refference to the Nations advantage wth very much simplicitie. Others humbly thinking Christ hath taken to himselfe his own power, begun to breake here who will not bow, and is going on; whilst they are not free to owne his Dispensations, neither shall wee owne them, not because they are o[r] Enemies, but o[r] Lords. I have heard of some failing of Captaine Price; I hint itt that you maie not trust too farre. Praie much for us, and that o[r] worke maie be accepted of the Lord and his people; if wee displease not there wee care not, though wee wish to doe good to and refresh all. My endeared love to yo[r] selfe and all Saints.

Yo[rs] T. H.

30th daie, 2[d] month, 53.

Major Gen[l] Harrison to Col[l] Jones.

My dearely beloved and honourable in the Lord,

Yo[r] letter of the 13th instant wth the inclosed to my Lord Gen[ll] and seasonable warning words came safe to my hands

yesterdaie. The last having read in Councell, I sent to be printed for the use of all in, or that maie come into power; that soe directed I delivered to the Gen$^{ll's}$ hands, hoping some use wilbee made thereof also, though I repent my not taking a coppie.

I presume Brother Powell acquainted you o^{r} thoughts as to the persons most in them, to serve on behalfe the Saints in North Wales; that wee propound three for North, three for South Wales. Hugh Courtney, John Browne, Richard Price, out of yor parts; wherein I wish the helpe of yor selfe and others if wee have erred in the men, or to confirme us therin if approved by the most spirituall, or that you would send upp two or three names of the most polished, in case there bee cause of anie addition or alteration, though itt were by lott.

Yo^{r} lines are very acceptable here to manie, full of councell and encouragem^{t} as oft therefore as the Lord minds you of us send a word. Wee are waiting on the Lord of Hoasts for his returne from sea, a thorough stroak there might bee very teaching and confirming of his poore servants; then perhaps for France, Bourdeux having sent agents to crave aid against theire King. The Lord give us heartes suitable to the time and workes done. My deare love and service to you and yo^{rs}.

T. H.

Whitehall, 17th 3 m., 53.

To Mr. Humphrey Jones.

Good Brother,

I have not had any letters from you these two last posts. If I had but a word how you and yor family doe by every post it would be sufficient.

The inclosed is from Coll^{l} Mason to Mr. Courtney. It is

desired that you should deliver it with yor owne hand, because there is inclosed a letter to Colonell Twisleton to pay you £1000, with thirty pounds interest, which Twisleton owes Mason, upon a bond which Mr. Courtney hath in his custody, to deliver up upon paym^{t} of the money. Coll^{l} Mason hath a desire that the money might be in his owne disposall, and apprehensive of the slipperyness of such a single security for soe greate a sume in case of mortality or other alteration.

I have written to you by ye Lord Henry Cromwell that I moved him to become purchaser of ye Lo^{pp} of Bromfield and Yale, which he tooke in very good p^{t} and perceive he hath a very good minde to ye purchase. I believe he is gone in his returne to Wrexham to see the countrey. I acquainted him that I conceived he might buy the Lo^{pp} from ye Sould^{rs} whose Debentures are in the purchase for about 7s. in the pound, and for my owne interest I would leave it to himselfe to give mee satisfaccon for it in which way he please, and have likewise acquainted him that I have an other Debenture with the true state thereof, and he seemed to be very desirous to be serviceable unto me in y^{t} perticular. If I might have satisfaccon for both my Debentures in the Lands I now hold from the Comonwealth as Tenant of the State and other, tho' the most congruous lands, to those lands in the counties of Dublin and Kildare or one of them, att double the Rates in the Act for Sould^{rs} and adventurers, I should be very well satisfyed with it, and thereby the satisfying of my Interest in Bromfield and Yale in ready money would be avoided. The lands I now hold as Tenant to ye State, are ye Townshipps and lands of Newcastle, Coleman's Towne, Ashgoe, Rathcredan, Greenoge Loughtowne, Ballinakelly, and some other small parcells mixed with these, all of them being small Tenem^{ts} and not one gentleman's house, or farme house,

orchard or garden, standing upon them, but were wholy wast when I tooke them, haveing not within three myles of them neither wood, turfe, nor any other fuell, nor a River, saveing one little Brooke, soe small that I thinke a Trowt cannot live in it, neither is there any mill there to turne, soe that if I had it I conceive noe man would envy mee for it. These lands stand upon the moares of the county of Kildare, and the next adjoyning lands on to mee in Kildare is the Towne and lands of Castle Lyons, a poore place inhabited by Irish, and part of it intermixed with the lands in my possession. I am the more pticular in this matter that in case you finde any inclination to have any kinde of this nature done for my satisfaccon, you may be furnished with soe many perticulars and certaintyes as I can at present give to direct the drawing of such an Act or order for mee from his Highness and his Councell, as shall be advised by Councell. It may be I shall have further occasion to trouble you in this matter by the next. I cannot see any possibility to avoid it, but that the Lo^{pp} is purchased with our Debentures which are delivered in, cancelled, and that none else can have any clayme in it, for now we have noe security but our purchase, and the rest have their Debentures in their hands, which they may make sayle of or take satisfaccon for, and I cannot prevent it. Suppose that in this £2000, only £600 should be accounted and allowed unto mee upon the purchase, how should I be secured ye rest, my Debenture is cancelled; and if it be said that I shall have a share in their Debentures which are comprehended in the letter of attorney, are not many of them sold away? And what proportion should I have out of every man's Debenture, and how shall those proporcons be secured unto mee? seeing I must not have their Debentures in my owne keeping, and how many besides myselfe must have the like share out of every man's Debenture. The fancy

of intituling all the Brigade to ye purchase made with our Debentures hath neither reason, nor possibility of practice in it, without apparent loss and confusion. It may be wee might have the favour of haveing our money upon the Exise paid in intirely, if you have not made sayle thereof already. I am now in hast. My service to my sister.

Yo^r^ loving Brother,

Dublin, ye 24° March, 1653. JO. JONES.

To Cozen Ellis Hughes.

Deare Cousen.

I have received divers letters from you, whereby I find your sincere affecion towards me, and in your care and deligence in my affaires farr to exceed any of those obligacons your letters mencon. I doe very well approve of what you have done in letting Malloyd lands wch was in M^res^ Davies hands to another, and likewise of what else you doe, and have done in my concernm^ts^, as being acted by an honest, sincere heart, and with much more discretion then I could have done had I beene present. As for Eleccons to a new representative, I believe the gentlemen you mencon who were so early stirring are exceedingly deceived in their hopes and expectacons; for my owne parte I would hold it a greate mercy (and that wch my heart would willingly embrace), to be att libertie to live in the most retired and private course of life that I am capable of, and I am perswaded I shall rejoyce in it, when the Lord shall call me to such a condicon, and therefore I shalbee as farr from thinking myselfe worthy or fitt to serve my countrey in soe criticall a tyme as this is, (wherein the wisest men cannot see farr, and the best of men hath scarce

faith enough to wayte on the eternall blessed God in his outgoings in those hidden and secret pathes, wherein His Providence hath led his people of late dayes), as I shalbee from declining to serve them, in any capacity, when I am thereunto called. If my service hath in any thing beene acceptable unto my country, I desire that the Lord may have the praise, who is the author, and with whose Heiffer I ploughed and laboured in these affaires, wch concerned the welfare of my countrey (myselfe being but a weake inconciderable instrumt), I meane the godly people of Wales, who I am afraid are too much despised and derided in oure poore countrey. But I hope that now the time is come that the Sunne of Righteousnes shall arise with healing under his wings for our poore nation, to turne them from darkness to his marvelous light, and from the power of Satan unto God. I understand my friends in Merrionythshire are in arreares to mee for rent, because of the badnesse of the Marcatts for cattle, I therefore would be willing to take leane cattle of them ; I meane two and three yeare old heifferss, and runts and lambes, if they might be gott to Hollihead, from whence I could have them fetched over. I know not how feazible this may bee, and therefore propound it onely. I have excellent feeding ground here, but cannot gett stocke here to putt upon it.

I have received late letters from ye Lord Com^n^ Whittlocke on behalfe of his nephew Mostyn, to have the mannor of Gogarth sould unto him, wherein he was very earnest, and I am not willing to parte with it untill I am fully satisfyed what my Interest there is. I am informed that upon ye La: Mostyn's death their terme is expired, because the last lease was taken after ye Bishopps were put downe, and this I am confident is true, as well in this case as in Mr. Mostyn of Rhyd's case, and others, whose leases Col. Twisleton avoyded ; but how to find it out is the difficulty.

I pray make what enquiry you can after it. I am p'swaded there are some p'sons in Anglesey that can make it out, and will do it for reward, wherein I would not have you be sparing.

Secondly, I am informed that all, or most of Gloddeth belongeth to me, as being of the mannor of Gogarth, and that Gogarth is worth £300 ℔ annum. How probable this may be I know not. If you could by any meanes recover the Bookes and Records of the Bish^{pp} and Chapters much of these things would be discoovered; likewise there have beene many settlem^{ts} of the Mostyn's estates, and ffines upon them, whereby it appeare what freehold they had there. Likewise inquirie might be made from whom and when the Mostyn's purchased any lands there (for they cannot pretend to any great antiquity there), and if from noe man that was a freeholder there, or by noe purchase but the B^{pps} lease, then it carries a strong presumption with it that they have noe freehold there, wch Mr. Whittlocke's earnestnesse seemes to mak out unto me. I believe the Recorders of ffines for that countrey may give some light, and Mr. John Maddocks, and many other p'sons in that neighbourhood can discover the wholle trueth, although I doe not expect it from any of them untill God p'swaed their conscience that it is their duty to bring trueth to light. I pray use those wayes and meanes your genious will lead you unto to find out these things, and returne what you conceive on the wholle to

Your most affecconate and faithful
cosen to serve you

Dublin, 24th May, 1653. J. J.

To cosin Ellis Hughes.

To Mr Poore.

Worthy Sr

I acknowledge myselfe much engaged to you for your respects to mee, which I find menconed in your letter of the 12th present. As to what you propound of a lease of Chappell Izard and your other lands theere, to be granted for 12 yeares, att 200*l* ℔ annum without deduccon, I shall presume to give you this account—first, that you doe not seeme clearly to understand neither ye quantity nor condicon of your Estate heere; as to ye quantity I am p'swaded that all ye lands you have on both sides of the River will not amount, according to 21 foote to ye Pearch (which is the measure of this Countrey), unto 600 Acres, and that ye same would not have yielded in the best of tymes to have beene lett at Rack for five shillings the acre, one wh another, of all which there is about one halfe of the lands runne over with Furres in this tyme of warr, and will yield little or noe profitt without very great charge to stubb up the ffurrs, and Cantrells Towne being could wett ground, yields little grasse for want of trenching; The meadows being but a very small quantity all plowed up, and thereby the profitt of them much diminished; The howses in the Towne and the Mill and Damme and Bankes are very much out of repaire, and will in a short tyme (if more charge be not layd out upon them, then a Tenant for few yeares can doe or can be expected from him) fall to ruine. Secondly, I conceive that you have not the condicon of affaires heere truly represented unto you; there is now goeing out of your Estate, in monthly assessmts above 30s every weeke, and I thinke somewhat more, and this is not by one third pt soe much as is upon it in ye Winter; there is (besides this) for provision of hay, fire, straw and candle, a considerable charge, but the certainty of that I have not yet learned, which charge in the whole will amount to little

lesse than 100*l.* ℔ annum. And, I speake it sincerely, I doe not expect to live soe longe as to have the assessm^{ts} abated upon those Lands, ffor ye monthly supplyes from England, for maintenance of the fforces here, is thirty thousand pounds ℔ month, and there can be noe expectacon of abatem^{t} in Ireland, until England be first freed from sending any supplyes thence; and it is not imaginable by any that knowes the condicon of affaires here that wee can disband soe many of our fforces, as the supplyes from England payes, and therefore if those supplys be withdrawne before we can spare it, the assessm^{ts} must of necessity be raised heere, for you cannot expect y^{t} this land (after so Generall a Revolt and soe thorough a warr) can be in any securety without an army in the field, the garrisons well manned, which are in number at this instant above 440 garrisons. Haveing faithfully layd the state of things before you, I shall informe you that my purpose was (if you would have granted mee those Tearmes I propounded) to have endeavoured to bring your ground into heart by Lymeing and some other lasting Improvem^{t} and therein and in those other defects before menconed to have beene at some considerable charge, which in soe short a time as I have I cannot expect any suitable returne; and therefore if you please to grant mee a lease thereof for 12 or 14 yearse att 100*l.* ℔ annum certaine and without deduction, and the lease to begin from May day last as you propound, or else for 21 yeares at the same Rent, giveing you 100*l.* fine or incomb, and to be bound not to alien or sell my Tearme or lease without your license, I shall willingly become your Tenant for y^{t} time and upon those Tearmes, and I hope I shall be as faithfull in p'forming with you as any you deale withall. If not, I am content with the tyme I have, and shall never give you any further trouble in this matter; and were it not for ye pleasure of ye River and conveniency of

the howse to remove into in the tyme of sicknesse, I had never menconed it unto you at the first—there being 3 parts of 4 in Ireland wast for want of Inhabitants to plant it, and ye best Lands in Ireland may be had for inhabiting. And as the people finde securety to plant abroad further off, the Rates of the lands about Dublin will fall. As to the Question upon ye lands of St Lawrence, I have made entry upon it as your Tenant, and have taken coppyes of the Records by which the lands passed from the Crowne; but the Estate passed from Sr R. Newcomen to yor Brother is not Record, nor any livery upon it, which is a defect, as your Lawiers will inform you. I shall endeavour to right you in y^t^ matter, without much charge to you, and alsoe myselfe, as being conserued for my tyme. I shall speake wth your Couzen Peaseley, concerning the Arreares you mencon, and returne what account I have from him. I remayne,

Yo^r^ assured friend to serve you,

Dublin, 31 May, 1653. JO. JONES.

To Mr. Courtney.

Deare Friend,

Yo^rs^ of the 7th present, and therein the testimony of the Lord's blessed presence with us and our cause in the last fight, betwixt the ffleets at Sea, hath much raised our spirits to a rejoicing frame. The Lord God give us meaknesse humbly to walke worthy of such mercys, and direct such as have the power of the Nation in their hands to improve the appearances of the Lord with them, to the praise of his greate name, and to the pulling down of the Mann of Sin and its tiranicall and wicked powers, as well in the hearts and spirits of his people (driving them to bitter disputes

and dividing principles about formes and shadowes, and to ye exercising of faith which worketh by love, and improving gospell ordinances for the building of the new creature) is in those outward powers, with the anti-christian ——— hath for many yeares exersized over the estates, bodys and conciences of men. It hath seemed good unto the Lord to suffer most bitter pulpitt contentions to arise amongst us about the circumstance of an ordinance when to be administered, both sides engaging their poore hearers to a necessity of building their faith upon what they respectively assert, before they can be accounted members of the Church of Christ or of the house of God, and one side positively denying comunion in other ordinances as members of the Church of Christ, with any of the contrary judgm^t^ because they make a non-conformity in Judgm^t^ (though otherwise never soe holy and gracious) to be a disorderly walking I look upon as a Tiranizing over ye contiences of their bretheren. I hope y^t^ God is putting an end to these contencons, which bringeth nothing but barrenesse and leanesse to ye soule and provoketh neither to love nor good workes. I am loath to be too tedious on this theame. I desire to heare from you often.

Yo^r^ assured ffriend,

JO. JONES.

Dublin, 13th June, 1653.

Yo^r^ Brother is well; I gave orders to my man the last weeke to furnish him with something he wanted. I hope he will prove a good man, and y^t^ he will be gott into some employment wherein he may find subsistance. Since the writing herof, I have seen a list of the p'sons which are called to act (in Councell) the Supreame authority of the

Nacon, wherein I find yor name, and with much rejoycing bless God y^{t} directed the calling of men of integrity and good conscience towards God and men into soe high a truth. The Lord give you all a spirit of meeknesse, humility and sobriety, y^{t} that the wisdome which is hid in him may be abundantly given unto you, y^{t} the world may be convinced y^{t} ou^{r} blessed, eternall, wise, powerfull and patient King Jesus can and now doth begin to Governe ye Nacons of the earth by his Spirit in his Saints. The Blessed Lord make you repaires of the breaches, healers of the nacons and reconsilers of those hart divisions y^{t} have for many yeares reigned in the world, and is now too predominent amongt the S'^{ts} and Servants of Jesus. I pray endeavo^{r} to improve y^{t} principle and interest wch most tends to the uniting of the S'^{ts} in love, being the Sum of the Gospell, the life of the S'^{ts} and ye healing y^{t} is in ye wings of ye Sunn of Righteousnesse. It is not Circusision nor this or that forme y^{t} availeth any thing, but faith that worketh by love heare and unity before you think of dwelling in yor ser ——— houses remembering who hath said y^{t} a house divided ag^{t} itselfe cannot stand ; this is y^{t} supreame law of y^{t} supreame King Jesus, which will render you to all Nacons a wise, a great and an understanding Councell. Deutronomy 4 : 3, 4, 5 verses. Mencon my name to such in ye assembly as I am acquainted with, and to Mr. Browne, although I am unacqainted with him.

Yo^{rs} in all bonds of love,

June 14th 1653. JO. JONES.

Col^{l} Jones to Major Gen^{ll} Tho. Harrison,

Most precious friend,

I forbeare herein to use the greate titular addicions due to you, that I may speake the language of the present

temper of my heart, which I desire to doe in this hower of temptation in simplicity and faithfulness.

My spirit hath beene of late much saddened by an apprehention of grevious heart Divissions, which to me seemed to be amongst the people of God in Ireland, upon the Accompt of differing in judgm^{t} about ye circūstances of an outward Administracon. But ye confidence I had that the Lord would make those persons who (upon ye accompt of being more Religeous, more meeke in spirit, and more selfe denying than those y^{t} went before them), were called together to act the Supreme authority of the Nacon, would be instrum^{ts} of healing of and repayrors of the Breaches amongst the people of God, supported me in hope to live to see those occasions of Divisions removed, and y^{t} Rubish (which hinders the cementing of Christian spirits), was hed away, by ye swete and plesant Streame, those Rivers of pleasures, the powerfull love of God in Christ to the Saints begetting in their Spirits an overflowing of p'fect love towards one another and striveing by a holy emulacion, who should exceede each other in offices of Love and spirit of humility. But Deare friend it hath been declared unto us to the exceeding greate greife of some that there are Contentions and Divisions amongst you; the choisest and most singularly elected Parliam^{t} that ever was in England. Without question our contentions and divisions proceede from our lusts. And the raigning lusts amongst professors are pride, coveteousnesse, and hypocrasie, O therfore watch over yor owne hearts that those lusts may not lodg there. It is a sadd thing to reade what is writ from England, that the very face of authority is worn out, and the hopes and expectation of the Saints frustrated through yor Divisions, you are reputed to be men fearing God, that being the character by which you were made choice of, and therefore men at a distance cannot conceive that those Civill interests

which divided Councells formerly is the cause of yo^{rs} But rather guesse yo^{rs} growes by Diversity of Judgm^{ts} about formes or Administracons tending to Religious worship, And how farr the Civill power and authority of Armies and supreme Councells professing Christ have warrant to contest in these disputes, to the dividing of their power, defacing their authority, and endangering the involving of a Nacon in blood, and exposing them to the cruelty of ye Comon Enemy to y^{r} scandall and dishon^{r} of ye Lord Jesus, and scattering of his Church, is not difficult to Judg, and y^{t} will be the issue of yor divisions if the Lord in mercy prevent not; O therfore for ye Lord Jesus sake strive for a spirit of humility, and meeknesse, and strive with all ye powers, and faculties of Soull to unite ye hearts of all the S'^{ts} in Love and holy Comunion, and walking together, and lett it never be sayd that the Comunion of S'^{ts} once an Article of our Creede, is neither in the faith nor practice of the S'^{ts} in England, I wish and earnestly pray, that these my weake apprehensions, or feares may have no grounds to warrant them. But I hope the Lord hath given you a Spirit not to dispize small things, and y^{t} you are fully p'swaded that I am one who unfaignedly loves you in the highest and sweetest Bonds, and in love will be alwayes found,

Yo^{r} most faithful and reall freind and
servant in Christ Jesus,

Dated 11th August, 1653. JO. JONES.

Major Gen^{ll} Hardresse Waller
presents you with his humble
services.

To ye Xan freinds in the respective Precincts

Christian ffreinds,

It having pleased ou^{r} God to appeare with his servants in their late Engagem^{t} with the Hollanders at sea and thereby

to worke a greate deliverance for his people in this Comonwealth, and in witnessing ag^{t} the Enemyes confidence in their strenght, and their resolution to expose this Comonwealth to ye power of mercylesse Enemy and thereby to make ineffectuall those precious merceyes which the Lord hath by his mighty power and strong arme given to his people by removeing ye yokes of Bondage Tirany and oppression that lay upon them, in very many signall victoryes in these three Nations, to the astonishm^{t} of all forreine States round about us, and by giveing the Gospell a free passage through the Land, wee conceive it a duty incumbent upon us to give unto all that feare the Lord in this Land timely advertizement of this seasonable and saveing mercy, that every one of us may (through the Lord's strenghtening of us) sett up a Monum^{t} of everlasting praise to his blessed name, in his owne heart, 1 Sam. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 verses. And as this mercy is of universall and publique concernem^{t} to all the people of this Comonwealth, soe wee conceive it proper that all that feare the Lord, and are sensible of the same should at some sett tyme returne praise and thanks unto the Lord, who is our man of Warr, and hath triumphed gloriousley throweing them that lifted up themselves into the Sea. Exodus 15, 1, &c. And that at the same tyme, and at all tymes when wee present our soules before the Lord in prayers, we should be exceedingly earnest with him, that he would give unto his people and especially those of them in publique authority and comand in this Comonwealth, an humble, thankfull and meeke frame of Spiritt under the enjoym^{t} of such greate mercyes and deliverances, and faith enought to depend upon the Lord and to wait for and followe his providence to guide them in the discharge of their duty, The sett tyme we recomend unto you for this publiqe duty is Thursday the 25th of this Instant August, if this advertisem^{t} come to your hand in tyme, and

if not then we desire itt may be that day sevennight being the first of September, and least the perticulars of ye said Engagem^t^ might not come to yor knowledge wee thought good to mencon unto you that it began on the 29th July in ye afternoone and continued three dayes. The Enemy had ye advantage of the weather gage, number and trimming being fresh and cleane, yet the Lord discomfited them, betweene thirty and forty of their men of warr burnt and sunk, one thousand of their men saved alive and taken prisoners and the rest being much shattered pursued into the Texel. The men they lost in fight and were drownded in the Shipps that are burnt and sunck, are conceived to be very many, the fight being longe and sharpe, Wee lost two of our Shipps which were fired by the Enemy, but our men in one of them were saved, wee had 250 men slayne whereof 7 capt. and 750 wounded, and now wee may say with the profett, Pslame 124. If it had not beene the Lord who was on our side the waters had overwhelmed us, Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us a prey to their teeth, unto whose guidance we comend you, and in him rest.

Yo^r^ very affecconat ffriends

C. H., E. L., M. C., J. J.

Dublin, the 18th August, 1653.

Dearely beloved ffreinds in the Lord Jesus,

Wee have in returne of our letters to you received from some of you such observations as were upon yor hearts of the most probable causes of ye long continuance of the Lord's heavy hand upon this poore Land and Nation wherein many perticulars are menconed conteyning just reproofes and wholesome admonitions to us as well in ou^r^ walkings as Xans as in the discharge of ou^r^ duty as Magestrates, and

that those Christian and sincere warnings and councells (through grace) be made effectuall for the fitting of us to sett forth the praise of our God in our blamelesse walking before him and in the faithfull discharge of that greate trust comitted to us, Wee earnestly desire yor frequent and fervent seeking the Lord on our behalfes that his blessed presence may be with us to consume our Lusts and cutt of our beloved Sins, to fill ou^{r} harts with his feare, and to build us up in the most holy faith which worketh by love that wee may be supplied with wisdome and knowledge (to guide us in all our actions) out of that hidden treasure layd up in the Lord Jesus, and that wee may abound in love to and tender care of all that truly feare the Lord, and may not become Instrum^{ts} of discouragem^{t} unto any of them.) As it is our duty to serve ou^{r} generacons in the places wherein the Lord hath sett us, with faithfullnes and sincerity soe wee looke upon it as yor duty to warne us of our faylings in a spirit of meekenesse and charity, and to spread yor mantle of love over us, that the name of our God, and the Gospell of his son be not evill spoken of by reason of our weaknesses.

There are some perticulars menconed in diverse letters from Christian friends wherin wee labour under difficulties. The first is the want of gracious and fitt persons to be sent abroad to preach the Gospell, the Harvest being greate and the labourers few. The second is the want of competent numbers of fitt persons feareing God for the due adm^{n} of Justice, removall of oppressions and managem^{t} of other Civill affaires in every respective precinct, by reason whereof and of the necessity of carrying on that worke many persons are in those Imploym^{ts} in whom little evidence of Godlinesse may be discovered, more than morality and civill deportm^{t} neverthelesse if you can informe us of any persons in any of the said Imploym^{ts} of scandalous conversation or unworthy of their trust wee hope (that upon intimacon

of p̄ticulars from you) the Lord will assist us to beare our witnesse against such, by removeing them, and trust him for supply of better Instrum^{ts} And because wee are now prepareing new Com̄issions to be sent into all parts for Adm^{n} of Justice, wherein many p'sons in each precinct must be necessarily imployed, Wee desire you forthwith to send us the names of as many p'sons as you knowe who are godly and competently qualifyed for y^{t} worke, and likewise the names of as many as you knowe who are of approved lives and competently qualifyed to preach the Gospell and are willing to bestowe their paynes therein. Deare ffreinds, lett yor moderation be knowne unto all men (for the Lord is at hand) that when he cometh he may not finde any of you beateing his fellow servants; Be watchfull over one another that a spirit of hypocrasy and of divideing principles may not possesse any of you, Lett all that feare the Lord with you assemble yo^{r}selves often together to speke well of his name, and to provoake one another to love and good workes, Malach 3, 16. Heb. 10, 24, 25. let yor emulation be who shall most abound in love and meeknesse towards one another and who shall be found most free from strife. Phil. 2, 1, 2, 3, 4. 1 Peter 1, 22. And the God of peace that brought againe from ye dead the Lord Jesus, the greate shepard of the sheepe, through the blood of the everlasting Covenant make you perfect in every good worke to doe his will. In whom wee rest.

Your affec̄onat friends,

August, 1653. C. H., E. L., M. C., J. J.

To Mr. Poore.

Worthy S^{r}

Yours of ye 29th of August came to my hands few dayes since, whereby I finde that you clayme to be in arreares to

you from Mr Wms. and Comy some Rent which is abated in leiu of St. Lawrence Lands, which hath beene kept from them and Mr Peasley, ye Tertenant, by the Tenants of Palmerstowne, under pretence of the State's Interest. I have sent for the Gentlemen, and upon conference with them all together I find that the Rent abated as abovesaid is in Mr Peishe's hands, which he conceives due unto him upon ye grounds aforesaid. And whereas you alledge in your letter yt St Lawrence Lands is not comprised in the Lease, they alledge that ye contrary is very apparent, as well by some letters of your owne as by the Lease itselfe, which compriseth all ye Lands and Estate which the Lord Valentin had in the County of Dublin, belonging to or enjoyed with the Lands of Chappell Izard, and that there was a former Lease made thereof unto one Walker, by the Lord Valentin or yourselfe, which about the tyme of the sealing of the Lease you acquainted Mr Wms. with, and told him then that if Walker should come to clayme that Lease, he should pay the Rent thereupon to Mr Wms. and his assignes. And they further alledge that Cantwells Towne, Irish Towne, and diverse other Lands comprised in the said Lease are not therein perticularly named, and may as well be said not to be in the said Lease as ye Lands of St Lawrence. Upon the whole matter I humbly offer my opinion that you cannot well insist upon yt Argumt and that it will not be worth your trouble to contest with the Gentleman that marryed your kinswoman (and whose present condicon is not very plentifull) for soe small a matter, especially considering how serviceable she hath beene to you in the Hazarding of her owne life in ye preservacon of your howse from being destroyed by ye Enemy. Mr Peisley will pay you now 33l. 8s. being in full of the last half yeares Rent ending at May last, there being therout deducted for St Lawrence 7l. 10s. and 9l. 2s. for Assessmts falling upon the

Rent, and which makes up the 50l. If you be not satisfyed with this acco^{t} Mr. Peisley is content to referr the Determinacon thereof to any indifferent persons upon the place. But he hopes you will not putt him to that trouble, but rather expected some larger favo^{r} or respects from you. He hath desire me to move that you would send him the Covenants you have from M^{r} W$^{ms.}$ and his Comyt^{e} or an effectual discharge of them, else he will be troubled by M^{r} W$^{ms.}$ he being engaged to discharge him. As touching my own p'ticular I have written to Mr Dan Lloyd at large.

I remayne,
Your affecconate freind to serve you,

Dublin, y^{e} 15th Oct., 1653. J. J.

To Mr Morgan Lloyd.

Deare Friend, Dublin, 30th Sept., 1653.

I intend to send you herewith one or more coppyes of your paper printed, wherein (although there was much care taken in the correction) yet through the unskilfullnesse of the composer of ye presse, and correctors you will finde that many errors have escaped us, but I hope none very consequentiall. I intend to send over the bookes to Major Swift, from thence you may order the disposall of them as you please. I confesse the discourse is exceedingly good and spirituall according to my understanding, yet my selfe and many other sober wise Christians heere conceive that if it had beene penned in a language or still lesse parabolicall, and in more plane Scripture expressions, it would be more usefull. Babes must be fed with milk. There was one out of my family with you lately, whose report and a paper sent him from my boy makes some of our freinds

heere feare that you in Wales have layed aside all gospell ordinances, and particularly that of prayer. I know the reporter's temper, and therefore lay not any waight upon it, (and the paper haveing neither the gravity, sobriety, and meeke temper of yor spirit in y^{e} language of it, but like Jobes freinds too quick in sensureing what could not be in y^{e} cognizance of y^{e} pen man) I esteeme not as an evidence in this matter honer^{d} I desire you to send me an account of y^{e} state and condicon of y^{e} S'$^{ts.}$ and Church of God in Wales, and especially with you, and w^{t} your p'sent practice is, y^{t} y^{e} mouth of the adversary may be stopped, and y^{t} those y^{t} feare y^{e} Lord may rejoice with you and for you, and may glorifye our father wch in heaven.

J. J.

To Mr Daniell Lloyd, att Wrexham.

Deare ffriend,

I have sealed the Bond and the Counterpart which you sent mee concerning Chappell Izard. But indeed I am troubled y^{t} ye Gentleman is so unhandsome as to insist upon my Brother Kyffin and you to be suretyes for mee when I pay such a fine for soe short a tyme, and more for his Land then any man in these tymes will give. The conveniency of the howse is all that is desireable in the Bargaine, and very usefull for mee, but burthensome to a Tennant that is to live by his farme. You will finde by the enclosed what Rent is due to Mr Poore from his former Tennant, and y^{e} reasons of the Defalcation. The same defalcacon falls upon this halfe yeare, soe that the whole due to him att this tyme is 66$^{l.}$ 16$^{s.}$ which I will and must pay him. I have besides the defalcacon abovesaid layed

out about 3$^{l.}$ in searching for and takeing out Coppyes of the Records to make out his Tytle to St. Laurence, which he out to repay, although I cannot insist upon it in this Account, and untill I have my lease I am not enabled to trye the tytle, being as yett but a Tenant to an Assignee, and for soe short a tyme as will not beare the trouble of a suite. The possession is kept from mee to this day, the Corne carryed of ye ground, and at this tyme they sowe winter Corne there, and it may be with more confidence then formerly, because he that detaineth the Possession is a Parliam^{t} man, and therefore not soe open to be molested with suites. But although this may raise under Tenants' confidence, yet I rest assured the Gentleman will make noe such use of his Imployment. I cannot remember, nor doe I believe that I have made Mr Power a promise to pay him 100$^{l.}$ for this yeare nowe past, without suitable condicons propounded to be had from him. I did desire from him a Lease of 21 years, and had that beene granted mee then, which was about May, I had beene able to have done somewhat, in order to the recovery of the Land in Controversie, and to have payd this last halfe yeares Rent without deduction for the same. I am afraid I have beene over troublesome unto you in this matter, which makes mee be thus large with you, at this tyme that my Brother Kyffin and you may putt a periodd unto it as you judge best. I thanke you for the account you gave me of the Sts Church of God with you, and blessed be our Lord that preserves you from being entangled with ye snares of the Serpent, and leads you out with soe much zeale and fervency of spirit to avoid contentions and strife, and to provoake the people of God to unity and love, which are the bonds of peace and p^{r}fection. My enquiry after you proceeded from a desire I had to be enabled to give some Godly freinds heere an Account of you, and thereby to remove their jealousy which reports

had begot in them. Mr Thimbleton and Mr Rogers can give you an account of the state and temper of Professorrs heere, unto whose relation I refer you, and rest,

Your very affecconat freind,

Dublin, 18th October, 1653. JO. JONES.

A note to be inclosed in Mr Dan. Lloyd's Letter.

As touching the half yeares rent due from Mr Peaseley ending at May last, he saith he will not pay any more then what is sett downe in the letter, without it be recovered by law. And really in my judgmt he ought to have allowance for St Laurence lands, it being kept from him, and the other sum in a tax sett upon the recet by vertue of any genll order made for relief of Tenants, and is deducted by all landlords. And there is the same reason for the last half yeare. However I leave that to my Brother Kyffin and you to compromise as you see cause.

Your assured friend,

18th October, 1653. J. J.

From Mr Sterry to John Jones.

Noble Sir,

I have received, October the 15th, a sweete and Xan letter from you in which you express a love and esteeme of one of the lowest members in the Body of Christ beyond what he deserveth, you alsoe shew a deep understanding in the two greate evils of these tymes, which agree in a Carnality but differ in this, one layes the weight of religion upon an outward forme, the other setts up a Mistery of Eniquity in the inward ffancy and imagination by which it

takes away all forme of Religion in the outward man and confounds light with darknesse, good with Evill, Sperit with fflesh, Time with Eternity, God with the Creature, nay with the Devill, the first sort Savour not any mistery, and depth in the Gospell, the other turne the deepe things of God into the depths of Satan. I shall say noe more of the first sort, save onely that these things are shadowes and Christ is the Body, the kingdome of God consisteth not of these thinges but in Righteousnesse, the Righteousnesse of God which is Spirituall, and the originall the Righteousnesse of God which is the Morall, and the Coppy or Image of the other, grace, joy in the Holy Ghost, he y^{t} doth these things shall be accepted of God and approved of men, that is, shall be justifyed in the day of all divine and humane principles, whether he eate or eate not, soe it be to the Lord, to Charity and Dedification, but if any man be contentious about these things, I finde noe such custome nor any encouragem^{t} to it, to flowe from the spirit and face of our Lord Jesus in my soule. But if any man would bringe the S'^{ts} into Bondage to such ordinances as p'ish in the useing, hee seemes not to be thoroughly instructed in the power of Christes death or the virtue of his resurrection, by which a living way is made into the most holy place, thorow the rending of the vaile of fflesh ffor the other sort of Principles they have had their ffirst beginnings in Christianity at Symon Magus who called himselfe the supreame vertue and power, that is the father and carryed about with him a Trumpett which he said was the supreame wisdome or understanding on which the Angells were begotten, according to these Principles by Majicke he served himselfe of the Rulers of the Darknesse of this world, and by Sensuallity fed himselfe without feare, upon all visible instrum^{ts} of Voluptuousnesse. S^{r} the bottome of those principles unvailed of all their Maskeing,

Mysterious Language, is this, that there is noe God but the spirit of this visible world, noe other state or appearance of things besides this visible image, noe other Eternity save a perpetuall succession of Generation and Corruption, noe Angells besides the various imaginations of men or man himselfe, that all this is God, The spirit of this world as it is in the whole world is the father. Tho it is in every or any P'ticular man or appearance is Jesus Christ; that this is the everlasting Gospell to knowe this, that all is God, that wee are God, that everything is God, and upon this account to be alike free to all thinges, and this is Heaven and spiritually on the other side to thinke that anythinge is sin, that there is a Heaven, a Hell, a God beyond this image of thinges, this alone is darkenesse, and Hell and the Devill, that when wee dye o^{r} spirits are swallowed up into the spiritt of this world, which is our returne to the ffather, and our Bodyes change into some other naturall forme of plant, beaste or the like.

But S^{r} that which I have seene or learned in the light of Christ is this, that there is one God the father of whome are all thinges, who alsoe is three, the ffather, the word and Spiritt. This is he who Inhabiteth Eternity, who is invisable, incomprehensible to the eye and understanding of every Creature, whom the Heavens of Hevons cannot hold, those heavens which are farr more above these visible heavens, of Sunn Moon and Starrs, than these are above this spott of earth, that there is one Jesus the immortall Word, by in and for whom all things were created invisible and visible; this Jesus is God and soe equall to the ffather, one with the ffather he descended into fflesh, soe he became lesse then the ffather, and was obedient to him through the Crosse, Resurrection, and Assention, he putt of fflesh returned to the ffather in our nature, which he changed ffrom fflesh into spiritt, conformeing it p'fectly to the divine

nature makeing it in Soule and Body one Spiritt with God the ffather, and yet keeping it in its owne propriety as a distinct Spiritt from him. This same Jesus as the Lord from Heaven, as a quickening spirit descends into the soules of his Saints, reveales himselfe and the ffather there formes himselfe in them, conformes them to himself, purgeth them by degrees from all polutions of flesh and spirit, carryes on the felloweship of his sufferings death and resurrection in them, until he have made them spiritt of his spiritt, one spirit with himselfe and ye ffather, first in Soule, finally at the last day in Body alsoe. Thus his prayer is heard that his Saints may be where he is and may be made p'fect in one, as the ffather and he are one. In the meane tyme while wee are in fflesh wee are imperfect and weake in spirit, wee are besett with a weight of sin which easily presseth us downe, and haveinge the first fruits of the spiritt wee still grone under this body of sin and death, though of a truth wee bye the eye of faith see ourselves already p'fect in the ffather and in Christ above, as alsoe the ffather and Christ liveing in us, yet this sight of faith is butt in part, this life of the ffather and of Christ is but in its infancy, in a riddle in much obscurety and imp'fection in us, y^{t} we cannot but continually say that the father and Christ are farr greater, and if wee thinke wee knowe anythinge, or are anythinge, wee knowe nothing as wee ought to knowe, wee are nothing. S^{r} since I received yours I have beene in Phisick and now write in much infirmity of Body. I hope if the Lord p̄mitt, to write more on this subject the next weeke.

Your most Humble and obliged servant,

PETER STERRY.

Whitehall October 24th 1653.

Mr Standish,

I pray be pleased to direct the bearer Capt Hugh Poole how he may have his arrears stated, for his service in England. I can testifye that the certificate he hath is under Coll[l] Myttons owne hand and that the bearer actually served in our Welsh Brigade as Lt of a foot company in Col[l] Popes Regimt and that Col[l] Thomas Mytton commanded that Brigate in Cheife. I likewise remember that he continued in that comand untill he was reduced and his company in that Regimt disbanded in order to forme a new Regimt for ye service in Ireland, which Regimt came over with Col[l] Michael Jones, and was comanded by Coll[l] Kinaston, and in which Regimt Capt Poole had the comand of a Capt. I likewise remember that the said Regimt came over about June, 1647, but cannot presisely remember the tyme, nor can I certifye what tyme his service began, but doe veryly believe that he served during the tyme menconed in Coll[l] Myttons certificate.

I rest, your loveing freind,

JO. JONES.

To Coll[l] Philip Jones.

Deare and Hon[ord] ffreind.

The office of these lynes are only to acknowledge yor kindnesse towards an undeserving creature, manifested in yor readynesse to take notice of any concernmt of myne to my advantage, as I have found it in my former experiences of you, and hath beene fully presented to mee lately by my Brother. Such offices of friendship and respect are ye more generous and acceptable when extended to such as cannot, or proceeds from such as neede not answerable retaliation. It is the Blessed temper of ye spirit of ye Lord Jesus Christ in his S'ts to be ready and willing to serve one another in

love, and it is a precious mercy to such as feare the Lord when such as are in supreame authority have such a frame and temper of spirit in them. I have bene (by many providences to mee), raised from the dust to sit and act in places too high for mee, wherein I have found snares upon my spirit, to be lifted up in high thoughts of myselfe, and like a wanton Dame sitting on a Hill, to be regardlesse and compassionatlesse of those who in their outward stations seeme belowe mee. But my often minding the aboundance of humility, love and compassion that was manifested in the Lord Jesus, and ought to be in his members, and the little distance and dissimilitude that is betweene mee and the worst of men, hath beene a meanes through grace to keepe mee in some measure of sobriety.

Deare S^r^. The interest you are pleased to grant mee in you I shall freely make use of as often as any occasion of myne shall call mee unto it, with this assurance that (if in anythinge I shall be found immodest or pertiall, as most men are in their owne concernm^ts^), you will be pleased to favo^r^ mee soe farr as to smother it, before my weakness be made more publiqe, and to that end if my Brother waite upon you oftener than is meete to lay it to my account. I pray present my service to deare Mr. Scobell, he is an humble, loving soule, with whom I could comfortably spend all the dayes of my life. I remayne

Yo^rs^ faithfully to serve you,

JO. JONES.

Dublin, the 13th Aprill, 1654.

(To Oliver Cromwell, Protector.)

May it please yor Highness.

Having observed to what issue that hon^ble^ and liberall intention of the late Parliam^t^, and since of yor Highnesse

and yor Councell (towards widdowes and orphans whose respective arreares amount not to above 150), is like to come to, by reason of the indigency of the persons to whom such debts are due, many of them offering for the supply of their p'sent wants to make sale of their Debentures for 5s. in the pound, and thereby to transferr that greate advantage of yor Highnesse indulgence, and beneficence towards them, unto such who have raised themselves from nothing to greate estates by the troubles of the tymes, wherein many of them probably minded themselves more then the publiqe interest. I made bould to comunicate my thoughts in that matter to my Lord Gen^{ll} ffleetwood, who was pleased to advise mee to present the same to yor Highnes; and had not I had his comand for it I had not presumed to give you this trouble. The Baronyes appointed for satisfaccon of ye said widdowes and orphans are pretty large in extent, and have some of the best seates in Ireland in them, and if they were exposed to sale, would yeld in ready money (as most men that are knoweing in affaires of that nature doe judge), double the value they are sett for to the widdowes, and yet if sett out in Lands will be of little value to them, because their respective proporcons will be soe inconsiderable as that noe man will deale with them for the same but upon very low tearmes, and their poverty will not admitt them to plant the same, and consequently their interest will become a prey to other men; ffor prevention whereof I humbly propound that such persons as yor Highnes shall thinke fitt to trust, may be impowered to pay ye arreares of the said widdowes and orphans (or of as many of them as desire it), in ready money, and take assignm^{ts} to yor Highnes use of the said debts, and of their interest to lands for the same, within ye said Baronyes, and that said persons soe intrusted may be likewise impowered to make sale of soe much of the lands within the

said Baronyes as shall reimburse the said money ; ffor the carrying on of this work, I humbly conceive that there will not neede much money to be issued before money come in by sayle, and that may be borrowed out of yor grand Tres^{ry} heere for a short tyme, to be repaided by sayle as aforesaid. By this meanes the poore widdowes and orphans will have more plenary satisfaccon, and more to their content, than by lands in the way prescribed, and I am p'swaded that halfe the lands appointed for their satisfaccon, and those of the best Seates will be reserved for yor Highnesse disposal, and it were pitty that some Seates in those Baronyes should be dismembered. If yor Highnesse aproves of this course or any other for the end herein proposed, I humbly conceive that it will not be adviseable to delay it, because poore people will be pressing for liberty to sell their Debentures, or contriveing some other way by private contracts, to make sayle of their Interests when lands are sett out on to them. All which I humbly leave to yor Highnesse wisdome, to signifye yor pleasure in, as you shall judge most meete, and rest,

Yo^{r} Highnes most humble servant,

Dublin, the 17th Aprill, 1654. JO. JONES.

To ye Lord Henry Cromwell.

Right Honble

I have beene advised by my Ld Gen^{ll} ffleetwood to write the inclosed to his Highnes, which I humbly desire yor Lo^{pp} to p'sent, It concernes the three Baroneys appointed for satisfaccon of the arrears of Widdowes and Orphans, wherein I humbly conceive just satisfaccon may be given to the partyes concerned, and more to their content and profitt then their haveing of lands, yet halfe the land of these Baroneyes and the best Seates in them reserved for

his Highnes to dispose of, I am not in a condition to buy lands, because fallen in debt since the Lord tooke away my wife, and therefore am free from any other end in this matter then his Highnes service. If in this or any other matter I can be serviceable to his Highnesse or yor Lo^{pp} upon psonall or private acc^{t} I am afraid it is my snare to be ever ambitious of ye hono^{r} of such comands, I beseech you be not discouraged in proceeding to y^{r} purchase of ye Lo^{pps} of Bromfield and Yale, I dare assure you it is the cheapest purchase you can have in all those p^{ts} of England for soe little money as it shall stand you in, and as certaine a Revenue as compleate a comand as I knowe in all those parts, what interest I have in it I wholly submitt to yor disposal, and am perswaded Sr James ffarrington will be glad to receive the money which he p^{d} for the feefarme Rents, I make bold to mencon this thinge because I have not received any acc^{t} from by brother touching that matter. The Lord fill you with his spirit of love and meeknesse that the desires of all that love and feare his name may be towards you, which att the throne of grace shall be the desires and prayers of

Yo^{r} Lo^{pps} most humble Servant,

Dublin the 17th Aprill, 1654. JO. JONES.

Major Gen^{ll} Harrison to Col^{l} Jones.

Highgate 12thd. 5thm. 56.

My deerely beloved in o^{r} Lord,

Yo^{r} large and loveing letter dated 6thd. of the 3rdm. came not to my hands till a full month after, and then found me under trouble of so manie kinds (upon my Fathers decease) that I have beene to my griefe, hithertoo interrupted to send you answer.

Though you therein mentioned severall things very serious and weightee, and wch might chall. some account, yet because I am One with you in most of them, and conceiving yor l^{re} was chiefly upon yor greate Proposall (the Expresse Tearmes whereof I shall retorne, vizt To agree (as is alreadie) to act in dearest love expressed to him named Protector, (or Mount Sirion as the Sidonians called Hermon, and David in the spirit followed that faithfully, believingly, undoubtingly, unanimously, that He would retreat in action of undertaking (and soe witnes repentance by condisention) and wee would as willingly repent of o^{r} sinfull dissentions) I shall therefore apply what I have now brought to offer, onely to that.

You propose, That wee agree to act deerest Love, &c., yett add, as is alreadie the meaning, whereof I do not fully conceive, because itt seems to imply wee should noe that, wch is done already.

You propose in generall to deale wisely, rationally, plainly, &c., wch from my hearte I desire to observe in whatever I shall have to doe with him: but you doe not assigne anie thing particularly wherein I shall soe deale.

The ends you propose my hearte saith amen unto. That He may retreat from the evill of his waies, and myselfe from myne, for both or either of wch I hope my Soule would blesse Jehovah, and therefore be thanckfull for anie gracious helpe or mercies in order thereunto. I can affirme I desire not a haire from anie of their heads for anie unkindnes to mee, I could blesse them y^{t} curse and praie for my persecuto^{rs} as they are myne. For all the upright in hearte amongst them I daily aske mercy, as for my owne soule, I confesse also, I have much cause to bee ashamed for the best of my doeings, much more wherein manifold infirmities have beene compassing, yett I must not deny the grace and simplicity God hath given, to keepe the word of his

patience in this daie, though in a weake measure, I maie also tell you my feares (for wch I have manie grounds, where upon I conceive) that some have comitted as sore Trespasse as anie mentioned in the Holy Scriptures from Caine to Judas. That adoreing hearte hath soe turned aside, they cannot saie, Is there not a lye in my right hand, Isi. 44. 20. They have chosen their owne waies, and I think, Isi. 66. 3. 45., is very applicatory to them. Soe. 2, Thes. 2. 11. I thinke they have forsaken the Lord, theire Defence is departed, yea is turned to be theire Enemy wch waie soever they turned. Though they cry He heares not, though his hand be lifted they see not. But whilst this Distresse is upon them they trespasse yett more. 2 Cron. 28. 22. What you have to write, or (if the Lord soe please) to speake to mee in this matter (because Captaine Taylor hath hinted a little hope of seeing you) I begg an equall mind, open deare and hearte unto, and therein variousely begg the helpe of yor praires. I have much cause to acknowlidge yor tender love and respects manie waies, in thanckfull remembrance whereof I remaine

Yo^{rs} much engaged, and firmly endeared in the Lord,

T. HARRISON.

To the Governors of ye respective Precincts, to be comunicated to Xan freinds.

Deare ffreinds,

It hath indeed beene too formall a practice for p'sons in publique authority to multiply their orders and desires for days of prayse and prayer or humiliacon, and soe those from whome they expect such services have beene many tymes either unfitt subjects for it, or too carnally have conformed thereunto. The continuall pestilence which the

Lord encreaseth (in this place especially and in some other p^{ts} of this Nacon) provakes o^{r} hearts, and some others of his poore people heere, to reflect upon our selves and services who have beene indeede too much overtaken with some slothfull spirit, and now more seriously to consider what may be the minde of our God, who will be sanctifyed of all that draw nigh unto him, that while his good hand succours us still both by land and sea, not suffering any of our adversaries to prosper against us, but wonderfully pleadeing our cause to their reproofe, for which wee have greate reason of late to praise his holy name, yet that such sore chastizem^{ts} more immediately from himselfe should rest upon us, we have therefore through mercy desired to to enquire more solemly into our wayes, and to waight at the throne of Grace, not only for a cleare discovery of the causes which provoakes him to followe us from place to place, blasting all our comforts, and makeing our very abode uncomfortable, in the places where wee might hope for more settlednesse, but alsoe for the assistance of his gracious spirit, filling us with holy zeale and fervour, ag^{t} those many publique wickednesses which are obvious to our eyes that wee may not rest in a bare enquiry but according to that Exortation to Josua, in the 7th chapter of y^{t} Booke and ye 10th verse, by doeing of our dutyes. And wee by this earnestly intreate and invite you in like manner as Bretheren to putt on bowells, and with us solemnly approache before the Lord on Tuesday next come seven-night, and the same day fortnight after to be ye second day, and in the Name of our Advocate Christ Jesus offereing up the holy and acceptable Incense of his Righteousnesse onely. Lett us stand, as it were, betweene the liveing and the dead to pleade the compassion of our heavenly father, not onely for the spareing of the remnant of his poore people and instrum^{ts} in this Countrey, but for the pardoning and clearcing of as

many of those actuall Provocations and neglects wch have beene comitted, or not faithfully witnessed against by us, and to the end wee may not be onely in appearance therein. Wee beseech you begge earnestly not onely for ye Discovery of such cases as may be yett more secrett, but for faithfullnesse and impartiall resolutions unto the Lord for us and all others unto whom he hath comitted Rule in this poore Nacon, that we may in all things witnesse unto him faithfully to the Terror of manifest evill doers, and to ye praise of them y^{t} doe well, and further to the helping of us herein. We desire you y^{t} when you have the first day together sought the helping hand of our God, you would send unto us speedily the assistance of such observations as shall be upon yor hearts to be the most probable cause of this heavy hand, and consulting with the 1st Cor. 10th chap., 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 verses, and Rom. 15, 4 verse, y^{t} you would recollect according to the scriptures in what case the Lord used of ould to come out thus ag^{t} his people or Instruccons, and what of the same evills you finde to be in the midest of us, and seeke the Lord for us, that wee may more seriously bewaile them before him, and so much as in us lyes, both as Christians and Majistrates, bring forth better fruites by our owne more more (*sic*) fervent upright walking with the Lord, and faithfull witnessing ag^{t} all y^{t} comitt such thinges which wee earnestly commend to you and rest

Yo^{r} affeconat ffreinds,

C. ff, E. L, M. C., J. J.

Dublin, 1st July, 1658.

To Mr. Storry.

Deare and Hon^{d} in the Lord Jesus,

It was my happinesse (when I dwelt at Whitehall and was an unworthy member of that greate Councell) to have

some glymps of the Spirituall frame of yor Soule and of those excellent truthes and precious Mysteries of the Gospell which you then held forth, and although the ffleshly temper of my heart, and the little light which I then or yet attained in the true and saveing knowledg of them would not admitt mee to retaine much of what I then heard from you (because my spiritual understanding was darke and lowe to apprehend, and my heart not filled to receive the impression of what you then delivered in many sermons) yet my desires have been very much to have those truthes renewed unto mee, and to have seene those labou^{rs} of yo^{rs} published in print, especially those Sermons you preached on Phill. 1, 21; and since the Lord hath bene pleased to take from me my precious yoake fellow and faithfull helper in the things of God, and to leave me heere, as it were, alone in a Land where the terrible Judgm^{ts} hooave to and froe, devouring the Inhabitants, and where most of those that possesse the feare of the Lord are either engaged in publiqe and pulpit contencons about outward Administracons, especially those about Infant and adult washings, or carried out into a verball possession of the Bare name, and denying the power of Godlinesse, circumscribing God, Christ, Heaven, Hell and other objects of faith within themselves to be God and Christ, and therefore hould themselves not capable of sinning, and consequently noe accon of theirs to be sinne. That prayer is impertinent and needlesse, that were to acknowledg God without them, and because where there is noe sinne there is noe lawe, and where there is noe transgression. And thus endeavouring to build up a fearfull spirituall Babell instead of the service and worshipp of God by mysterious and unintelligible expressions. I have beene much heightened in those my desires for ye better establishing my owne heart in these shakeing times, and therefore have at this time taken upon mee the freedome to direct these lynes unto you,

therein to expresse those my former and p^r^sent desires, and likewise my hope that you will not be wanting in the greater duety you owe the Lord Jesus of publishing what hee hath revealed unto you of those hydden mysteryes unto those y^t^ want ye light and (like a man in a dreame) may bee apt to be lifted up (as hee thinkes into heaven) into fires of contencons or darke clouds of notions, unto which when the least beame from the Sonne of Righteousnesse approacheth, the poore Creature's chariott of vapours and smoke dispenseth, and himselfe, frighted wth the fearfull fall, awaketh and findeth himselfe in the lowest and darkest posture of man. I looke upon you as one of ye most proper and effectual Instrum^ts^ in ye Lord's hand, to convey that light and life y^t^ may awaken and warne poore creatures in such condicon, and thereby rescue them from the subtile snares of Sathan, which is the reason why I have given you this trouble, and am raised to this confidence y^t^ you will regard w^t^ is here written, although from one who is very little, if at all, knowne unto you; and if, in ye mean time, you would aford me something of yor thoughts touching ye before menconed perticulars which trouble and distract ye church of Christ heere, I wuld esteem it a speciall favour from the Lord, and much of Christian freindshipp from you.

Yo^r^ affecionat freind,

Really to serve you in the ways and Bowells of Christ,

JO. JONES.

Dublin, 29th Sept., 1658.

To his Ex^cie^ the Lord ffleetwood.

May it please yor Ex^cie^

Lieu^t^ Gen^ll^ Ludlowe, upon his goeing away from hence, which was on Tuesday, the 18th p'sent, left his comand in Chieffe of the fforces heere in my manadgem^t^ haveing, as he

alledges, yor Ex^{cies} approbation for his soe doing. I confesse I did judge myselfe extreme unfitt for soe greate a Trust; butt all ye Officers here (Nemine Contradicente) when propounded to them gave their full Consent and Concurrance to it, without wch I had been very loath to have undergone the Burthen of it, though intended but for a few dayes. The very nexte day after (wch was on a Wednesday) we had some Rumo^{r} of ye late unexpected change, and on Thursday, by the Packett, a full Relatiō by private l^{res} It was very astonishing unto us (in regard for many weekes before wee had received noe l^{re} by reason of contrary Winde) wch informed us of any tendency of Councells towards such a perriod; upon ye first intimation thereof, I called all the Officers together, and disposed them to their several Chardges to prevent any practice of ye Comon Enemy upon us. I find them all as yet willing to acquiesse in ye acting of ye Lord's Providence, although mixed wth sorrow y^{t} ye Lords seeme to procrastinate o^{r} hopes of a firme settlem^{t} of peace to o^{r} Nation, and wth feare of w^{t} ye issue of this Dispensation wilbe. But wee are not wthout some measure of faith and hope that ye Lord will make good his promise to his people that all things will worke together for their good. For my owne parte, I have very stronge confidence y^{t} yor Lo^{pp} will find all things in an honest, quiett posture here, waiting for the pleasure of the Lord concerning us, and for a speedie Establishm^{t} of Power for administration of Justice and government. Men's Intereste and publique Revenue being almost pure Confusion for want thereof. Wee hope you will speedilie returne o^{r} Comander in chieff unto us, his satisfaccon in w^{t} is past will contribute much to ye perfect settling of ye mindes of many to an acquiessence therein.

This day wee, the Comand^{rs} and Offic^{rs} of ye army, keepe together to seeke ye Lord for councell and guidance to o^{r}

ffreinds in England, y^t^ you may be lead by his blessed Spirit (and not your owne) to bring forth things as eminently gloriouse in holinesse and justice as yor late actings have been eminently strange and unparalleled. The Lord seemes to promise some such fruict, in y^t^ he preventetd ye shedding of one dropp of blood, whereas other Nations have been Rolled in blood upon farr lesse occasion. The Lord preserve you and all y^t^ are faithfull to his Interest from ye malice and power of men. My wife continues ill of her late distemper.

Yo^r^ Ex^cies^ most humble Serva^t^

Dublin, 22^d^ 8^m^ 1659. J. JONES.

To his Ex^cie^ The Lord Gen^ll^ ffleetewoode to be Comunicated to the Gen^ll^ Councell of Officers of his Army in England.

May it please yor Ex^cie^

The late extraordinary and (unto us) unexpected transaction att Westminster (comunicated unto us by l^res^ from ye Gen^ll^ Councell of Officers of yor Army in England, and ye relation of o^r^ beloved freind Col^l^ Robert Barrowe, and likewise made knowen unto us by private l^res^ from ffreinds in England some tyme before his arrivall here) possessed us wth a Dampe of Astonishm^t^ and Sorrow, that the hope we had of the settlem^t^ of ye Peace and Tranquility of these Nations upon a lasting and righteouse foundation should bee (soe farre as it is depended upon legall Instrum^ts^ and formall Nationall Constitutions) soe soone shaken, That our most deare and hon^ble^ freinds whom ye Lord hath imployed and signally owned in the dethroning of Tyrany and wickednesse (rooted in the late Governm^t^ of the Nations) and in ye countenanceing and advanceing of the profession and practice of holynesse and Righteousnesse in ye Land, should

bee under soe severe a Dispensation as to be exersised by the Providence of the Lord (whose councells are unsearchable and his wayes past finding out) to treade upon the Brinke of Ruine and Desolation to themselves and these Nations, in ye unfixing of y^t^ Nationall authority wch themselves (by undergoeing the like danger) had but few moneths before restored to ye manadgem^t^ and dischardge of their Trust. These things in their first appearance to us seeme soe direfull and tragicall, that it hath occasioned greate thoughte and searching of heartes amongst us. And as we are satisfied that nothing but necessity and sense of duty can justifie actions of that nature, soe we are perswaded that yor Ex^cie^ and the rest of o^r^ Bretheren in yor army did judge themselves to be under those obligations, and we hope that their effectuall endeavo^rs^ to attaine to a more firme establishm^t^ of Peace and Righteousnesse in o^r^ Land, and to a more thorough Reformation or removall of whatsoever is grieveous and oppressive to the people, then what hath hitherto beene brought forth, wilbe such as wee neede not be ashamed of this o^r^ perswasion. We shal through the graceouse assistance of o^r^ God o^r^ respective stations, and according to the severall capacityes and opportunityes wherew^th^ the Lord shall fitt us, endeav^r^ to preserve the publicke peace of this Nation, and to prevent the designes of any tending to the disturbance thereof, or to devide us in interest or affection from o^r^ Bretheren in the army of England and Scotland wch is the grande designe of the Common Enemy of mankinde. And we hold it ye highest duety incumbent upon us (as to men) to preserve Brotherly love and union amongst ourselves and towards our Bretheren of yor armyes in England and Scotland (in which union the peace and safety of these nations as well as o^r^ personall concernem^ts^ doeth in a very high measure consist) that soe we may be in the hand of ye Lord as a threefold cord not

easily broken. And o^{r} desire is to be founde earnest and prevailing wrestlers w^{h} the Lord that we all may be cloathed wth a spirit of humility, meeknesse and the feare of him, hateing the pride pompe and glory of the worlde, that soe he may delight to dwell with us, and to guide us in judgem^{t} and may (by his comfortable speaking to us, in this o^{r} Wildernesse) and leading us in the Pathes of Righteousenesse make us in o^{r} respective places usefull in y^{t} greate worke of repayreing o^{r} Broaches, and restoreing of Paths to dwell in.

Yo^{r} Ex^{cies} faithfull and humble serv^{ts}
signed in ye name and by the consent
of the Councell of Offic^{rs} of the
army in Ireland.

Har: Waller	Richard Lawrence
Tho: Cooper	Daniel Abbott
Peter Wallis	Henry Pritty
Alex: Bradfield	Thomas Sadlier
John Nellson	Henry Jones
Will: Arnop	Will: Moore
Jos: Deane	Edward Warren

Dublin, 26th October, 1659. Thomas Davies.

To his Ex^{cie} Lt Gen^{ll} Ludlowe
Comander in Chiefe of ye forces in Ireland

S^{r}

The Representation of the Gen^{ll} Councell of Offic^{rs} of ye army in England directed to yo^{r}selfe to be comunicated to the Officers here and wch yo^{e} were pleased to inclose in yor l^{re} to me by Colonell Barrow. I have communicated to the councell of yor officers who in reality I thinke I may truely say every one of them had a very deepe and sadd sense of y^{t} extraordinary action rep^{c}sented unto them!

They thought it adviseable to send copies of that representation and of those other papers produced by Collonell Barrowe to ye severall Garrisons and quarters of yor army to prevent misunderstanding wth strict injunction to bee watchfull to p'serve the publique Peace and to mayntaine love and union amongst us. We had recieved notice of y^t^ action by private l^res^ three dayes before Coll^l^ Barrowes arrivall upon wch there was a day kept to seeke the Lord in ye Councell Chamber by the Com^rs^ and Officers, and all Offic^rs^ comanded forthw^th^ to repayre to their respective Chardges for ye service above menconed, and not to be absent thence w^th^out special order. I have given ord^r^ to Mr. Goodwine to send yo^u^ copies of as many of the said papers as may be of use unto you or worth yor perusall. The councell of yor officers here have thought it fitt to returne to ye Lord Gen^ll^ ffletewood and his Gen^ll^ Councell of Offic^rs^ from whom ye s^d^ rep^e^sentation came somew^t^ of their aprehensions touching ye matter communicated unto them, and of what is upon their Spirite to promote in such a day as this wch they have expressed in the inclosed paper, and comanded me to convey the same to yor Ex^cies^ hand wth a signification of their humble desire that you wilbe pleased to close and p'sent it according to the superscription. They have likewise appointed Lieu^t^ Coll: Isaack Dobson to waite on yor Ex^cie^ and negotiate the concernem^t^ of this army, but have not thought fitt to give him any instructions in writing, judgeing it fitter he should receive directions from yo^r^selfe in w^t^ever is proper for him to appeare in or insist upon in ye behalf of this army, And when you shall judge his negotiation there may be of lesse use then his service here, It is desired he may returne to his chardge. The bearer Coll. Barrow wilbe ready to waite on you in ye delivery of the l^tre^ if you judge it convenient.

Yo^r^ Ex^cies^ most humble servant,

Dublin, 27th October, 1659. JOHN JONES.

To his Ex^cie^ the Lord Gen^ll^ ffleetwoode.

May it please yor Ex^cie^.

My hon^ble^ friend Coll. Barrow being here upon the place can give yor Ex^cie^ a better accompte of affayres here then I can by l'^res^. I hope yor fforces here will be found in a very good disposition to preserve the publique peace, and love and union wth the armyes of England and Scotland, and that they will not be discomposed by any practice y^t^ may be attempted upon them to ye contrary. The Lord Chancell^r^ Steele is under some indisposition to health, wch necessitates my constant attendance att the Councell Board, and therefore I humbly desire y^t^ o^r^ Lieu^t^ Gen^ll^ may be hastened unto us to beare his share of the burthen, and qualified wth power as Com^r^. There was this last weeke a Horrid Murther comitted neare Ardmagh, upon (as they say) a Godly Englishman, who came lately into that countrey to plant. He was killed in his bedd, and his wife by him received 8 wounds, and thought by the villanes to have beene killed. There were tenne of them; three taken by track and pursuit of the neighbo^rs^, but noe Power in Ireland to doe justice upon them (as my long Robe assotiates tell mee. It is well Phineas, his companion, were not of that profession), nor to force them to impeach the other seaven. There is a clause in our Power requireing us to cause justice to be admistred, wch is judged of noe force w^th^out other comissions, or more articulat direction. Robberyes are frequently comitted on ye English, and noe Power to make reparation to y^em^ upon the Irish as was accustomed formerly is necessary to be put in execution now. There is noe Power here (as they say) to compell one man to right another by paying him his due, as to y^t^ we are in p'fect confusion, and it is a wonder if violence and fforce be not used by the people to right themselves, and wee drive them to it, for noe publique Revenue is paid but as it is assigned to souldiers, and ye poore men

y^{t} are to pay it, must have the souldiers helpe to compell their creditors to pay them, and thus you see w^{t} kind of Courtes of Justice are like (through the cautionary prudence of Hon^{rble} ffreinds in England), to grow up amongst us. I beseech yor Ex^{cie} let there be power placed somewhere to p^{r}vent these greate unparalled misscheifes, and p^{r}don ye boldness of yor Ex^{cies} most humble and faithfull servant,

JOHN JONES.

Dublin, 28th October, 1659.

To his Ex^{cie} Lord Gen^{ll} ffleetewood.

My Lord,

At my comming away from Whitehall the Councell were pleased at yor Lo^{pps} motion to grannt me £500 out of the Treasury of the army for my advance, but injoyned me to repay it to ye Treasury here in Ireland. Truely the charge of my journey and preparation was soe greate y^{t} I had not £20 of y^{t} money left when I came to Holyhead, soe y^{t} if ye pleasure of the Councell bee such y^{t} it must now be paid unto ye Treasury, I have not wherewith to support myselfe here, where my expenses are unavoidably more then some of my Brotheren. This is noe place to borrow, and truely my wholl Estate in England is sctttled for paym^{t} of my debtes, being upwards of £2000, and afterwards upon my son, wth power of revocation (after paym^{t} of my debts) by advise of my Trustees, and not otherwise, whereof I made bold to name yor Ex^{cie} as one of them, soe y^{t} I am in an incapacity to raise money for my p^{r}sent maynteynance; in this station my humble request is (if yor Ex^{cie} judge it fitt) that if the said £500 be not allowed me towards my chardges

in repayreing hither, the repaym^{t} thereof may be respited untill I am called away hence, wch I humbly leave to yor Ex^{cies} wisdome to determine, and rest

Yo^{r} Ex^{cies} most humble servant,

J. JONES.

My wife is through mercy in a good measure recovered of her late distempers, wch was y^{t} wch she had for these 3 yeares.
It wilbe an occasion of much rejoyceing to us to heare often y^{t} ye Lord deales kindly wth y^{r} Lo^{pp} and yor deare Lady, and sweete Branches in respect to health.

To my Honble Friend Coll Robert Barrowe.

Deare freind.

As many officers as were about ye Towne this morning mett to advise w^{t} is fitt to be done upon ye papers wch Mr. Payne brought over to be subscribed. I finde them all in a very good, honest frame of spirit, very willing and ready to act anything y^{t} may mayntayne and strengthen union and love between them and ye army of England, and shall be warranted by ye rule of prudence and christianity. Some difficulty lay upon them in regard ye declaration of ye Army of England in relation to a future settlem^{t}, (and ye insisting upon some reall good things to be established to ye Nations, wch may make ye people happier in their Civill and Spirituall concernements, then the late Powers have hitherto rendred them), is not come forth for want of a thorough assurance thereof. His Ex^{cie} the Lord Generall ffleetewoode made some demurre (as we have beene informed) of accepting the Gen^{ll}ship untill he should bee satisfied of

their full purpose therein, and how farre he recieved satisfaction in y^t^ matter doeth not appeare here. Another consideration lay before them, wch was ye private state of this army, many officers discharged of their commands w^th^out a court marshiall, and very many more expecting ye like measure; and how to p^r^vent these persons appeareing wth their commands, and attempting a discomposure amongst the fforces, is matter of seriouse advise. In the close they appointed a further debate of this matter to be on this day seaven-night, and in the meanetyme every man in his respective station promise to consider how wth full unanimity it may bee carried on, and to endeavour to remove scruples where they meete wth them, hopeing likewise y^t^ by that time the said declaration may come over, and y^t^ it will bee soe comp^r^hensive of good things, and soe suitable to ye spirit of an army of ffreeborne Englishmen and Gospell professo^rs^, that it will give universall satisfaction. I desire you to give Lt Gen^ll^ Ludlow this accompte, and likewise to his Ex^cie^ and to others as you shall receive directions from him.

Yo^r^ affecconate ffriend and servant,

Dublin, 30th October, 1659. JOHN JONES.

To Generall George Moncke,
att Edinborrough, in Scotland.

S^r^

Your letters and papers by ye bearer to Lt Gen^ll^ Ludlowe coming to my hands, who am appointed to Command here in Chieffe in his absence, I have opened, and finding them to be of publique concernm^t^ wherein you desire advise and councell, I have impairted them to the ffield Officers here, who have had longe acquaintance wth you, and a high esteem of yor merritt, ffrom whom you are to expect very

speedily some account concerning what you are pleased to mencon in yor said letters, whereof I thought fitt to give you this intimation by your owne messenger, and remayne

Sir, yor humble servant,

Dublin, 4th November, 1659. JO. JONES.

S^{r}

Yo^{r} letters and papers therein inclosed to Lieu^{t} Gen^{ll} Ludlowe comeing to my hands who am appointed to command ye Army here in his absence, and conceiveing them to be of publique concernem^{t} I have opened and comunicated them unto ye officers of ye army here, who are pleased to joyne wth me in this returne I make unto yo^{u}. Upon the first view of them we were very much startled and troubled att ye language you are pleased to use, and ye resolution you seeme to take in a matter of soe high a nature as ye ingageing of three Nations in Warre, and thereby opening a sure way for ye comon Enemie to destroy oure comon Interest as men and Christians and banish Gospell Profession and Professo^{rs} out of o^{r} Land. But finding ye date of those papers to be soe neare ye tyme of that action which you mention as ye ground of yor resolution. We conceive we have reason to beleeve y^{t} our brotheren in England have given yo^{u} such an accounte of y^{t} matter as have inclined you to a more peaceable and ffreindly temper towards them. However, we desire to be plaine and faithfull in o^{r} advice to you in this matter. That we cannot approve of any resolution of yo^{rs} or any other man wch may tende to ye ingageing of any part of the Armyes or fforces of these Nations against their Brotheren or to ye divideing of them in interest or affection, being well assured that such a practice wilbe found in the issue to bee nothe-

ing else but the opening of a doore for the comon enemy to come in (whatever faire umbrage may att first bee putt upon it) and destroy those very persons and authority on whose behalfe o^r^ affections incline us to undergoe very greate difficultyes, and therefore we hold it a duety incumbent upon us towards you (as o^r^ hon^ble^ ffriend of whom we have a very high esteeme) and on behalfe of all the people of ye Lord in these three Nations, to beare o^r^ wittnesse against any such resolution or practise, and to improove o^r^ utmost indeavo^rs^ to prevent ye same, and this you will find to be ye resolution and managem^t^ of all yor ffriends of the English Army here mett att a Councell of Officers soe unanimouse that there was not on negative, as by the inclosed paper will appeare unto yo^u^. And although wee hope y^t^ before this comes to yor hand there wilbe a right understanding settled betweene o^r^ Brotheren in England and you, yet wé p'sume yo^u^ will not judge it unbecomeing us to be very earnest wth yo^u^ to desist any further prosecution of those purposes and to returne those persons yo^u^ have put under restraynt to their duty, and if their be cause for it, wee shalbee ready to apply o^r^ uttmost interest to attayne the Establishm^t^ of a Right understanding and mutuall affection between yo^u^ and o^r^ ffriends in England, and in confidence of yor ready complyance wth our advise and intreaties, herein we remayne

Yo^r^ very affectionate ffriends and humble servants,

JOHN JONES, HARR. WALLER, THOMAS COOPER,
RICH. LAWRENCE, ROBT. PHAIRE NICH. KEMPTON,
HEN. JONES.

Dublin Novem. 4th 1659.

To Majo^{r} John Barrett.

S^{r}

The Councell of Officers here have thought fitt to make choice of you to go as an Expresse from them to Gen^{ll} Moncke. They have caused copies to bee sent you of ye Dispach wch is to goe wth you, and of such other papers as are come over to us wch may informe yo^{u} of ye state of matter of ffact concerneing the transactions of those affaires mencioned in ye papers. That you may be ye better able to informe o^{r} ffriends in Scotland of the grounds and reasons of these extraordinary Actings, and dispose them to a peaceable frame of spirit, wherein yor ffriends here are confident y^{t} the Lord will make you an useful Instrument. They doe not Conceive y^{t} any particular Instructions are needfull for you yor worke being onely to indeavoure the undeceiveing of o^{r} ffriends and p'vent Breaches betweene them and their Brotheren, who have been soe many years ingaged in one Comon Cause and must stand or fall together. It is desired likewise y^{t} you will settle a course of intelligence betweene o^{r} ffriends in Scotland and us, and in ye meane tyme of yor returne y^{t} yo^{u} Comunicate unto us the State of Affaires so farre as they come to yor Knowledge. If you find an opportunity to take up fifty pownds for ye beareing of yor Chardge in that Expedition, and Chardge it upon ye Treasury in Ulster or att Dublin, care wilbe taken y^{t} it be made good unto yo^{u} wch being all I have att p'sent to Trouble you I remayne,

Yo^{r} assured ffriende to serve you,

JO. JONES.

Dublin 4th November 1659.

To my honored ffriend Co^{ll} Daniel Axtell to be comunicated unto Co^{ll} Robert Barrowe.

Deare friend,

I am exceedingly obliged unto you for yor very punctuall Intelligence of Affaires, all my other ffriends except honest Vernon, being silent and myself forgotten of them. Yo^{r} letter this weeke gave the most Articulate and Satisfactory Account of any. The Armyes Declaration hath but a mixed operation amongest us, it is conceived by sober men that the Clawse of Repeale might have been better worded, and a Legislative Expression forborne, and yet the purpose obtained more effectually by shewing the Lawe declared ag^{t} to be destructive to ye Navy our Bullworke ag^{t} forreigne Nations, to the Army o^{r} Strenght and Security ag^{t} o^{r} home and comon Enemy, to the people in opening a doore for free Q^{rs} and sword powere imediately to returne upon them, and y^{t} by necessity the highest and most indispensible Lawe, The Clawse Concerneing Tythes conceived not seasonably inserted, nor thorroughly satisfactory to any. The Good things expected to be insisted upon by them as peculiar blessings to these Nations not att all particularly menconed, but wrapped in Gen^{lls} These things I mencon as the sense of others, that a publication of a more thorough satisfaction may be hastened. Wee are here inquireing and listening after things and substances, and haveing them we can dispence wth fformes and fframes (ye best and most righteous of wch will in a short tyme decay, and decline from their primitive lustre) (as is experienced in this day) but righteousnesse itselfe and holyness itselfe will never decay, although it may sometimes bee hid as it were under a Cloud of Tyrannouse and oppressive powere. The Officers here conceived fitt that the papers which passed from them to England and Scotland should be printed for ye Information o^{r} ffriends in ye remote parte of this Land, copies

whereof I have sent yo^{u} inclosed. The fayleings y^{t} are in them I must acknowledge as mine ymediately, but mediately as theirs who sett me on worke.

Colonell Cooper is now going to ye North to Comand in those parts, the Lord be his wisdome and strength. The papers for subscriptions were by concent of the Officers presently sent abroade, some Spirits are unquiett, they are mostly such as were unsatisfied att the abolition of the Governem^{t} by a single p'son and recalling of the longe Parliament. The Cavelleeres of all sort are of this temper, and now much raised in their Spirite and hope for Good newes for their King from Scottland, which makes me feare y^{t} poore Moncke is Trepanned, for if he ownes the Interest he will surely be destroyed, wee shall indeavor as the Lord shall inable us to p'serve the peace heare, our fforces are very scant considering ye temper of Ulster and Munster, I pray begge my pardon of my Lord ffleetwood and o^{r} Lt Gen^{ll} Ludlow y^{t} I cannot write unto them. Wee shall be observant of their Comands, and be pleased to acquainte them wth soe much of the contents hereof as yo^{u} judge fitt for thier cognizance or p'usall, remember y^{t} wee want power to putt Lawes in execution for p'servation of ye peace, punishing Murtherers, distributeing Justice, Relieving dispoyled English, and noe man layeth our condicon to heart, Ireland quite forgotten in the proclamation sett out by the Com^{tee} of safety.

Yo^{r} most affectionate friend really to serve yo^{w},

JO. JONES.

My deare love to Vernan wth thankes for his remembrance of mee.

Dublin, 8d. 9m., 1659.

To Co^{ll} Robert Barrow, wth an inclosed.

S^{r}

I have noe tyme to inlarge. The inclosed in short is o^{r} Condition, and questionlesse its sadd. Comunicate it as yo^{w} see Cawse. It is wthout question y^{t} Ch. S^{t} his Interest is endeav^{r}d to be sett up here, and believed y^{t} the same will be advanced in Scottland, for the Cavailleer Spirit is ye lively Spirit, and they carry it as if a day of greate redemption to them drew neigh. If ye Lord were not of o^{r} side, may we now say we should be suddainely destroyed by them. Get an ymediate Ord^{r} to recruit these fforces, that wee may not be found neglecting the meanes. Wee have noe exact Intelligence how Affaires goe in England, nor what to declare for if there were need. Wee are undone for want of Power to administer Justice.

A copie of Mr Waring's Intelligence.

Haveing further inquired into ye newes I gave yo^{u} lately an acc^{t} of, I am informed y^{t} it is thus, one Bryan Roe O'Neale, a brother son of Owen O'Neale, late Gen^{ll} to the Irish, hath written a l're out of Hispaine (by a special messenger of Mr Donolys) to one Artt. Oge O'Neale Jorloghliney, now liveing in the County of Leitrim, and a person known to Colonell Barrowe when he was prisoner. The contents thereof is y^{t} Ch. S$^{t.}$ is turned Papist, and is furnished wth a greate supply of Men and Money to invade England suddainly, wch they question not but to carry easily, and for their furtherance have desired prayers att all Masses in Ireland, for wch purpose a copie of the letter is dispersed through all Ireland where they have any Priests, and wthall another paper from the Chiefe of their Clergy in Ireland to Curse all the Irish y^{t} shall in any way assist ye English by Intelligence or otherwise, wch is put in execution by them. Thus I have given yo^{w} (as far as I can) a full Accompt of all.

S^r^

This intelligence comes from a good hand, compare y^t^ you have from abroad. If the truth of this can be made out, there might be good use made of it in makeing it publique, to undeceive our English friends who are ready to bring ruine upon themselves, by being fooled into an ingagem^t^ for the restoreing of the Long Parliament, not as it last mett, for some of the most ingenious of them confesse they were not satisfyed in their authority, since ye exclusion of ye major p̄te of their members and ye House of Lords, soe y^t^ it is very evident y^t^ Ch. S^t.^ is intended by the designers to be brought under ye covert of ye Longe Parliam^t^ for there are noe greater friends to a single Governm^t^ then the excluded members of both Houses. I doe not find one man opening his mouth for restoreing ye Long Parliam^t^ as they last mett.

Excuse me both our Gen^lls.^
My hands are full. The
inclosed gives y^em^ ye state
of things here.

S^r^

This day is very gloomy wth us, and seemes to portend a very sad tyme approaching from Carrigfergus. It intimated that newes is come to them by a Scottish merchant y^t^ Major Crisp hath secured one Markes Eyre for Monck, and y^t^ Coll. Sawry and his Lieut. Coll. are fledd. The High Sherriefe of the Queenes County hath chardged the collectors of ye assessm^ts^ at their p̄ill not to collect them, The like is done in Ulster, and it's conceived there wilbe a gen^ll^ defection by the inhabitants. The forces in ye worst posture imaginable, very many Troopes and Companyes their Officers unfixed, and being in expectation to be

casheered, are very much incensed and yet continue in ye head of their comands, and this is the condition of some of yor chief Guarrissons, all the fforces soe placed in Guarrissons and Plantations that we cannot draw out 500 horse and 1000 foote in any one place in Ireland without indangering ye ruine of ye Quarters from whence they should be drawen out. Some designe supposed to be on foot for the restoreing of some friends to comand y^t^ wch I dare not menton w^h^out further light. Private meetings give cause of suspition. W^th^out wee bee in such a condicion of security as to be able to draw together into Ulster 500 horse and 1000 foote, and the like number into Munster, and as many in the head Quarters w^th^out hazarding o^r^ Guarrisons, we cannot have any confidence in o^r^ outward strength. It is good we have a good God to trust to. I think it were adviseable y^t^ Ord^ces^ should be sent hither for ye recruiting of ye Troopes to 70, and the Companyes to 100, and y^t^ some course be taken to pay them till this calamitouse hower is over. The Lord be yor wisedome and strength, that o^r^ Land may have cawse to rejoyce in you.

Yo^r^ humble servant,

Dublin, 15th Nov., 1659. JOHN JONES.

Wee are here undone for want of Power to Administer Justice and noe man layeth o^r^ condicon to heart.

To Lieu^t^ Colonell Scott.

Worthy Sir,

I have according to yor request sent yo^u^ the inclosed, and heartily wish y^t^ the Lord may Guide yo^u^ in yor way and Resolutions; The dissatisfaction yo^u^ had (when I sawe yo^u^ last) touching the Legallity of y^t^ Power then dis-

coursed of, or compleatnesse thereof as then it acted, makes me somew^{t} to doubte w^{t} yo^{u} meane by restoreing ye p'sent Parliam^{t} to their just Rights & Priviledges. Whether to ye same condicon they were in when they were last interrupted in October, or to the compleatnesse of three Estates, according to ye auncient usadge & Custome of England, I cannot believe you intend y^{t} wherein yo^{u} had noe satisfaction. And I am confident yo^{u} are very sensible that the attempting of the other will bring ruine and desolation upon us, & the Cawse in wch wee have been engaged soe many yeares, and y^{t} free Parliam^{ts} & restoreing of them y^{t} is but a faire umbridge devised by the common Enemy to disguise a wicked designe to bring in Ch: S$^{t.}$ and soe I Cannot beleeve yo^{u} intend y^{t} neither, and untill I am better informed I Cannot answer y^{t} part of yor l'^{re}. As touching the comaund yo^{u} mention I have not taken upon me to alter any, but leave them as I found them disposed by him whose place I now supply. Beare wth my hast, & esteeme mee

Yo^{r} assured friend to serve you,

Dublin, 17th Nov., 1659. J. JONES.

To his Excellencie Lt Gen^{ll} Ludlowe.

Deare S^{r,}

I have not much businesse to give yo^{u} an acc^{t} of from hence. The last night I sent out Summons to all y^{e} Coll^{s} and Capt^{s} of Troopes & Companyes in Ireland to meete wth y^{e} Officers of y^{eir} respective Regiments to Chose Members for y^{e} Gen^{ll} Councell, menconed in y^{e} third Article of the Agreem$^{t.}$ Wee could not proceede sooner in this Election, because y^{e} Agreem^{t} Came not to us untill Saturday y^{e} 26^{th,} late at night, by Mr Payne the Messenger. There be many symptoms of an Unquiet Spirit indea-

vouring to bring us into trouble. Ardres Treav^r and many others (amonge whom Dr George was) had their Meetings in ye North from Howse to Howse, beginning at Hillsborow for about 14 dayes, Scottish Papers industriously scattered. Such of o^r Army as were formerly Cavalleeres or new Royallistes, and were positively ag^t ye restoreing of ye longe Parliam^t, & would have hindered it if they Cold runne much into y^t fframe of Spirit for dividing of us, and setting us in opposition to ye Army in England, under ye Notion of being for a Parliam^t the sence whereof & ye Scope of ye Designe is in all probability but ye same y^t Sr George Booth & his confederats indeavour to Carry on, wch although Crushed in England is kept intyre in Ireland, wayteing for an opportunity by reason y^t none of the Instrum^ts wch probabley were to Carry it on have beene incapacitated or Cleereley discovered. Sr Since the perusall of yor last l'^res to me, & of another to my Brother, I have been much troubled y^t I should be soe uncharitably Censured by you before I had admittance to speake for my selfe. I thank God I have a faithfull Witnesse w^thin me, testifying that I am not much in love wth the Hono^r of my Implym^t That I never sought it, That I gain nothing by it, That I have hitherto indeavoured to dischardge ye duty of ye place wth all faithfullnesse & Integrity, and y^t nothing moved me to accept this Burthen but a willingnesse to appeare serviceable unto you. If I have fayled in answering yor Expectation It proceed not from unfaithfullnesse or want of love, but from weakenesse & want of discretion, wherein men of greater Reason and foresight than my selfe may fayle. But really S^r I am not Convinced wherein I am Guilty of deserting the Parliam^t who sent mee hither, & by whose Authority I now Act, or of doeing of any Act tending to the diminution of their Hono^r or Authority. Am not I equally concerned (allthough unworthy) wth any

Member of y^{t} Councell in the Hono^{r} & reputation thereof. Whatever yo^{u} are pleased to judge of me, I doe on yor behalfe blesse ye Lord y^{t} yo^{u} were freed from ye Snare of such a Turne as this, although I know yo^{u} would have managed those affayres wth more Wisdome & better successe then at p'sent they are, for by y^{t} meanes yo^{u} are freed from the censures of other men, & in a capacity to helpe yor ffriends. As touching the l'^{re} sent to Scotland it was mine only, as a Servt to ye Army, drawen by the direction of ye Officers p'sent, and signed by them wth my selfe, and I cannot find y^{t} any thing in it disrespects ye Parliam^{t}, or publique safety wch is above Parliam^{ts}, that o^{r} Armyes should engage ag^{t} one another in blood. It is the grand designe of o^{r} Comon Enemy, & ye ready way to ye utter ruine of these Three Nations, & of ye Interest of Christ in them, and to be silent in such a Case was to be wickedly sinfull. The letter pointed att any other as well as Moncke y^{t} should attempt such a design. It could not be for the Hono^{r} or Interest of ye Parliam^{t} y^{t} soe many Godly Officers should be taken from their Comands, and imprisoned, &c. As touching the Subscriptions I find yo^{u} doe not understand how it was. The Papers Came hither inclosed in l'^{res} & directed to the respective Chiefe Officers of each Regim^{t} Att the first meeting of ye Officers many were earnest to have their Packetts, But the Debate was adjourned to y^{t} day senight, to give way for o^{r} attendance on my Ld Steele and Colonell Barrowe to ye Waterside. Att the next meeting wthout any further Debate every Officer tooke his owne Packett, conceiveing y^{t} they ought not to bee kept from, and y^{t} it rested in their discretion what to doe wth them, soe y^{t} herein I was least Concerned of any. Yo^{u} were pleased to write unto mee when you were upon yor way to London, y^{t} if those now in power would resolve to establish honest righteouse things yo^{u} would wth y^{em}, if not yo^{u} would take

yor Retirement. I have had noe other intimation from you wch might be an example for me to follow, wch really I am inclined in most things to doe. Truely S^{r} I have by this tyme tyred my self in writinge, & I am affrayed y^{r} patience in reading w^{t} I have scribled betwixt sleeping & wakeing, being streightened in Tyme, & full of the Sence of w^{t} you have writt, that I beleeve yo^{u} will find little sence in this. I shall take leave to close wth this Request, y^{t} if you find me not to answer yor Expectation, or y^{t} you thinke this Trust may be more serviceable in another hand, be pleased freely to remove yor Comand from me, and I shall indeavo^{r} in any other Capacity as well as in this wherein I now stand to approve my selfe really, S^{r},

Yo^{r} most affectionat freind &
faithfull servant,
JOHN JONES.

Dublin, 30th Novem., 1659.

S^{r}

I am advised by the Com^{rs} of ye Comonwealth & the Councell of Offic^{rs} here to comunicate unto you the enclosed paper, being a copie of ye Agreem^{t} of ye Gen^{ll} Councell of Offic^{rs} of ye Armyes in England, &c., and from ye Com^{rs} sent from Gen^{ll} Moncke and ye Gen^{ll} Councell of Offic^{rs} in Scottland, wch came to my hand but the last night, and for the effectuall execution of ye third Article in ye same. It is ordered that yo^{r}selfe, and ye Comission Offic^{rs} of yor Company (haveing a care to leave yor Garrison in a safe posture) be and appeare on the . . . . . day of December next, att . . . . . and there joyne wth the rest of the Comission Offic^{rs} of your Regim^{t} in

ye chusing of two Comission Offic^rs^ for ye same Regim^t^ to to be Members of ye Gen^ll^ Councell, mencioned in ye s^d^ third Article. Hereof you are not to faile.

Yo^r^ assured Friend,

Dublin, 28th of Nov. 1659. JOHN JONES.

For ye tymes and places for each Regim^t^ to meete, see a list of ye matter conteying the names of ye Regim^ts^ in generall, and their tymes and places for y^t^ service.

To Coll. Thomas Lord Cooper.

S^r^

I have, by the joynte Advise of ye Com^rs^ of this Comonwealth and of as many Offic^rs^ of ye Army as are in Towne att p'sent, appointed severall places for the Comission Officers of every respective Regim^t^ or of as many of them as can well be spared from their duty, to meete upon a Certaine day likewise appointed, and being soe mett, to elect two Comission Offic^rs^ for every respective Regim^t^ to be and appeare at a Genl Councell, to be holden att Whitehall, ye 6th of December next, according to ye Tennor of ye Third Article in ye inclosed paper. Y^e^ tyme & place of meeting appointed for ye Officers of yor Regim^t^ in order to ye said service, is att Newry, upon ye 6th day of December next. I have, for ye more effectuall and expeditiousse performance of this Service (by ye s^d^ advise), sent notice, by letters, unto each Troope & Company in each Regim^t^ in Irel^d^ of ye respective tymes, places and occasion of their meetings. The managem^t^ of ye Election, and ye returning of ye names of ye p'sons wch shalbe elected for yor Regim^ts^ to my selfe, wth all possible speede, is left to yor Care. It is desired by such of o^r^ ffriends as long for peace and settle-

m^{t} upon ye foundacons of love, Trueth and Righteousnesse, y^{t} we should endeavo^{r} to have such men elected as have ye largest portion of a meeke, loveing, peaceable, healing spirit, such as delight not to nourish or uphold a spirit of contencon or by a law to impose their judgem^{t} or practice in matters of Religion in other men's conscienses. I am likewise to recomend to yor observation y^{t} ye inclosed Agreem^{t} doth not require y^{t} ye Officers to be chosen should be of every respective Regim^{t} for wch they are Chosen; any Comission Offic^{r} of ye Army is capable to be elected, and conceived adviseable, as well for expedition as avoiding unnecessary Charge, y^{t} as many of ye Officers of ye Army as are in England, Capable of being elected, and fitly qualified, should be chosen to serve in ye Councell—it being very probable y^{t} ye worke of ye Councell wilbe at an end before any from hence can repayre thyther, And haveing to use his freedome in debate and choise, and y^{t} all o^{r} endeavo^{rs} may be att those meetings to be united in freindship and mutall love towards each other, wthout wch we are not farr from ruine. The Emissaryes of o^{r} comon Enemy and his confederates being att this instant very busy in all corners of ye Three Nations, especially in this Land, in sending forth Libells and Seditiouse papers to divide us amongst o^{r}selves; But if ye Lord have pleasure in us, he will defeat their councells, and bring them to shame and Trouble who delight in Troubles and divisions.

Yo^{r} assured Freind to serve you,

JOHN JONES.

Dublin, 29th Nov., 59.

Post: I desire ye returne may be under ye hands of all ye Offic^{rs} consenting.

To the Right Honble Roger Ld Broghill.

S^{r}

The favo^{r} of yor Lo^{pps} l're of ye 25th instant I received, and doe very much approve of yor Lo^{pps} Judgement y^{t} ye best seale to ye Agreem^{t} wilbe the immediate restoreing of ye Suspended Offic^{rs} to their respective commands, and untill y^{t} be actually done, We may feare y^{t} some of o^{r} ffreinds may be under Temptations, because those y^{t} have been ag^{t} o^{r} common Cause and Interest are very much exalted in their hopes of ye issue of these Capitulations and distances. The last Paquett brought us noe further acc^{t} of y^{t} matter, but y^{t} all things Continue quiett and receavable in England. The L^{d} ffleetewood sent over ye Agreem^{t} wth his Advise, that wee should proceed in ye election of members for the Gen^{ll} Councell of Offic^{rs} wch are to meete att Whitehall, according to ye Tenn^{r} of ye Third Article, but Crosse Windes stayed the messenger at the Waterside till Saturday last, Soe y^{t} ye tyme of meeteing att Whitehall is Come upon us before wee canne have any Regimental meetings of o^{r} Offic^{rs}; neverthelesse I have sent l'^{res} to all ye Troopes & Companyes in every respective Regim^{t} now in Ireland, wth a copie of ye Agreem^{t} and appointed ye respective Tymes & places for their meetings. That in pursuance of ye said Article they might proceed to elect, as ye inclosed papers will more p'ticularly informe you. Your Lo^{pps} Troope being not Regimented, I have noething to direct me how their suffrages should be taken—the Agreem^{t} being silent therein—whether this and others in ye same case be omitted by inadvertency or of purpose I know not. Coll. Wallis, his Regim^{t} being the Horse, in yor Quarters, are to meete at Clonmell, on ye 7th of this moneth, Coll Zanbye's Regim^{t} meete at Cashell ye same. What yor Lo^{pp} Conceive fitt to bee done in this Case I humbly submitt to yor Wisdome. I am of opinion y^{t} y^{e}

worke of ye Councell wilbe neither done or undone before any can repayre thyther from Ireland. The nature of ye worke and ye p'sent state of things will admitt of noe longe Debate or divideings in Councell. If the Lord hath pleasure in us, he will guide them in Councell, and make them Instrum^ts^ to Establish Justice and Righteousnesse in o^r^ Land.

I am, My Lord,

Yo^r^ affectionate and humble Ser^t^

JOHN JONES.

Dublin, 1st December, 1659.

To his Ex^cie^ the Ld Gen^ll^ ffleetwood.

May it please yor Ex^cie^

I made boulde formerly to crave yor Ex^cies^ order for ye withdrawing of Capt Moulds Company from Beaumares there being no neede of them there, and we extreamly want ffoote. I did likewise mynd yor Lo^pp^ that ye new Recruits at Beaumares are in a starveing Condition, & humbly desired y^t^ Some Speedie provition might be made for them, and I make bold now humbly further to Crave That yor Ex^cie^ will be pleased to order a Recruit of 100 Musketts for y^t^ Garison, the 50 old Musketts being delivered into yor Stores, I cannot see how y^t^ Garison can be recruited, but from hence you may be pleased to signifie yor pleasure herein, & it wilbee readily obeyed.

The publique afiaires here att p'sent in a quiet posture, but very sad practises used to divide yor fforces here whereof you had full intimation by ye last, many honest men are fooled into this designe, wch hath its Roote & life in Ch: St. Interest, ffor the Polititians whose hopes are onely in o^r^ Armyes Divitions know y^t^ Armyes once

thoroughly divided in termes of Opposition will never Cordially unite, and y^t^ Councells w^th^out fforce to justify them are insignificant, drive on furiously to perswade freinds to an opposition to ye English Army in ord^r^ to ye restitution of ye Parliam^t^ but doe not declare w^t^ Parliam^t^ and therein lyes a fallacy ffor ye best of those y^t^ seeme thus zealouse for a Parliam^t^ were ag^t^ ye restitution of ye longe Parliam^t^ to their last sitting. Wee have noe direction how to deale wth men of unquiett Spiritte, & we are unwilling to use Power w^th^out some positive direction, wch we shall waite for, I beseech y^r^ Lo^pp^ to conferre wth Lt. Gen^ll^ Ludlowe for ye restoreing of Lt. Coll. fflowere to some Command, hee is a man y^t^ will die att yor ffeete, and utterly declines associating wth any discontented p'ty. Bee pleased to afford some signification of yor pleasure concerning him. This is the first day of the Election of Members in Ireland, yor comands fayling to come to us, tymely enough and because it is not probable y^t^ any Can Come from Ireland before the Councell breake up, I beleeve most of o^r^ Elections will fall upon o^r^ ffriends now in England. Those y^t^ would rejoice in o^r^ Troubles give out That Lt Gen^ll^ and my Ld Steele are highly dissatisfied, that Gen^ll^ Moncke utterly refuseth to Confirme the Agreem^t^ made by his Officers, That he calls a Convention in Scotland, and raises very large Taxes, and Baggage horses, & refuseth to restore ye Officers to their Comand, & many such like Reports, wch make ye Cavallieres exceedingly to rejoyce, being confident y^t^ Ch: S^t.^ his Interest cannot bee prevented, there being noe other Interest intyre in ye Three Nations, That ye Parliam^t^ if it should be restored to sitt againe will never agree wth this Army as now conducted, and therefore either ye Army or Parliam^t^ must be layd asside. That if ye Army be layd aside, another Army must be raised of other principles, and

those wilbee such as Countenanced Sr George Booth's designe (vizt) Cavalleeres under ye maske of a Presbiterian Interest, such as would have the peace established on ye Concessions at the Isle of Weight. These are ye hopes & Expectations of ye Wicked. But o^{r} Trust is in ye L^{d} who turnes ye Wisedome of men into folly. I beseech you by ye next to remove as many of these reports as you find to be false, by Comanding some person to give a right State of things. Whatsoever ye Lord directs you to doe, att yor Generall Councell doe it quickly, Delayes and longe Debates are exceedingly dangerouse, if ye Spring overtake you before yo^{u} come to a Settlem^{t} I cannot see how yo^{u} will avoyd ruine according to ye reasonings of man.

Yo^{r} Ex^{cies} humble servant,

Dublin, 6th December, 1659. JOHN JONES.

To his Ex^{cie} Lt Gen^{ll} Ludlowe.

S^{r}

ffinding here one Mr. William Courtney, a Brother to o^{r} good friend Mr. Hugh Courtney, in a very low and necessitouse condicon, and also finding an Ensignes place voyd by meanes of ye death of one of y^{t} Capacity in Co^{ll} Sanders Company, soe returned on a muster taken since yor Lo^{pps} going over, I have presumed to place this Mr. Courtney in y^{t} imploym^{t} and to y^{t} Company wch I thought fitt to acquaint yo^{u} wth all, desireing y^{t} if yor Lo^{pp} doe aprove thereof you will please to send over (by ye next opportunity) yor order confirming the same, the younge man hath very good parts, and hath behaved himselfe well since he came into this country, wch is about seaven yeares. I am not att rest in my spirit until I have heard from yo^{u} I am perswaded were yo^{u} here you would

doe noe otherwise than wee have done. Truely S^{r} the scope of a Designe is best understood (by them y^{t} are not in it) by ye persons y^{t} Carry it on, of w^{t} Principles they are and by ye reports they give out, I shall not inlarge att this p'sent upon this Theame, having given you ye like Trouble soe lately. Send you yor ord^{r} in w^{t} you would have done, and I doubte not but you will recieve satisfaction from yor Servants here, I have written to my Lord ffleetwood, to intreate his Lo^{pp} to conferre wth yor Ex^{cie} about ye restoreing of L^{t} Co^{ll} fflower to some Command. Hee is a man thoroughly faithfull, and one y^{t} doeth not att all Consort wth those y^{t} are malignantly affected. Unheard of crueltyes comitted by Torryes every night. The Irish Concieved in a greate readinesse to rise. The Brittish in ffermanagh about Lesnabeaugh, were in Armes last weeke, to ye number of 240 horse well mounted: pretended in their owne defence ag^{t} ye Irish, but suspected upon some intimation from Scotland.

There hath beene an indeavo^{r} to disaffect every Troope & Company in Ireland, under ye notion of giving Countenance to Moncke. The Two Comp in Carregfergus mutinied, & were soe high y^{t} noething cold allay y^{em} but fforce: Co^{ll} Cooper & ye Officers were faine wth their naked swords & pistells to fforce them to their Quart^{rs} I am loath to mention w^{t} acceptation y^{t} disord^{r} had amongst some persons here, who are looked upon as freinds. I hope ye Lord wilbee p'esent wth yo^{u} att your great Councell, wch meete this day, & y^{t} hee will direct yo^{u} to a speedy settlem^{t} ffor I am cleare of this Judgem^{t} that a breach in y^{t} Councell, or a longe delay in pointe of coming to a resolution, whereby y^{e} Spring may come upon us before a settlem^{t} be declared, will enevitably bring in Ch: S$^{t.}$ for thereby all Interest wilbee broken but his, and his wilbee intyre in y^{e} Three Nations, and all Presbiterian and other Interests wch can

consist wth y^{t} Interest will joyne to it, and how large y^{t} wilbee is easily disccerned by y^{e} Countenancers of Sr G. B. his designe, both in City & Countrey amongst Ministers, & all other sorts of People. I have noe Tyme to inlarge although I am very full of this apprehention.

Yo^{r} very reall & humble Servant,

Dublin, 6 December, 1659. JOHN JONES.

To the Ld Henry Cromwell.

S^{r}

Mr. Wood being to waite upon yo^{u} gives me ye opportunity of acknowledging ye favo^{r} of yor lettere, and as to ye contens of them soe farre as they relate to publique Interest, It becomes me not to returne any Acc^{t} thereof, in any other way then by the Resolutions of ye Board, onely I begge leave humbly to informe yor Lo^{pp} that I have inquired and cannot finde why yor Servants made any Complaynt y^{t} they were Threatened to be turned out of Cork Howse. The Title indeed hath been a little debated upon some thoughts of useing ye Howse for Com^{rs} sitting as formerly and not for any Mans private acomodation. And it was then conceived y^{t} if there were a forraigne Tytle Claymed ag^{t} the Common Wealthe many yeares po^{n} yor Lo^{pp} was most incompetent of any to purchase such a Title in regard yo^{u} were chiefely intrusted by y^{e} Comon Wealth to mayntayne their Interest in Ireland, & came into possession of y^{t} Howse as belonging to y^{e} Comon Wealth & under y^{t} Trust. And likewise because about 2000$^{£}$ was disbursed out of y^{e} publique Trery as we were informed upon y^{e} repayreing, inlargeing and fitting of y^{t} Howse for publique use and especially for yor personall accomodation as being the Chiefe Magistrate, yet notwthstanding that these and other argum^{ts}

for y^e^ justifying of y^e^ Comon Wealths Right to the said House were in consideration wth ye Com^rs^. They have not soe much as inquired when yor ffamilie was to remove thence, but had a very tender & due Respect to yor Lo^pp^, and really this is all I know of y^t^ matter.

Wee have of late beene excersised under very unpleaseinge dispensations, The confidence wch men should have in each other uppon acc^t^ of Relation or friendship have beene soe shaken, That instead of mutuall manifestations of love and kindnesse, Jelousies & diffidences have too frequently been fomented amongst ffriends by ye projections of such as sought themselves more than ye comon good, under wch unhappie influence I have beene for some yeares past, wch deprived me of much of y^t^ sweetness & comfort wch ye Lord in his Good Providence towards me did seeme to promise by that Honble Relation unto wch I was admitted, The sence of wch I hope will ever ingage mee to strive for another frame of Spirit, And as God shall administer an opportunity to endevo^r^ to bee serviceable unto those to whom I am related, & especially to yor Lo^pp^ of whom (w^th^out flattery) I have a very greate Esteeme and doe account it a duety incumbent upon me, and all that professe ye name of Christ, to promote union, peace and love betweene Relations, and to beare o^r^ Witnesse against divideing Principles & Practices amongst those that feare the Lord. In the pursuite thereof I shall ever remayne,

Yo^r^ Lo^pps^ most affectionate and
most humble servant,

Decem. 10th 1659. JO. JONES.

To Sr Hardres Waller, Kn^t^ &c.

S^r^

The sense I have of ye ruine and desolation wch the English Interest and people will inevitably be brought unto,

by that Rash Action lately comitted By those whom yo^{u} have comissioned for y^{t} end, Which tends to the Engageing of ye English fforces in Ireland, one against another, The casting off the English Governm^{t} & Parliamentary Authority in this nation, and by yor assuming a Power of Legislature to Comand the fforces as Major Gen^{ell} of ye Army, and to give Comissions for Comands to some, and deprive others of their Comands, contrary to the Rules & discipline of Warr, (having never had any Comission or authority for yor soe doing) and by yor interrupting ye Com^{rs} of Parliam^{t} in ye manadgem^{t} of the Governm^{t} & Interest of England in Ireland, by putting fforce upon them, yo^{e} doe indeavo^{r} to make ye Governm^{t} of Ireland, distinct from y^{t} of England, and thereby to start a Warr betweene the Two Nations, and to deprive ye Army and fforces of Ireland of their Reliefe, pay, and other immunityes which they enjoy as being Englishmen & members of ye Army of England, yo^{u} doe likewise by this meanes shew an easy way for Ch: St: to invade this Land, and by ye assistance of his Irish, British, and other Confederats in Ireland, utterly to destroy ye English Inhabitants, and make ye period of ye English Interest in Ireland more bloody than the beginning of the late horrid Rebellion, you returne ye Sould^{rs} to ffree billett & ye next step wilbee the taking of ffree quarter & thereby yo^{u} Act Contrary to ye known Law in y^{t} Particular (haveing noe necessity putt upon yo^{u} for yor soe doeing) By wch Practise yo^{u} make ye poore Sould^{rs} to bee hated by the Inhabitants of ye Land, I say ye sad sense I have upon my Spirit of the matters abovesaid. The respect I have to yor Person & family being exceeding desirous (if ye will of ye Lord be soe) to be instrumentall in rescueing you from this impending ruine wch probably will reach you (although others have a way to escape) if not speedily prevented, by offering unto you a seasonable word of advice, and likewise y^{e}

duety I conceive incumbent upon mee, as much as in mee lies, to prevent the said Evills, by Exercising the Power put into my hand for the Comanding & ordering of the fforces in this Land, hath inforced mee to give yo^{u} this Trouble, and to require you & I doe in ye name of the Parliament of the Comonwealth of England, (and by vertue of ye Power and authority to mee dericted from the same) hereby require yo^{u} imediately upon receipt hereof to issue out Orders to require all the fforces of Horse and ffoote, which are marched to this Towne, or are upon their march, (wthout speciall ord^{rs} from myselfe) imediately to returne to their respective Quartr^{rs} where they were Ordered to quarter ye Tenth present, and thereto continue till they receive further Ord^{rs} from myselfe or from Lt Gen^{ll} Ludlowe or from ye Com^{rs} of Parliam^{t} & that you cawse the said Ord^{rs} to be effectually put in Execution for ye incouradgem^{t} & p^{e}servation of ye English Inhabitants, and secureing the publique peace. And likewise you are hereby required by vertue of the Authority aforesaid to cawse all Persons not being members of ye Army, who have appeared in Armes, to countenance or assist the surprisall of this castle, to lay downe their Armes, & retourne to their respective Habitations, upon payne of being declared Rebels against the Comon Wealth of England, To order all Offic^{rs} both of Horse and ffoote to retourne to their respective Comands, and y^{t} yo^{u} doe imediately sett ye Com^{rs} of ye Comon Wealth for ye Goverment of this Land into a condition of liberty, whereby they may p'forme the Trust reposed in them by the Parliam^{t} All wch I require of yo^{u} as yo^{u} are ye Person y^{t} takes upon yo^{u} ye Excersise of ye place of Majo^{r} Gen^{ell} as yo^{u} answere ye contrary att yor uttmost Perill. Dated at ye Castle of Dublin, this nineteenth day of December, 1659.

J. JONES.

To Sr Mathew Tomlison, Knight, &c.

S^{r}

This disorder is like to produce very sadd Consequences. The Troopes & Companyes are drawne out of their respective Quarters & are marched & marching to this Towne upon promises of receiving three monethes pay in hand, wch is a thing impossible to bee performed, and from whence will followe an imediate ruine to ye English in their plantations, by the Toryes, who will growe into such strength as will enable them to justifie themselves, & open a new Warr upon ye English, and thereby give an entrance to Ch: St: his Confederates. This will likewise follow that ye Troopes coming up here and ye incouradgem^{t} promised being not made good unto them, They will fall foule upon ye Citie or att least upon such as wilbee represented unto them as Adversaryes, and I believe Mr Winter's congregation will not escape, To p^{r}vent wch I have sent last night to Sr Har: Waller to require him to Ord^{r} all ye Troopes and Compainyes to march to their respective Quarters for ye defence of ye Countrey. To require all persons in Armes not being members of ye Army to retourne to their respective Habitations upon payne of being declared enemyes to this Comon Wealth, and thereby to make way for ye Com^{rs} of the Comon Wealth to be att liberty and safety, for ye exersising of ye Trust reposed in them, & to ye end y^{t} noe honest meanes for preventing the said Evills might bee left unattempted, I humbly offer to consideration whether it be adviseable to propound.

That it be Agreed that all places of Strength now in the hands of the Offic^{rs} of ye Army bee continued in ye same hands, until ye pleasure of Lt Gen^{ell} Ludlowe o^{r} Comander in Chiefe be knowne concerning them; That the present Comand^{r} in Chiefe upon ye Place doe act noething in relation to his Comand, but according to ye Advise of Sr Hardres

Waller, The Three Warrens, Coll. Lawrence, Coll. Cooper, or any foure or more of them, untill the pleasure of Lt Gen^{ll} Ludlowe bee knowne concerning the said comand. That all the Troopes and Companyes be returned to their Quarters in the Countrey, To the end the former Evills may bee prevented, and the Comissioners of Parliament may returne to their duty. But the Com^{rs} cannot act wth safety untill the fforces returne to their Quarters; for the Sould^{rs} if they bee in Towne will mutiny and fall on them for the pay wch their Officers have promised them, and therefore let y^{t} bee donne in the first place, and if that bee not done soddainely, The sould^{rs} will take ffree quarter and Plund^{r} &c. I conceive if these proposalls bee made knowne to Mr Winter and his people, they wilbee earnest to promote them; But if they will refuse to stand to the Lt Gen^{lls} Determination, there is more Evill in ye Bottome of this Designe then is yet discovered. The most honest and prudent way to proceede in these proposalls is first to p'pound them to such as are reputed most honest amonge them, and best fixed to the Cause and Interest wee are to maytayne, as to Mr Winter and his people, and by them to Waller. The Lord direct you what to doe, and keepe you from Snares.

Yo^{r} most affectionate and humble Servant,

JOHN JONES.

Dublin Castle, 20th 10^{ber} 1659.

To Sr Hardres Waller, Knight, &c.

S^{r}

There came to my hand this day a printed Paper, intituled a Coppie of a l'^{tre} from Gen^{rll} Moncke, bearing date ye 11th day of November last, importing an answere to a letter sent

from me, yor selfe, and others, to him, beareing date ye 4th of November. If such a l^{tre} came from him, It was not advisedly donne to conceale it soe longe, if agreement betweene the Parliament and their Army bee the thing wee ayme att; for I judge the substance of ye l^{tre} to bee both in matter & language, soe honest & sober, & soe full of Christian Expressions of faithfullnesse & integrity to the Cause & Interest we have beene ingaged in during all ye tyme of the late Troubles in these Three Nations, That I doe very freely agree wth the desire in ye Close thereof (vizt), That wee here should joyne wth him & the fforces in Scotland in o^{r} desires to ye Army in England that this Parliam^{t} may be restored, and put a legall Period to their sitting, and settle such Expedients as may bee for the secureing of these Nations against the Comon Enemy; and had ye letter come to my hand when I was in a capacity to have propounded it to the officers here, I had done it wth as much ffreedome as any that pretend to more zeale in that matter; and if yet I may bee any way instrumentall to promote y^{t} meanes of accomodation, I doe hereby declare unto you y^{t} I am ready to use my endeavo^{rs} in such way as may be judged most effectuall. Had this or the originall come to my hand sooner, I had sooner tendered my services herein, which I leave to yor consideration, and rest

S^{r} y^{r} humble servant,

Dublin Castle, the 22^{d} of December, 1659. JOHN JONES.

To the Right Honble the Ld Richard Cromwell.

S^{r}

Mr Waterhouse informes me y^{t} yor Lo^{pp} have been pleased to interdict the Paym^{t} of the Annuity wch his late

Highnes yor father settled upon my wife untill you should signifie yor further pleasure therein. I believe it is not unknowne to yor Lo^{pp} upon what consideration the Interest to y^{t} Anuity came unto mee. I was ingaged by agreem^{t} before marriage to settle upon her 300^{li} p ann. Joynture wch I have done. The anuity abovemenconed, his late Highnes assured mee he had settled upon her dureing her life, besides some other Emolum^{ts} which I had intimation of I should have, but came short of, occasioned probably by my own indiscretion. Truely S^{r} I thought there was not in ye Worlde better security for 120^{li} p ann. dureing an ancient life then his Worde and Deede under his hand and seale, I cannot believe y^{t} his Highnes intended there should be any discontinuance of that Anuity, and it were very unworthy in me to thinke soe, neither can I give way to my thoughts to apprehend otherwise of yor Lo^{pp} but you will be pleased to make good his Highnes Acte, although by the letter of Lawe you may possibly avoyde it; I humbly desire the signification of yor pleasure in this particular, and remayne

Yo^{r} Lo$^{pp's}$ most humble servant,

London, 12th March, 1660. JOHN JONES.

To her Highnes Dowager.

Madam,

You may judge mee exceeding remisse in my duety in not waiteing in person on yor Highnes to tender y^{t} gratitude and service wch I humbly acknowledge to owe unto yor La^{pp} and wch yo^{u} may justly expect from mee as the retourne of very many kindnesses & favoures yo^{u} have been pleased to hono^{r} me wth, which I shall have in a very high esteeme as Influence of an humble Soule in ye highest

Pitch of worldly exaltation wch naturally incline our Spirits to another frame. But beeing informed y^t^ y^r^ Highnes & yor ffamily are very highly offended wth mee for reasons not yet come to my knowledge, I humbly conceived it more prudent and less offencive to forbeare yor presence untill it please God by some meanes to give mee opportunity to remove those apprehentions wch yor La^pp^ is possessed w^th^, concerning mee, and wch I dare affirme wilbee found fictitiouse when honestly & candidly examined. I am loath to mencon what sadde impression those missunderstandings seeme to make upon my Ld Richard yor Sonne by his interdicting or with holding ye paym^t^ of y^t^ Anuity wch his late Highnes now wth the Lord settled upon my wife, alleddging y^t^ his father had noe Power to Graunt it, But I hope when he may bee pleased to seriously consider it, he wilbee more tender of his fathers Hon^r^ then to make his Act under his Hand & Seale voyd. If yor Highnes please to favoure Justice & the hon^ble^ memory of yor late pretiouse husband soe farr as to advise his Lo^pp^ what you conceive fitt in this particular, and thereby prevent ye evill consequences of a more publique disquisition, you will performe an Office acceptable to God and aboundantly obligeing to him who desires to be esteemed & found in ye way of Love Truth and Peace

Yo^r^ Highnes most faithfull
& most humble servant,
JO. JONES.

4 Apr. 1660.

Note.—Colonel John Jones, with twenty-seven others (amongst whom were Major-General Harrison, Peters, Scott, Carew, Cook, Clement, Scroop, Axtell and Hacker), who sat in judgment on the trial of Charles I., was tried and found

guilty of high treason, and ordered to be hanged and quartered, his entrails to be burned at Charing Cross and his head to be stuck on Temple Bar; which sentence was carried into execution on the 17th October, 1660. When on his trial he pleaded guilty to the act, and throughout conducted himself in such a dignified manner as became one of his strong religious feeling, answering the questions put to him in a firm voice. When the Judge pronounced sentence of death upon him he bowed to the Court, and prayed that the Lord would give him strength to demean himself in such a manner as became a Christian and bear proof of the hope he had of his forgiveness hereafter. Nor could he at the scaffold be induced to retract his words, but said that Charles Stuart had betrayed his country and was deserving of death. When the people reviled him for his acts towards the late King, he only answered with prayers for the good of his country and forgiveness of his Judges.

During the passage of these sheets through the press, the Rev. Cyrus Morrell has informed me that he has in his possession a pedigree of the Jones family, kindly promising me permission to copy it, and I shall have pleasure in laying it before the Society at some future meeting. As so little is known of the early life of many of the actors in that great drama, in which Colonel Jones played so conspicuous a part, and even the little that was known at the Restoration was so perverted to answer party purposes, whatever may tend to throw light upon any portion of those times will be received as a boon towards the true history of the Commonwealth.

EXPLANATION OF A DEED ON PARCHMENT, (DATE 1723,) PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY BY MR. HARRISON, OF CASTLE STREET.

By A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A., Hon. Curator.

(Read 13th December, 1860.)

This document is endorsed "Papists' Certificates and Duplicates," and is not, as at first supposed, a list of fines levied upon the estates of Roman Catholics residing in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, but, on the contrary, consists of exemptions from, or, as they are styled, deficiencies of, a tax assessed upon the property of Roman Catholics, under an Act of Parliament passed in the ninth year of the reign of George I, entitled "An Act for granting an aid to his Majesty, by laying "a tax upon Papists, and for making such other persons as, "upon due summons, shall refuse or neglect to take the oaths "therein mentioned, to contribute towards the said tax for "reimbursing to the public the great expense occasioned by "the late conspiracies, and for discharging the estates of "Papists from two-thirds of the rents and profits thereof for "one year, and all arrears of the same, and from such forfeitures "as are therein more particularly described."

The act so entitled restricts the amount to be levied under it to £100,000, and gives several grounds on which exemption from contribution to the "aid" might be claimed—such as *bona fide* alienation, to a Protestant, prior to a certain date, the death of the owner and minority of his heirs, double assessments, &c., &c. Owners of property wrongfully assessed, too, escaped such assessment, by taking certain oaths, and making certain declarations, as provided by acts passed in the first year of the monarch already named, and in the

thirteenth of Charles II; the former entitled "An Act for "the better security of his Majesty's person and government, "and the succession of the Crown in the heirs of the late "Princess Sophia, being Protestants, and for extinguishing "the hopes of the late pretended Prince of Wales, and his "open and secret abettors;" the latter, "An Act for the more "effectual preserving the King's person and government, by "disabling Papists from sitting in either house of Parliament."

This parchment contains thirteen successful cases of appeal against assessments under the act of the ninth of George I, by owners of property so taxed, in the Prescot division of the Hundred of West Derby, decided on the seventeenth day of September, 1723, by three of the Commissioners appointed to put the said act into execution—the signatures and seals of these Commissioners being appended to the document; to wit, those of Richard Powis, Thomas Cobham and Richard Tatlock, all representatives of ancient and well-known families in this vicinity. The first case is that of Percival Rice, a Papist, who had registered certain lands, &c., in the townships of Fazakerly, Halewood, West Derby and Speke, of the aggregate annual value of £89 5s. 6d., and assessed towards the said *aid* the sum of £45 1s. 3d. This Percival Rice takes the oaths and subscribes the declaration indicated above, and so evades payment of this serious impost; the sums assessed upon his several properties being declared by the Commissioners to be therefore *deficiencies* within the true intent and meaning of the said act.

The second certifies the assessment of £25 10s. upon certain lands, &c., within the township of Rainhill, of the yearly value of £85, and late belonging to John Lancaster, of that township, Esq., a reputed Papist, to be "a deficiency of the said act," because they are "really and *bona fide* vested in and belong "to Nicholas Fazakerly, Esq., a Protestant, by alienation made "before the 25th day of December, 1722."

The third records a similar decision, as to the sum of £21, on lands, &c., in the township of Sutton, of the yearly value of £70, late belonging to Thomas Holland, a reputed Papist, similarly alienated to John Rigby, a Protestant.

The fourth, the same, as to the sum of £3 12s., on lands in Windle, of the yearly value of £14 8s., alienated by William Leadbetter, a reputed Papist, to Sir John Blackburn, a Protestant.

The fifth certifies the sum of 30s., on lands, &c., in Windle, of the yearly value of £30, late the estate of Humphrey Carroll, to be "a deficiency of the said aid," because they are "vested "in and belong to infants, under the age of eighteen years."

The sixth gives the same, as to lands in Hale, of the yearly value of £5, two-thirds being in possession of Mrs. Mary Howarden, and assessed in 27s.

The seventh, the same, as to lands in Sutton, assessed at £9 7s.: owner's name not given.

The eighth, the same, as to lands in Eccleston, late the estate of John Standish, a reputed Papist, of the yearly value of £10; assessed, 36s.

The ninth, the same, as to lands, &c., in Parr, late the estate of Humphrey Carroll, deceased, a reputed Papist, yearly value, £80; assessed, £35 4s.

The tenth, the same, as to lands, &c., in Halewood, two-thirds, as in the sixth case, being in the possession of Mrs. Mary Howarden, and of the yearly value of £34; assessed, £4 12s. 2d., or two-thirds, £3 1s. 5d.

In the eleventh case, Thomas Prenton, of Garston, clears his lands of an assessment of six pounds, by appearing before the Commissioners, within six days after demand of the sum assessed, and taking the oaths and declarations mentioned before.

In the twelfth, it is shown that, as in the case of the income tax of the present day, annuities arising from property were

sometimes doubly assessed for this impost, so putting the taxed to the unnecessary trouble and expense of making appeal against it, for Mrs. Mary Harrington, of Liverpool, widow, is assessed on an annuity of two hundred pounds, arising out of certain lands in Huyton, formerly the property of Charles Harrington, Esq.; and that upon his death the said lands were registered by John Harrington, Esq., without any deduction in respect of the said annuity. And it also appearing that the *inhabitants*, who are liable to the said tax, are assessed towards the said aid the sum of £102, which is much more than they really and *bona fide* ought to pay, the sum of £60, part of the said sum of £102, is a deficiency within the meaning of the said act.

The thirteenth and last deals, in a similar manner and for similar reasons, with a tax of £30 on an annuity of £100, drawn by Madame Eleanor Eccleston, from the estate of Thomas Eccleston, of Eccleston, Esq.

What strikes us most forcibly in this document, besides the injustice and impolicy of the whole tax, is the apparent absence of any rule as to the rate at which the different properties are assessed—that given in the first case being assessed at the rate of fifty per cent. upon the gross rental, or ten shillings in the pound, that in the fifth at five per cent., or one shilling in the pound—the others being put down at various rates between these wide extremes. The principal feeling the perusal of it excites is that of self-gratulation that we live in times when we may differ in religious opinion from the majority of our fellow-subjects without rendering ourselves liable to the infliction of a grievous, oppressive, almost ruinous impost, which this parchment shows was in force less than one hundred and thirty years ago.

ON A GOLD PLATE, EMBOSSED WITH HIEROGLYPHICS, IN THE MUSEUM OF JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A, &c.

By C. Simonides, Ph.Dr.

(Read 9th May, 1861.)

The museums of Europe have been enriched by a vast number of Egyptian treasures, brought from that country into the west from time to time; and though the specimens which have been thus imported are so numerous, too many lie forgotten and unnoticed on the now deserted floors of the wilderness cities, once the most magnificent in ancient Egypt. And it is very probable that many antiquities of the highest interest still lie thus hidden in the earth, for the wrecks of ancient Egyptian greatness have ever been found thus buried. These records (as far as we are at present acquainted with them) embrace, first, matters concerning the religious and political government of the state; and, secondly, those connected with the customs and usages of the various towns. Others, again, relate to the history of illustrious men, and even of private individuals. And not a few of them are full of sententious utterances which exhort to all kinds of learning and of virtue. Some of these writings are executed upon papyrus, and some upon stones; some upon linen, and some upon wood; some upon different metals, as brass, silver, gold, and alloys of these; and some, again, upon fragments of earthen vessels, and urns of baked clays. The greater part of the inscriptions are in hieroglyphics, but some in the demotic, and some in the hieratic characters. A most precious specimen of this class of antiquities is in the possession of Mr. Mayer, valuable alike from its material, which is pure gold, and from the intrinsic interest of its contents. It is a plate, 1 foot 10

inches long, by $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide, of the thickness of a sheet of cardboard, and has embossed upon it hieroglyphics emblematic of divinity, and of life and of death. It was found in a mummy case of some general of Upper Egypt. What his name was I know not, for the ἐπιστήθιον, as the plate is called, does not enable us to determine it. But it is likely that the mummy case contains the particular apophthegm of the general instead of his name (as was the custom among the Egyptians). If we had, then, a copy of the apophthegm, we could easily make out what sort of a man he was, and when he flourished; but I am not without hope that Mr. Mayer, who is so zealous in the pursuit of antiquities, may have a copy procured of the inscription referred to, which is still preserved in Egypt; and, also, of all the sacred writings which were inscribed in the case; for who knows, if this course be pursued, what historical truths we may not discover, which may reveal errors of historians of the present age. As, however, we unfortunately have not yet this information in our possession, let us commence by simply interpreting the symbolical writing on the breast-plate which lies before us.

Interpreted, the symbols read thus: "Having been clothed "with manhood by the Divine Power, I despised death often; "and having become at last a suppliant for true wisdom, and "having participated in it, I contemplated the might of Night "and of Day, and of Death and of Life. And, therefore, "among the living I remain, immortal, and my dust, fashioned "by Phthaì, though corruptibly, yet of incorruptible clay, is "watched by heavenly guardians, till the time when it shall "again become, not this time the corruptible, but the incor- "ruptible abode of an immortal creation."

Thus runs the interpretation of the symbolical writings; but the sense being entirely metaphorical, must be elucidated in order to be thoroughly understood.

"Having been clothed with manhood by the Divine Power,"

that is, having been arrayed with power by God, I often despised the inevitable dangers which threaten our lives. For who that believes in the living God can die? None. Here the faith of this man in God is seen, and not in this record alone, for, in all the Egyptian monuments, reference to God is manifest. "And having become at last," etc., etc., that is, that first, while leading a military life, and always putting his trust in God, he despised the dangers of battle when engaged with his enemies, and afterwards, when he had left this arduous career, in his intercourse with the wise, he became truly enlightened, and perceived the real powers of nature. For to the light (that is the sun), and to the darkness (that is the moon), the Egyptians ascribed the cause of the creation and destruction of all corruptible things, as well as of the incorruptible body; and they called both these luminaries "ordained agencies." Thus, then, being instructed by the power of reason, he became acquainted with the force which rules in nature; that is to say, he understood that there is one God, who created all things, who preserves all things, and who maintains the universe in harmony. Having learned these things, and having faith in God, he obtained immortality, his spirit being taken to rank with the immortals. And my dust, says he, that is my body, which Φθαὶ (evidently Δημιουργὸς, the Creator) fashioned corruptibly (for corruptible is all creation) of incorruptible clay, *i.e.*, of the elements of the earth (for this is incorruptible and eternal, all that is made from it returning to it again), is watched by heavenly guardians, that is, is guarded by those elements from which it proceeded, until its spirit, which was abiding with the immortals, returns to it, and then it will become the immortal dwelling of an immortal creation. He evidently believes that his body shall be raised again at a future day, and that the immortal spirit shall return to it, and live with it to all eternity.

From this last paragraph we have abundant evidence that the Egyptians, who also taught metempsychosis, were persuaded that those who lived virtuously should rise from the dead, both soul and body, and should live for ever.

And so they taught truth, even the truth of the Gospel. For the nation which became the teacher of the lawgiver of the Hebrews (as Scripture affirms) I mean of the Prophet Moses, the author of the Pentateuch, was likely to have some correct notions about God and the immortality of the soul. "He," says the high priest of the god Χεμμὰ, Μάλχις son of Scethis, "is our ruler, he is our guardian; let us therefore "love him from our heart, and those gods also who dwell in "the same temple, and let us worship them with the unfeigned "homage of our hearts, and in this we shall always be "honoured and esteemed." Thus also the Apostle Paul preached to the Athenians, saying to them "In whom we live "and move and have our being, as certain also of your own "poets have said, for we are also His offspring. Inasmuch, "then, as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think "that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, "graven by art and man's device." Areteus is the poet (quoted by Paul) who being in Egypt, and being taught for a considerable time by the Egyptians, obtained many correct views, which he translated into Greek, and gave to his countrymen the purity of the doctrine of the Egyptians as to the omnipotence of God, is attested not only by the words of the high priest Malchis, but also by many other apophthegms of the priests, and especially by the following inscription, which is written, generally near the god Ammon, in hieratic characters, and which being interpreted runs thus:—"I am "the inward and self-begotten; I bring forward invisible "things from the invisible world into light by a word, both "to have beginning and existence: all things visible and "invisible are by my word, by which also are upheld all

"things corruptible and incorruptible." The spirit breathed by this sentence differs in no respect from that of the sacred writings, for it ascribes the existence of all things to one God, eternal, invisible and self-begotten, whom the Egyptians specially called Ammaa and Thamaa.

The Egyptian nation, then, held similar doctrines to the above, and especially insisted that the god Thothis (evidently the word of God) enjoins all mortals to worship God, the Maker of all; and their attention was directed rather to the future than to mortal affairs.*

I could still further elucidate the foregoing apophthegm, but this will suffice for the present. When, at some future time, I revert to the subject, it will be in greater detail.

We must warmly congratulate Mr. Mayer, the lover of antiquity, on his possession of this treasure, from which we have elicited some important matters hitherto unknown.

It will be seen, by the preceding remarks that the Egyptian remains afford great interest, especially on subjects connected with ethics, and that they may be rendered extremely useful to literature, if properly interpreted.

These truths the noble Plato, and Pythagoras before him, with Anaxagoras, and others of the ancient sages, acknowledged, and they became what they were by appropriating the spirit of these writings. The Egyptologers of our time publish continually bulky volumes of reproductions of Egyptian writings, but they throw no further light upon the matter than to tell us, "This is Φθαὶ, this is Ammon, this is Osiris—Osiris and nothing more." They say that all the records of the Egyptians contain nothing but proper names; and they

* Chenophis, son of Orus and a native of Panopolis, says in his Book of Sacred Apophthegms, that the sentence which we have been discussing, was often quoted by Thousochis, sister's son of Smendis, the King of Egypt, the first of the 20th dynasty (according to Manetho of Sebennes) who also reigned as viceroy of the Thebaid 32 years. Uranius of Alexandria, Manetho of Alexandria, and Chara of Nancrotia make the same statement.

give lengthy and laughable catalogues of these names; but the symbolical they seem entirely ignorant of, and neglect totally. May we be preserved from the errors of such men (who conceal and disguise the truth as they think fit), and may we be enabled to gain a clear knowledge of the mystery of the early ages of this world, over which the Almighty Power reigns supreme. And so to the Creator and Governor of all, be glory, now and for evermore!

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PERUVIAN TOMB POTTERY, AND SOME OBJECTS OF GOLD FROM SOUTH AMERICA, IN THE MUSEUM OF JOSEPH MAYER, ESQ., F.S.A., &c., &c., &c.

By Wm. Bollaert, F.R.G.S., Corr. Mem. Univ. Chile, of the Amer. Ethno. Soc., &c.

(Read 8th November, 1860.)

Pottery, which did not excite by its nature the rapacity of the Spanish conquerors, has been better preserved than many other objects of Peruvian antiquity.*

If we examine the principles of plastic art among different nations, we find that although the artists intended to represent a whole figure, yet, wanting in skill, they exaggerated the relative size of the parts, so in this Peruvian modelling the nose and ears are above their natural size. Among the Egyptians, long figures predominate; among the Peruvians, short and bulky ones. In most of the Peruvian specimens the head forms the principal part, indicating that the artist exhausted upon it all his skill: the body is a deformed mass, and the extremities are appendages of least importance. As regards the head, one of the best illustrations is that of a Chimu chief from Trujillo, as seen in the frontispiece to my book on South American Antiquities:† the original I have deposited in the British Museum.

It would appear that the plastic art originated at the time when nations, leaving their fundamental or monotheistic re-

* See Rivêro and Tschudi Peru. Antiq. translated by Dr. Hawks.

† Antiquarian, Ethnological and other Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru and Chile, with Observations on the Pre-Incarial, Incarial and other monuments of Peruvian nations. Trübner, London, 1860.

ligion, became converted to polytheism. Among the Peruvians we discover in their Huaqueros, sacred or tomb pottery, beginnings of the art, and in them and the vessels destined for the sacrifice of the deities we trace its progress. A critical examination attests that the works of art of the country governed by the Chimus (on the coast), and those found in Cuzco, far in the interior, at more than 10,000 feet above the sea, the capital of the Incas, are much more perfect than those which are seen in the Sierra and on the coast of central Peru.

The moulded works of the Peruvians have a peculiar character which distinguishes them from those of other American nations. Some of them bear a certain resemblance to the forms presented by the old continent—especially the most simple; such are some seated figures, which have an Egyptian type; vases which may pass for Etruscan; blackish vessels, resembling those of the Celtic-Germans.

The skill of the Peruvian potter was laid out upon the manufacture of the Huaqueros, which they placed with the bodies (*mallquis*) in the tombs (*machay*).

The cooking pottery and other vessels are very simple and without art. The material used was of coloured clay and blackish earth, which they prepared so well, that it resisted fire, and did not absorb liquids. It seems that they did not burn the vessels, since the substance of these differed materially from burnt clay, and judging from appearances, they dried it in the sun, after having prepared and mixed it in a manner of which we are ignorant.

The greater part of the sacred vessels buried with the bodies, and destined to receive the chicha of sacrifice (a drink prepared from Indian corn) on feast days, have an enlarged neck, placed ordinarily near the handle, with a hole to pour out the liquid, and an opposite opening for the air to escape when the vessel is filled. Many are double, quadruple, sextuple and octuple; that is, the principal vessel is surrounded with regular ap-

pendages, which communicate among themselves with the principal vessel. The double ones were made in such perfection, that, when filled with liquid, the air escaping produced at times musical sounds; the sounds sometimes imitated the voice of an animal which was represented by the principal part of the vessel. Sometimes vases, which being filled with water through a hole in the bottom, on being turned over lose not a drop of water—the water coming out, when it is wished, by simply inclining the upper part of the vase; which proves that the Peruvian artists had perhaps some knowledge of atmospheric pressure.

On many of the sacred vessels there are designs and painting, which give an idea of the progress of the art of design among the Peruvians. The architectural designs with straight lines are correct and even beautiful. Some of the painting, as seen at p. 203 of my book, on a vase from Berué (Trujillo), is probably the Chimu god of war. There is another worthy of notice, which is seen very often, either painted on vessels of clay, or engraved on their arms, or worked in raised work in gold or silver, and represents a man with the arms open, holding in his hand staves or lances (*chuquis*), and the head covered with a broad cap. There is no doubt that these figures represent deities; others have long garments, and on their head a species of mitre, probably intended for Priests of the Sun. These last are Incarial.

I find no account of the employment of the potter's wheel or table in Peru. None of the ancient Peruvian Pottery that has come under my observation is glazed (although they had plenty of salt and even salts of borax). I suppose that the sacred vessels found in the tombs were made by, or under the superintendence of, the priests. The household pottery (*manca*) was made by the working potter, who was called Saña Camayoc.

After the conquest, Spain supplied earthenware to its colonies; China a considerable quantity, by way of the Philippine

Islands; but in our own times, England principally manufactures for South America.

There is a potter's clay in Quito having a delicate fragrance. A similar clay is met with in Chile, and in some of the convents in the capital there are made from it jars, bowls, cups, &c., which are painted, gilt and varnished; these vessels communicate a pleasant smell and flavour to the water put into them, said to proceed from some bituminous body in the clay. I have some of this pottery, but it appears to me that the greater portion of the fragrance has been given to it by cloves, vanilla, or such like aromatics.

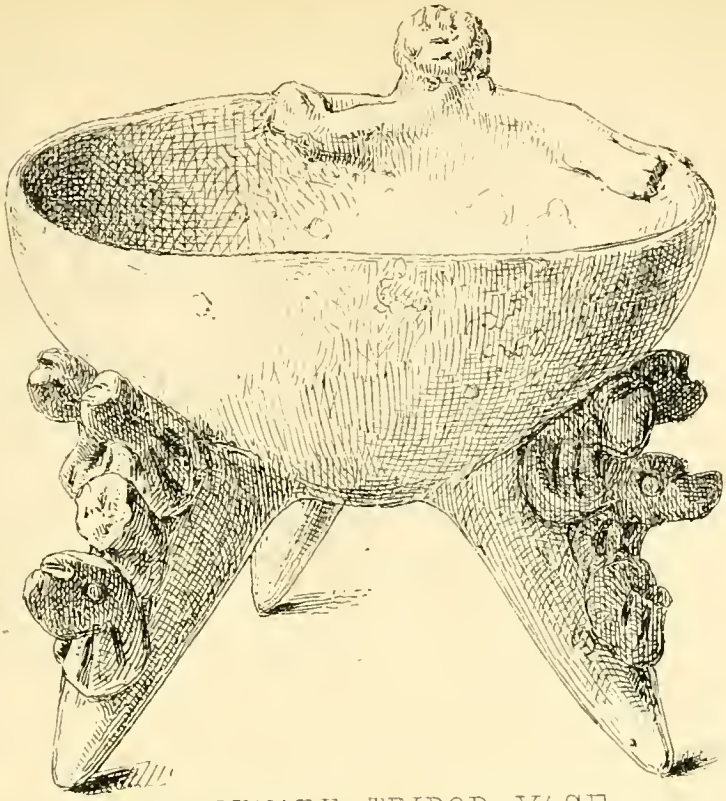
I now come to the examination of the interesting collection of Peruvian pottery in Mr. Mayer's Museum.

From Honduras.

There are three Tasas, on tripods of earthenware, from the island of Ruatan. These were found on the top of a high hill, among what appeared to the finder, Captain Fraser, the ruins of an altar. The tripedal arrangement is met with as far south as Chiriquí (100 miles north of Panamá), but I have not noticed such from further south. (Plate III.)

Peru.

From this country there is a large collection of sacred pottery; however, the only one labelled is from Trujillo, north of Lima, the land of the ancient Chimu chiefs, who were conquered by the later Incas. In my work I give some particulars of this district, rich in antiquities; and I am now preparing some observations on the ruins in that region, particularly as regards the large mound tombs (some of which, I have no doubt, contain rich objects in gold and silver), and the ruined palaces and walls of the city of the Chimus, so different from the Incarial and other Peruvian monuments.



EARTHENWARE TRIPOD VASE

DOUBLE VASE IN EARTHENWARE.

PRIESTESS IN EARTHENWARE.

HEAD OF A STATUE IN BASALT.

J.E.WORRALL, DEL. & LITH.

The object from hence is a double vase composed of two pelicans. It is ornamented with fourteen smaller ones, and has a lizard at the spout. (Plate III.)

I will now advert to the red coloured pottery, which may have been manufactured principally by the coast nations (not Incarial). These have been extracted from the Huacas or tombs, and in many of the vessels was deposited the drink chicha.

The next important object is that probably of a priestess: it is a sitting figure. (Plate IV.)

There is a small stone head, the bust of an Orejon, Chief, or Inca. (Plate IV.) These stone remains are rather rare. At p. 203 of my book I describe two stone busts from Huamanchuco, in this district. There are vases, slightly painted with ornaments. There are two crucibles, evidently for the melting of metals; also many vases in imitation of various fruits.

The black pottery may be called Incarial—some doubtless from Cuzco, particularly those vases with figures of men, called Chuquis. One of these has also a deity, with the head of an animal: this is a rare representation. A grotesque figure, covered with heads of maize—these were the deities that guarded their fields of Indian corn; models of shells; human figure carrying a deer—the head of this figure has a very receding forehead; the huacamayo, or sacred parrot; a priest or priestess, with the llautu or Incarial fillet round the head; water-fowl; vase, with shell-fish of the lobster species; pine-apple :. Indian corn; lizards, &c.

The black pottery is of Quichua or Inca origin; but there is an object which may be of the Aymara nations (conquered by the Incas); it is a small idol in red clay, with four black bands on the body.

To every student of ancient Peruvian history (which has yet to be written) the examination of the collection of pottery, as well as of the interesting series of coloured drawings, some

fifty in number,* in Mr. Mayer's Museum, will be found most instructive and suggestive.†

GOLD OBJECTS.

The ancient Peruvians were much advanced in the art of refining and casting metals. They knew gold, silver, copper, tin, quicksilver and lead, but iron was unknown to them, save probably some casual specimens of meteoric iron. Gold, although it was among them the most esteemed metal, they also possessed it in greater quantities than any other. It is believed that the day will soon come when Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, in particular, will have withdrawn the veil which now covers great riches. One of the routes to this treasure is by the Amazon and its tributaries.

The Peruvians called gold "tears which the sun shed." They extracted it from mines and washings of the rivers. The silver they took from the mines only. They used the precious metals as offerings to their deities, to make idols and sacred vessels, and as tribute to the Incas. They knew how to melt the metal, cast it into moulds, to inlay it, solder and hammer it. The moulds were made of clay mixed with gypsum. The moulded metals are chiseled with such perfection, that we cannot discover in them the slightest inequality resulting from the mould. In some of these moulded figures, we discover bits of copper, silver and gold, so well inlaid that they seem to form a whole. It is generally thought that those objects handed down to us are of inferior workmanship. They had artificial gardens, the soil of which was made of small pieces of fine gold, and this was artificially sowed with different kinds

* These are, "A Series of Vases found in the graves of the ancient Peruvians, "drawn from the original by W. B. Cooke." Some of these are engraved, I think by Mr. Ackerman.—W. B.

† See old Spanish Authors, Rivero and Tschudi "Antiguedades Peruanas," and English translation, by Dr. Hawks of New York.

of maize, which were of gold, the stems, leaves and ears of silver; and they were so firmly planted, that although they had strong winds, they were not torn up. They had llamas and their young of gold, and the shepherds with their slings and crooks guarding them made of this metal. Their Zodiac, or lunar calendar was engraven on gold. There were large jars, containing gold, silver and emeralds; vases like earthen pots, and other vessels of gold. The service of the Inca's palace was of gold and silver, except some parts which were of silver and copper, for the sake of strength. The Inca had in his withdrawing room hollow statues of gold, which were gigantic; and elsewhere figures of natural size, resembling animals, birds, trees, fish &c. There were imitations of grass ropes, sacks, baskets and knapsacks, all of gold and silver; heaps of sticks of gold, in the form of billets of wood for burning.

In the palace of Tumebamba, within the apartments, were bundles of gold straw, and on the walls were sculptured llamas and their young, birds and other things. They had many rich blankets, embroidered in silver and white "glass" beads—these were probably of rock crystal, as glass was unknown to them. There were, in gold and silver, viscachas (like the rabbit), lizards, snakes, butterflies, foxes, deer and fawns, pumas and jaguars (lion and tiger, or leopard, of America); birds of all descriptions, some placed on the trees as if singing, others flying about and sucking the honey. The Inca seated himself generally in a seat of massive gold, called the tiana; it was the third of a yard in height, and was placed on a square block of gold; it was 16 carats fine, and became the prize of Pizarro. The model of the sun was an immense mass of gold.

The following is a description of objects in gold, from South America, belonging to Mr. Mayer, and deposited in his Museum.

Mexico.

A very fine and large specimen of Mexican workmanship,

in gold. It is a double-headed human figure, and may represent Ho and Thaloc, two of the Mexican trimurti (supposed), or other idols. (Plate V.)

New Granada.

Two articles, in gold, of frogs or lizards (Plate V) ; these were venerated by the Chibchas or Muizcas of Bogotá. The frog or toad was symbolic of water, rain and other things, as the number one ; also played a curious part in their lunar calendar, which was generally an engraved pentagonal stone. I have given some readings of these engraved stones in my book on South American Antiquities.

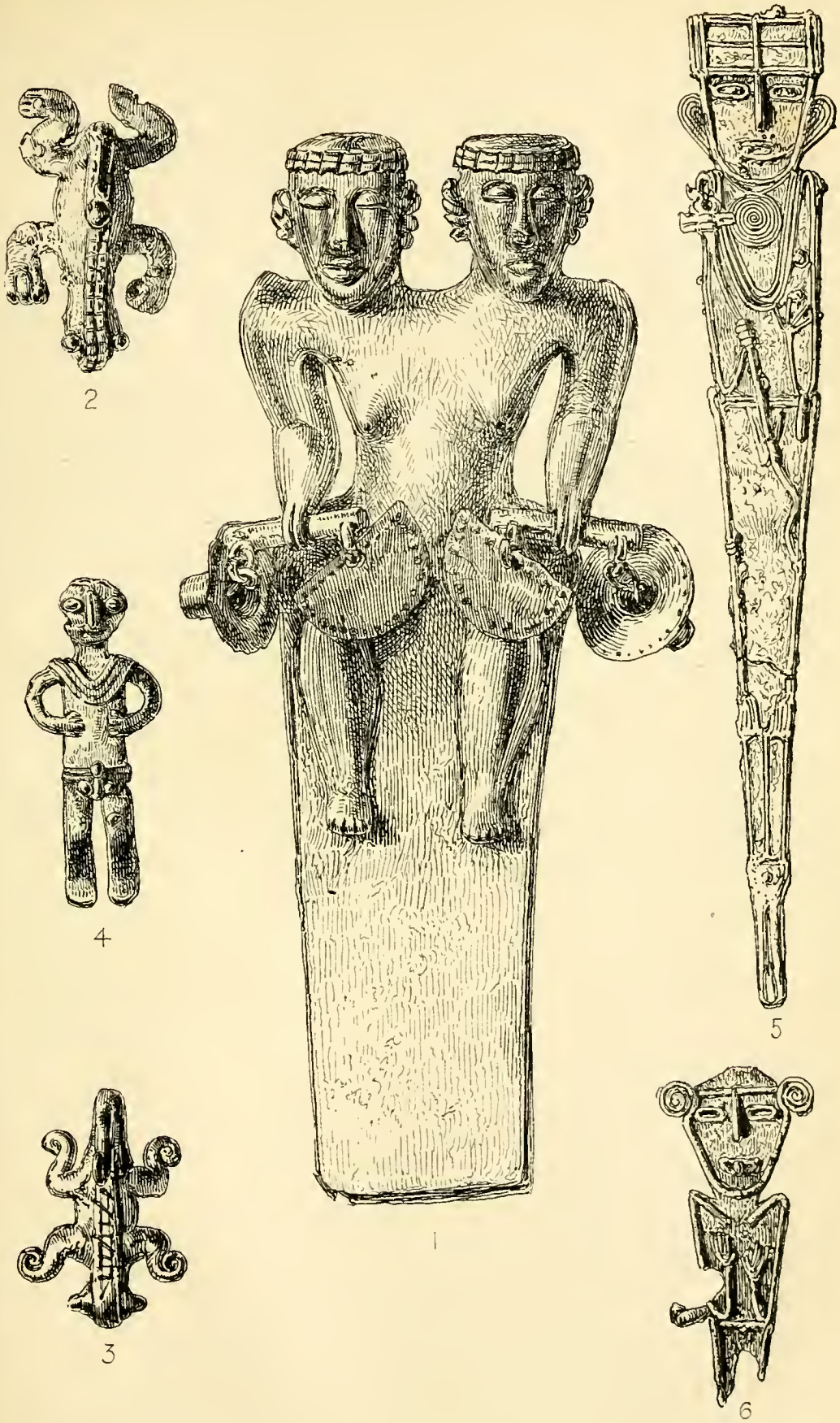
There are also two figures, in gold, from the ancient tombs ; they have been cast flat, the lower part of the mould having had the figure cut out in it. (Plate V.) Such are peculiar to this region. One is of pure gold, and has a staff, surmounted apparently by the guacamayo, or sacred parrot ; these were taught to speak, then sacrificed. The other is of that sort called Guanin gold, probably a natural alloy ; some specimens gave 63 gold, 14 silver, 9 copper. There is another figure, human, with head like guacamayo. There are also some gold earrings, having a stud, which was introduced into a perforation in the ear ; also nose-rings ; these are from Indian tombs at San Juan, in the province of Antioquia. The stone chisel is a good piece of workmanship. (Plate V.)

In the first section of my work, there are details of great treasure, in gold, taken from the tombs in New Granada.

Peru.

Two hollow figures, in silver, male and female—most probably from Cuzco. (Plate V.)

Mr. Mayer has been good enough to allow me to examine several objects in gold, from Peru, purchased in Lima by Joseph Hegan, Esq.



GOLD IDOLS FOUND IN THE GRAVES IN NEW GRANADA.

J E WORRALL. DEL. & LITH.

GOLD EAR-RINGS FROM CUENCA IN QUITO.

½ SIZE OF ORIGINAL.

J.E. WORRALL, DEL. & LITH.

1. Is what I have called a similar one, a "gold mask," at p. 92 of my work; but, as Mr. Mayer has observed to me, we may look upon this object as a large ear-pendant. It appears to be the fellow to the one I have described and figured at p. 93 of my book, as coming from Cuenca, in Quito or Ecuador. The face is embossed, hollow rings are attached, and something like hieroglyphs cover the face; this may represent the war deity. The one I describe weighs 4oz. 19dwts.; its specific gravity is 14·07 (pure gold being 19·3); it is of light colour, owing to alloy with silver, but whether alloyed by the natives, or found in this state, is a question; if the latter, then we may look upon it as an aururet or electrum. Gold from Titiribi, in Colombia, gave gold 76·41, silver 23·12. These and other gold objects are found, after the rainy season, on the low lands—they are washed from the ridges of the mountains where the tombs are. This may have come from Cuenca, which is in 2° 57′ S., 29′ W. of Quito, from the beautiful country of the Cañaris, a nation contemporary with the Cara dynasty of Scyris, ere Quito was conquered by the Incas. The face of this gold object may be compared with that of the stone statue from Timaná in 2° N. (See p. 41 of my book for drawing.) (Plate VI.)

2. A pair of earlets, with one large ring; each is embossed in four compartments, having figures of animals on them (pumas). There are two nicely bored chalcedony beads in each. We do not know how this ancient people ground, polished or bored hard stones, particularly the emerald, which beautiful gem was in great abundance in Ecuador and New Granada. A large emerald was worn by the Scyri, or Chief of Quito, and was the royal insignia. (See pp. 20 and 84 in my book, on the subject of emeralds.) I made enquiry about precious stones when last in the New World, but could get no information in the districts I travelled over, except of the emerald. An Indian, of the province of Tarapacá (Peru,)

brought me a rounded piece of stone, about the size of a pigeon's egg, or larger, telling me it was a diamond: on examination, it proved to be only rock crystal. Galvano, in the single volume of Hakluyt, gives an account of a large diamond, said to have been taken from an Indian in the region of Cumaná, in the province of Paria. I am not aware of any diamonds ever having come from this district. However, knowing as we do the geological character of the Brazilian diamond districts in the south (from 10° to 15° S., and 55° to 60° W.), an explorer might be repaid for his examination of Paria, on the Spanish main. Galvano says emeralds, sapphires and topazes exist in Terra Firme.

3. Plain round earlet.

4. Globular vessel, the lower half of silver, two inches in diameter. Some figures (human) I have seen made up of rings of gold, silver and copper.

5. Large hollow gold rings, ends closed.

6. Gold plate, nine inches in diameter.

7. Imitation of leaves of plants, one nineteen inches long, another ten and a half.

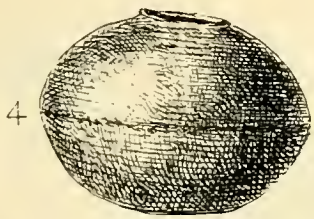
8. Eight pieces of gold—these are disks for ornamenting dresses.

9. Cascabels, or bells such as were worn by our morris-dancers.

10. A series of ten tubular objects joined; they appear to be intended for the guiding of strings.

11. Is a curious object, 1st, as showing the quantity of gold they had; 2nd, as a sample of their manufacture; and 3rd, their ornamentation, or depicting of something connected with office, or their religion of Inti or the sun. It is three and a half inches in diameter, two and a half wide, and has a place for the insertion of a staff.

12. But to me the most interesting is one labelled "Gold "lining of an Inca temple from Tia-Huanacu, 15 leagues from "La Paz," in Bolivia. It weighs $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, $\frac{180}{100}$; is nearly a



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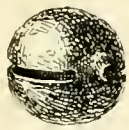
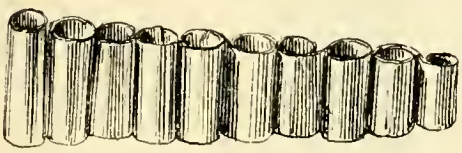
½ SIZE OF ORIGINAL.



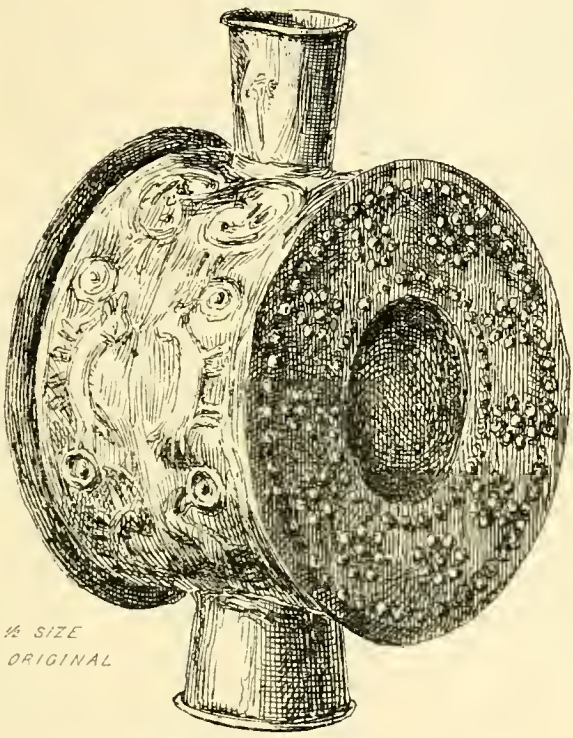
9

SIZE OF ORIGINAL



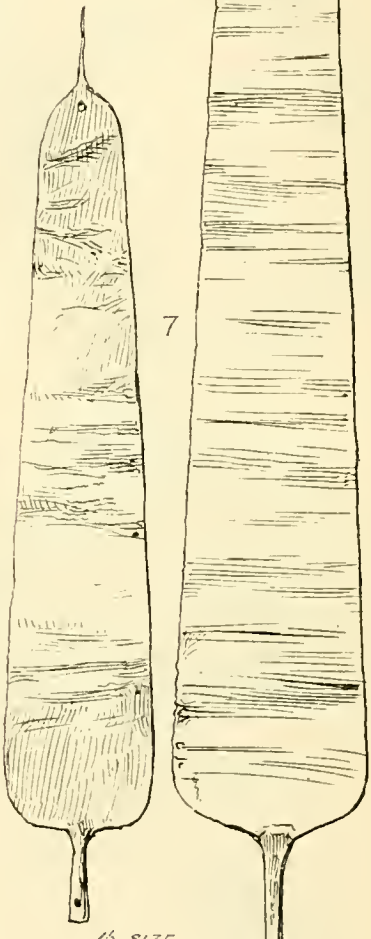
10

SIZE OF ORIGINAL.



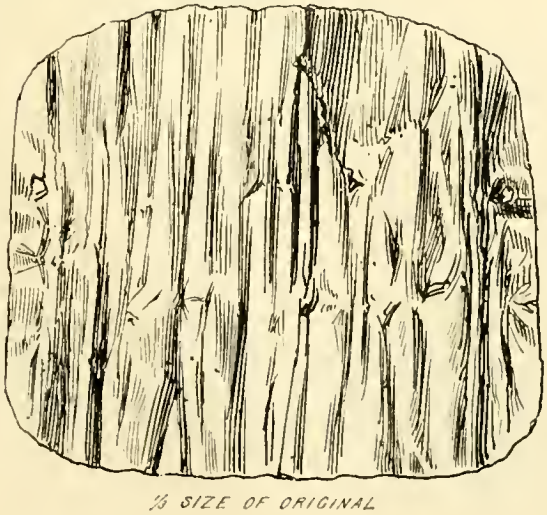
11

½ SIZE
OF ORIGINAL



7

⅓ SIZE
OF ORIGINAL.

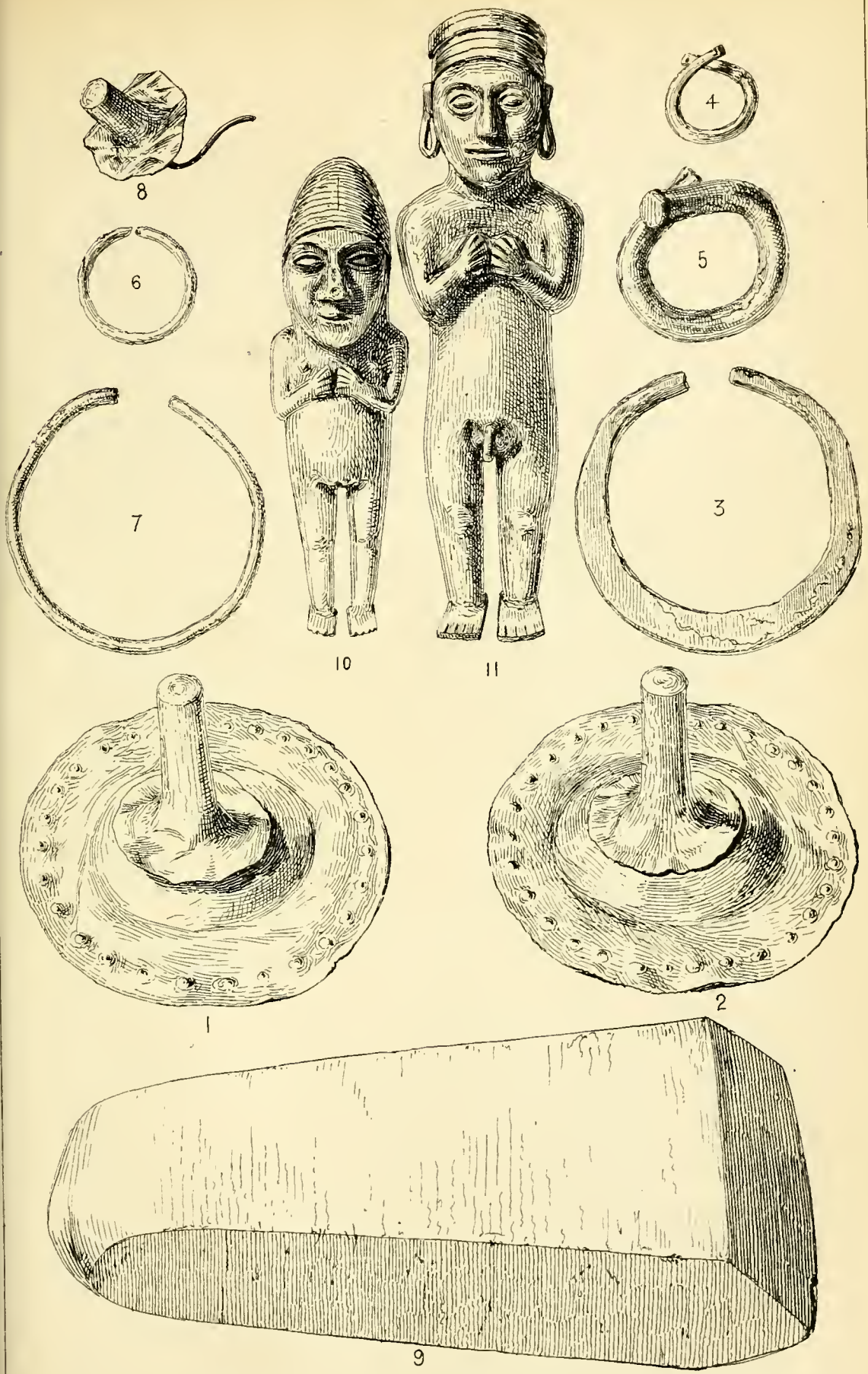


12

⅓ SIZE OF ORIGINAL

GOLD OBJECTS FROM CUENCA IN QUITO.

J.E. WORRALL, DEL. & LITH.



Nos 1, 2, 3, EAR RINGS,— 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, NOSE RINGS;— 9. STONE CHISEL, FOUND IN INDIAN GRAVES AT SAN JUAN, IN THE PROVINCE OF ANTIOQUIA, NEW GRANADA,— 10 & 11, SILVER IDOLS FOUND IN GRAVES IN PERU.

J.E.WORRALL. DEL. & LITH:

square of $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. I may observe that at Tia-Huanacu, the ruins are anterior to the Incas (if we follow Garcilaso, who for the present is the safest guide, but Montesinos and others have to be critically examined on matters connected with the more ancient history of Peru, as to particulars of other dynasties than that of the Incas), for they looked upon the ruins of Tia-Huanacu with the same admiration as the modern Greek looks upon those wondrous monuments of old in his classic land. However, Maytacapac, the IV Inca, (died A.D. 1156) came to this spot, and after subjecting the people south of the Lake of Titicaca, he built a palace at Tia-Huanacu; thus I conclude that this piece of gold lining was most probably from the ruins of this said palace, and not from the old enigmatic ruins of Tia-Huanacu; which name was given to the spot, in consequence of the Inca Mayta saying to a Chasqui, or foot messenger, who had brought him news with great celerity, "Tia-Huanacu," rest thou, fleet as the Huanaco. But the original name of the country, or of the builders of these monuments here, some with symbols and hieroglyphs, is unknown.*

Thus it will be seen that gold was in great abundance then, as it still is; but in our times industry and population are wanting in Peru and Bolivia. The present population are too much engaged in grasping at power, which they have yet to learn how to use judiciously; this leads to continual civil wars. Then the Indians who were of the industrious races have dwindled away through the system of *encomiendas*, or grants of land with population on them; the cruel *mita*, or forced labour in the mines, and still more abominable *malaso*, or the assisting one tribe to war upon another, so as to take prisoners and sell them to the Spaniards. The Indian

* Lorente in his Historia del Peru, Lima, 1860, alludes to a tradition which gives the original name Tia-Huanacu to be *Chucahua*, and that it was built by a monarch named *Huyustus*.

has become apathetic, and may have lost all hope even of better times under the present republican governments.

The beautiful prayer of Ebenezer Elliot, commencing with

"When wilt thou save thy people—O God of mercy, when?"

has been heard from the Italian Peninsula: O when will it be heard from the long suffering Children of the Sun!

Unhappy, ill-fated America! Some, as in Mexico, first built altars to their own bloody gods, then they were dragged before similar tribunals the white man brought from Europe; and now the powerful vices and diseases of Europe are raging among many of these helpless creatures.

PROCEEDINGS.

THIRTEENTH SESSION, 1860-61.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

57, *Ranelagh Street*, 15*th October*, 1860.

LIEUT.-GENERAL THE HONORABLE SIR EDWARD CUST, D.C.L. &c., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The SECRETARY read the following

REPORT.

At the termination of the Twelfth Session the retiring Council have to report the continued success of the Society's labours in the varied departments of enquiry to which they are devoted, as the Annual Volume, now ready for distribution, will, they feel assured, satisfactorily prove.

During the Session, the Council, in continuation of the course adopted in the preceding year, recommended for removal from the roll of members the names of certain gentlemen whose subscriptions were in arrear; and, their suggestion having been acted on, the list may now be regarded as shewing, very closely, the effective strength of the Society—an important consideration in regulating the expenditure. The large arrears apparent in former Sessions have thus been in a great measure swept away, and the Council hope the collection of those outstanding, which are comparatively inconsiderable, will be accomplished with little difficulty.

Intercourse with kindred Societies has been increased, and the additions to the Library continue to be as numerous and valuable as heretofore. The Museum, however, has received but few contributions; a circumstance to which the Council advert with the hope of inducing members interested in Archæological subjects to contribute more liberally to the extension of the collection. The Society's room, at 57, Ranelagh Street, will be open every evening of meeting, from Five till a little before Seven, and members who cannot attend may obtain books by a written application to the Assistant Secretary.

The Annual Excursion was this year made to Shrewsbury and Wroxeter; and the usual Miscellaneous Meeting of the Society was held, by invitation of the proprietor, Joseph Mayer, Esq., Vice-President, at his Museum of Antiquities. A brief account of the proceedings on each of these occasions will be found in the Appendix to volume xii.

The Treasurer's Balance Sheet shews the receipts for the year to have been £303 19s. 4d., which sum, with the balance of £14 16s. 7d. from last year, shews a gross total of £318 15s. 11d. The entire payments are £306 1s. 5d., leaving a balance in hand amounting to £12 14s. 6d. There have been no considerable extra charges, and the accounts will shew that the expenditure has been governed by the actual resources.

The Council regret to state that, in consequence of his inability to attend the meetings, the Treasurer, Thomas Avison, Esq., has decided to resign his office, which has been held by him from the time the Society was founded. In these circumstances the Council have nominated, as Mr. Avison's successor, William Burke, Esq.

Agreeably to the Laws, the names of six gentlemen are submitted for appointment to the various Sections, in the place of those who retire from the Council.

It was moved by the Rev. Thomas Moore, A.M., seconded by John G. Jacob, Esq., and resolved unanimously :—

> That the Report now read be adopted, and printed and circulated with the Proceedings of the Society.

The following Statement of Accounts having been read,

It was moved by Peter R. McQuie, Esq., seconded by J. R. Hughes, Esq., and resolved unanimously:—

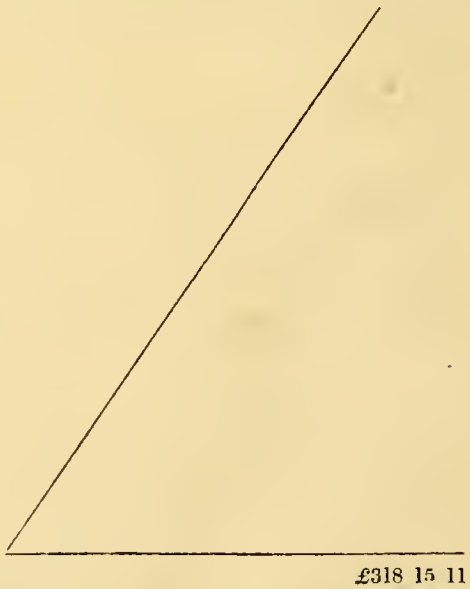
> That the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts be passed, and printed and circulated with the Proceedings of the Society.

The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire *in account with*

Dr. Thomas Avison, *Treasurer.* *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
The Volumes:—						
Lithographing & printing for vol. ix	5	5	6			
Balance of printing for vol. xi	3	1	10			
Delivery of ditto	5	14	3			
Printing and binding vol. xii	119	19	4			
Lithographing for ditto	12	2	6			
				146	3	5
Sessional Expenses:—						
Printing Circulars, &c	9	11	0			
Stationery	3	14	4			
Postage Stamps	8	4	7			
Insurance, £1; Rent, £24	25	0	0			
Rent, St. George's Hall	18	18	0			
Assistant Secretary	37	10	0			
Commission, making up lists, accounts &c	15	11	3			
Advertisements, delivery of circulars, messages, parcels &c	17	17	9			
Refreshments at meetings	13	6	6			
				149	13	5
Permanent Charges:—						
Binding books for Library	2	12	7			
Illustrations of Roman London	2	2	0			
				4	14	7
Special Expenses:—						
Framing Address to Wm. Brown, Esq., in 1857				5	10	0
Balance in Treasurer's hands				12	14	6
				£318	15	11

	£	s.	d.
By Balance from Session xi	14	16	7
By Receipts in Session xii, viz.:—			
Arrears	17	7	6
Entrance Fees, Session xii	12	12	0
Annual Subscriptions, ditto	252	10	6
Ditto Session xiii	2	12	6
Life Compositions	10	10	0
Books sold	8	0	10
Covers for volumes	0	6	0



£318 15 11

Balance down £12 14 6

Examined by
Peter R. McQuie,
Sam. Gath,
} Auditors.

(E. & O. E.)
Liverpool, 13th October, 1860.
Thomas Avison.

It was moved by the Rev. R. R. Moore, B.A., seconded by E. F. Evans, Esq., and resolved unamimously:—

That the thanks of the Society be given to the Officers and Sectional Members of the Council, for their services during the past Session.

It was moved by Thomas Dawson, Esq., seconded by the Rev. Thomas Moore, A.M., and resolved unanimously:—

That the Society accepts with regret the resignation of his office by Thomas Avison, Esq., F.S.A., Treasurer, and that the best thanks of the Society be given to that gentleman for his valuable services during the past twelve years.

It was moved by George M. Browne. Esq., seconded by Thomas Avison, F.S A., and resolved unanimously:—

That the thanks of the Society be given to Joseph Mayer, Esq., for his reception of the members and their friends at his Museum of British and Foreign Antiquities on the 6th of January and 26th of April last; and to John F. Marsh, Esq., for the three Engravings in illustration of his paper in volume xii.

A ballot having been taken for the Officers and Sectional Members of Council, the result was announced from the chair. (See page v.)

It was moved by Samuel Hill, Esq., seconded by J. R. Hughes, Esq., and resolved unanimously:—

That five Delegates be appointed by this Society to superintend the Gallery of Science and Inventions, in conjunction with the four learned Societies of Liverpool also appointing Delegates; the selection to be made by the Council.

Thanks were conveyed, by acclamation, to the President for his services during the evening, and the proceedings terminated.

1*st November*, 1860. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. W. Bairstow, Dale Street, was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

James Brown, Esq., of New York, U. S. A., was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Society.

The following donations were presented:—

From Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, President.
A beautifully carved ivory sceptre, intended as a mace of authority, to be laid before the presidential chair at every meeting of the Society.

From the Chairman.
A massive silver medal, commemorative of Mr. William Brown's gift of the Free Public Library to the inhabitants of Liverpool, bearing on the obverse a portrait of Mr. Brown, and on the reverse a representation of the Building.

From Alderman Bennett.
Six casts of seals in gutta percha.

From the Society of Antiquaries.
Archæologia, vol. xxxviii, part 1. Proceedings, Nos. 48 to 52, and vol i, N.S., No. 1. List of the Society.

From the Society.
Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, vols. vi and vii.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.
1. An account of the border clan of Hume, executed by himself, on the basis of Drummond's History of Noble British Families. It contains pedigrees, biographical sketches, &c., of 3,000 persons, and is illustrated with portraits, views of residences, maps, autographs, fac-similes, poetic references and numerous heraldic subjects.
2. Specimen of fossils found at St. Helens, in a coal-pit, 1200 feet below the surface, forwarded by R. McGill, Esq., St. Helens.

By Mr. C. S. Gregson.
1. *Lithosia Sericca*, a new species of lepidopterous insect.
2. A fine fossil orthoceritite and two trilobites, from the lower Silurian formation near Hawkshead.

By Mr. J. R. Hughes.
"Diddanwch Teuluaidd," or "Waith Beirdd Môn;" containing the Welsh and Latin odes of Goronwy Owen, Curate of Walton, near Liverpool, in 1753-55; who was said by Lewis Morris, the antiquary, to be "the greatest genius either of this age, or that "appeared in our country (Wales); and perhaps few other coun- "tries can shew the like for universal knowledge."

By Mr. Newton.
A MS. Life of Christ of the fourteenth century, in German; containing twenty-seven miniature paintings.

By Mr. T. Dawson.
A silver coin found in a field at Litherland.

By Mr. Hodgkin.
A genealogical chart of the kings of France to the reign of Francis I, printed on vellum; believed to be unique.

By Dr. Simonides.
1. Various ancient MSS. from the museum of Mr. Mayer.
2. A decree in Egyptian hieroglyphics with Greek translation, written on human skin.
3. An ancient Greek MS. on vellum, of great value, over-written in the Greek character of the Middle Ages, the original writing having been rendered, by some process, invisible.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Interpretation of Egyptian Hieroglyphics, *by C. Simonides, Ph. Dr.*

8th November, 1860. LITERARY SECTION.

William Brown, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Author.
Annals of the Wars of the Nineteenth Century, by the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, D.C.L., Lieut.-General in the British Army, vol. v.

From the Museum.
The Industrial Museum of Scotland in its relation to commercial enterprise, by George Wilson, M.D., F.R.S.E., 1858.

From the Liverpool Royal Institution.
Report for 1859-60.

From Mr. Richard Hunt.
Lectures on the History of England, by Wm. Longman. Lecture the Second, 1860.

From the Historic and Archæological Society of Geneva.
1. Les Actes et Gestes Merveillevx de la Cité de Genève Nouuellement conuertie à l'Euangille faictz du temps de leur Reformation et comment ils l'ont receue redigez par escript en fourme de Chroniques Annales ou Hystoyres commençant l'an MDXXXII. Par Anthoine Fromment. Mis en lumière par Gustave Revilliod, 1854.
2. Advis et Devis de la Sovrce de l'Idolatrie et Tyrannie Papale, par qvelle practiqve et finesse les Papes sont en si haut degre montez, Suiuis des difformes Reformateurz, de l'aduis et deuis de menconge et des faulx miracles du temps present. Par Francois Bonivard, Ancien Prieur de Saint Victor, 1856.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P.
A series of terra-cotta vases found in the tombs of the ancient inhabitants of South America; several objects in gold, consisting of an ear-ring more than 8 inches long by nearly 3 inches in diameter; idols in form of the frog, the lizard and rude figures of men; and a male and female figure in silver.

The following Papers were read:—

I. On the Genealogy of the Anglo-Saxon Kings, *by the Rev. Daniel Henry Haigh.*

II. Observations on the Peruvian Tomb Pottery; and on some Objects of Gold from South America, in the Museum of Joseph Mayer, Esq.,* *by William Bollaert, F.R.G.S.*

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* Transactions, p. 311.

15*th November*, 1860. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. xxviii.

From the Society.
1. Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, vol. xvi, part 2.
2. List of the Society.

From Mr. H. W. Harrison.
1. A Deed on parchment, dated 1723.
2. Copy of a Letter to a Gentleman in Liverpool from his Brother-Freeman in the Country, referring to the Election of 1784.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. Mercer.
Specimens of the new analyne dyes from coal-tar, as shewn in ribbons of silk of various colours.

By Mr. Newton.
A small compound pocket microscope, adapted for use out of doors in examining small portions of fluids.

By Mr. McQuie.
Various works on Numismatics, dated respectively 1786-97-98.

The following Paper was read:—

ON THE GOLD FIELDS OF AUSTRALIA,* *by J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.*

6*th December*, 1860. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society:—

James Houghton, 84, Rodney street.

Rev. W. F. Taylor, LL.D., 61, Everton road.

Charles White, M.R.C.S., Warrington.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Proceedings of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, vol. iii, part 1.

From the Society.
Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society, N.S., Nos. 26 and 27.

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* Transactions, p. 17.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P.
A silver medal, bearing, in high relief, on one side the head of Oliver Cromwell, and on the other the head of Masaniello.

By Mr. Burke.
Two autograph notes of Sir Walter Scott.

By Mr. H. E. Smith.
Various antique objects found within the previous few months on the Cheshire sea-shore near Hoylake, comprising a Roman phallus, in bronze, and a brass brooch; a curiously engraved head of a dog or griffin of the mediæval period; a silver penny of Edward III; a copper-plugged pewter halfpenny of the reign of James II, 1688; glass beads; and a lump of fused *latten*, a compound metal of which a large proportion of the objects discovered at Hoylake appear to be composed.

The following Paper was read:—

Inedited Letters of Cromwell, Colonel Jones, Bradshaw and other Regicides,* *by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. &c.*

13*th December*, 1860. LITERARY SECTION.

Peter R. McQuie, Esq., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. xvii, part 2.

From the Society.
Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. Second series, vol. vi, part 3.

The following object of interest was exhibited:—

By Mr. H. W. Harrison.
A beautifully illuminated volume, in black-letter on vellum, recording the principal circumstances of the Gospel history, and having a red-letter calendar of Romish saints' days.

The following Papers were read:—

I. Explanation of a Deed on parchment (date 1723), presented to the Society by Mr. Harrison,† *by A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A., Hon. Curator.*

II. Botanical Notices,‡ *by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.*

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* Transactions, p. 177.
† Transactions, p. 301. ‡ Transactions, p. 67.

20th December, 1860. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

THOMAS SANSOM, A.L.S., in the Chair.

Mr. G. S. Wood, Lord street, was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. iv, Nos. 1 to 4.

From the Society.
Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, vol. xvi, part 4.

From the Society.
Journal of the Geological Society of Dublin, vol. viii, part 3.

The following objects of interests were exhibited:—

By Mr. C. S. Gregson.
Three cases of Coleoptera, in illustration of his Paper. Dianthecia capsophila, Gn., a species new to England.

The following Papers were read:—

I. ON THE COLEOPTERA OF THE DISTRICT AROUND LIVERPOOL: GEODEPHAGA,* *by Mr. C. S. Gregson.*

II. ON THE COMMERCIAL ESTIMATION OF ALCOHOL IN WINE, *by N. Mercer, F.C.S.*

3rd January, 1861. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society:—

Hermann Baar, Ph.Dr., 15, Sandon street.
George Jones, 36, Hanover street.
Edward Samuelson, Huyton.
John Wilson, 30, West Derby street.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Transactions of the Ossianic Society for the year 1857, vol. v.

From the Society.
Proceedings of the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society, 1858-59.

From the Manchester Corporation.
Eighth Annual Report to the Council of the City of Manchester on the Working of the Public Free Libraries, October, 1860.

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* Transactions, p. 33.

From Signor G. M. Ferri.

A small lachrymatory, and a large and a small two-handled patera of Etruscan ware; also twenty-six coins, in copper and silver, from Saracenic stations in the Island of Sicily.

From Dr. Kendrick.

A copy of the Portland vase from the mould of Pechler, the celebrated gem engraver, taken before the original was broken in the British Museum. It had, however, previously sustained a fracture, as noticed by Wedgwood; and this is shewn in the present specimen.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. H. E. Smith.

A copper-plate of a Doncaster tradesman, used a century ago in illustrating his tobacco-wrappers. The reverse bears as an emblem of Virginia, instead of the Virgin Queen, a portrait of a young virgin of the period, whose hair is arranged much in the manner now prevailing, thus shewing an instance of the revolving cycle of fashion.

By Miss Smith, of Seacombe.

A portion of the hair of King Edward the Fourth, secured by one of the workmen when the vault in which that monarch and his queen (Elizabeth Woodville) had been buried was discovered, March 13th, 1789, a particular account of which event is given in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii.

By Mr. J. R. Hughes.

A curious volume, preserved in Anglesea, called "Llyfr y Bardd "coch," never yet printed. It is frequently resorted to for the settlement of disputed boundaries, and contains a fine collection of pedigrees.

By Dr. Kendrick.

A document dated "Carlile, June 29th, 1690," requiring all postmasters in Scotland to supply the bearer with horses to Portpatrick, he being a special messenger to King William III, then in Ireland.

By the Chairman.

A series of gold torques, collars, rings &c., found in Ireland; a collection of gold Etruscan ornaments, consisting of necklaces, ear-rings, finger-rings &c.; curious gold chasings by Michael Moser; a chess-man, made of the tooth of a sea-horse about the middle of the sixth century, found whilst making sewers in Salisbury in 1846; and an elaborately worked ivory vase, part of the "loot" taken in the Indian mutiny.

The following Paper was read:—

On Educational Tests of the qualifications of Candidates for Public Offices, *by J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.*

10*th January*, 1861. LITERARY SECTION.

Wm. Burke, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Society.
Journal of the Statistical Society, vol. xxiii.

From the Society.
Transactions of the Ethnological Society, vol. i, part 1.

From the Society.
Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, second series, vol. xv, part 2.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Dr. Hume.
Photographs, executed by Mr. Keith, of the three Addresses presented to Mr. William Brown on the opening of the Free Public Library, by the Five Learned Societies, the Commercial Associations, and the Working Men of Liverpool respectively.

The following Paper was read :—

On the Popular Customs and Superstitions of Lancashire, Part III,* *by T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S.*

17*th January*, 1861. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

William Brown, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From Mr. Mayer.
Essays on Archæological Subjects, by Thos. Wright, M.A., F.S.A.

From the Author.
A sequel to the North-west Passage, &c., a Review, by John Brown, F.R.G.S.

From the Publisher.
Poor Rabbin's Ollminick for the Town 'o' Bilfawst, for 1861, being an Illustration of the Dialect of Ulster.

From Mr. Wilkinson.
The Lady's and Gentleman's Diary for 1861.

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* Transactions, p. 1.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. Towson.

1. A minute model of a field-piece, complete in all respects, and weighing only the thirtieth part of a grain, the manufacture of the exhibiter.
2. A small pyramid-shaped ornament made from the only piece of the capstan of the Royal George saved from the fire at Plymouth dock yard in 1840.

By Mr. De Walden.

A portrait in oils, supposed to be original, of the Honorable Robert Boyle.

The following Papers were read :—

I. Illustrations of Thermal Influence on the direction of the Wind, derived from the Fire at Plymouth Dock-yard in 1840, *by J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.*

II. A Historic Sketch of the Hundred of Wirral in Cheshire, with Notices of the curious Charities known as the "Cow Charities," *by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L.*

7th February, 1861. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society :—

William Bartlett, 22, North John street.
John Otto William Fabert, 15, Nile street.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Archæologia Æliana, No. 17.

From the Author.
Statistical Papers based on the Census of England and Wales, 1851, relating to the Occupations of the People, and the Increase of Population 1841-51, by Thomas A. Welton, F.S.S.

From M. De Perthes.
L'Abbevillois, French newspaper, for the 1st February, 1861.

From Mr. Towson.
Remarks illustrative of the sounding-voyage of H.M.S. *Bulldog* in 1860, Captain Sir F. Leopold McClintock commanding.

From the Editor.
Autobiography of the Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Cox, Bart., Lord Chancellor of Ireland, from the original MS. Edited by Richard Caulfield, B.A.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. McQuie.

1. Two coloured views of Liverpool, 1797, and a folio volume, 1801, by John Thomas Serres.
2. Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters, with numerous engraved portraits of Artists of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.
3. Eight curious engravings, including a bird's-eye view of Rostock, &c., executed in the 16th century.

By Mr. Newton.

An illuminated volume of early date, in vellum, and, in contrast with it, an illuminated edition of a modern Poem.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Earliest Application of the expansive and explosive powers of Steam to the purposes of Superstition, *by William Bell, Ph.Dr.*

14*th February*, 1861. LITERARY SECTION.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society:—

Robert McGill, Copperas hill, St. Helens.
John Mortimer Wilson, Hardshaw street, St Helens.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Proceedings of the Royal Society, Nos. 39 to 42.

From the Society.
Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, No. 65.

From the Author.
De l'Homme Antédiluvien et de ses Œuvres, par M. de Perthes.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Frederick Taylor, Esq.

Three Chinese maps; various articles of Japanese costume; five large coloured illustrations of persons and costumes, printed on fine cotton; a box of birds' nests from which the Chinese make their celebrated soup.

By Mr. Bloxam.

A copy of Cocker's Arithmetic, published 150 years since, with a curious preface.

The following Paper was read:—

Historic Parallels,* *by David Buxton, F.R.S.L., Hon. Librarian.*

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* Transactions, p. 167.

21*st February*, 1861. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

WILLIAM BURKE, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

Mr. John Mills, Middle School, Warrington, was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Proceedings, vol. iv., No. 5; and Journal, vol. xxx, of the Royal Geographical Society.

From the Society.
Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Society, N. S., Nos. 28 to 30.

From the Author.
Geology of the Lake district, illustrated by a coloured map, by A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. G. M. Browne.
1. Map of the Seat of War in New England, 1775.
2. Three views of Liverpool of various dates in the last century; and one of the ancient tower and spire of St. Nicholas's Church.
3. Specimens of the iron-sand found at Taranaki, New Zealand, and of European and West Indian iron-stone.

The following Paper was read:—

TRANSLATIONS OF THE GREEK BIBLICAL PAPYRUS MSS. IN MR. MAYER'S MUSEUM, *by C. Simonides, Ph.Dr.*

7th March, 1861. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Extrait des Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1859; viz.:—Orthographes de quelques anciens noms propres nordiques. The Northmen in Iceland: Remarks on a Treatise of G. W. Dasent, Esq., D.C.L., by Grímur Thomsen. Séance annuelle de la S. R. des Antiquaires du Nord, le 14 Mai, 1859.

From the Society.
Bulletins de la Société Archéologique de l'Orléanais, 1860, Nos. 35 and 36.

From the Author.
Observations on discoveries of Roman remains and the site of a Roman military position in Sedbury, Gloucestershire; and on the identity of the Chapelry of St. Briavel's—the Lidneia Parva of the 12th century—with the Ledenei of Domesday, by George Ormerod, D.C.L., F.R.S.

From the Author.
Hachettes diluviennes du bassin de la Somme. Par M. L'Abbé Cochet.

From the Editor.
The Archæological Mine, part 42, edited by A. J. Dunkin.

From Sir Henry E. Dryden, Bart.
A Lithographic Print of the four sides of Copplestone Cross, North Devon.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Mr. Henderson.
1. A bronze medal of Pope Alexander VII.
2. A bronze medal of the Earl of Pembroke.
3. Various Roman Coins.
4. Twelve Roman Silver Coins found December, 1861, by workmen, digging for a Railway on the South bank of the Eden, about a mile and a half below Carlisle, and near to that part of the Roman wall which began on that side of the river and extended to Bowness, or Port Carlisle on the Solway. The earliest of these Coins was a second Vespasian.

By Mr. Burke.
1. A finely preserved volume, containing a copy of the Bible, "imprinted at London by Christopher Barker," 1599; "The "Book of Common Prayer," 1641; "The Genealogies recorded "in the Sacred Sriptures according to every Family and Tribe," 1638; "A briefe Concordance," 1652; "The Book of Psalmes," with tunes.
2. Also, a copy of the Version of the Bible, "Imprinted at London "by Robert Barker in 1606," with a briefe Table of the Interpre- "tation of the Proper Names which are chiefly found in the Old "Testament," and "The whole Booke of Psalmes," 1604, with the tunes.

By Mr. Blackmore.
A Roman bronze figure of Venus, between six and seven inches in height, being a reduced *replica* of the celebrated statue of the Venus de' Medici.

The following Paper was read :—

On the Roman Penates-manufactory at Moulins, *by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P.*

14*th March*, 1861. LITERARY SECTION.

WILLIAM BROWN, ESQ., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, 1859-60, No. xiv.

From the Society.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. xviii, part 1, 1860.

From the Editor.
The Levant Quarterly Review of Literature and Science, No. 1; Constantinople, July, 1860.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. Newton.
A Map of the County of Chester, taken from an Atlas dated 1650; and, from the same work, a Map of England in which Liverpool is not mentioned.

By Dr. Hume.
Numerous rubbings of Monumental Brasses.

The following Paper was read:—

METALLIC ORNAMENTS AND ATTACHMENTS; AS SHEWN ON MONUMENTAL BRASSES, *by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L.*

21*st March*, 1861. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

WILLIAM BROWN, ESQ., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. Thomas Shaw Petty was duly elected an ordinary Member of the Society.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Journal of the Royal Dublin Society, Nos. 18 and 19, 1860.

From the Society.
Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1859.

From the Society.
Journal of the Manchester and Liverpool Agricultural Society for 1861.

From Mr. Moss.
Three Liverpool Play Bills, dated 1788, 1790 and 1792 respectively.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Dr. Hume.

1. Several War Clubs, Shields, &c., from Australia.
2. Angus's South Australia, illustrated.

By Mr. Towson.

Drawings &c., in illustration of his Paper.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Ethnography of Australia, *by J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.*

11*th April*, 1861. LITERARY SECTION.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Smithsonian Institution.

Smithsonian Report, 1858.

From the Society.

Journal of the Statistical Society, Vol. xxiii, Parts 2 to 4.

From the Author.

A Lunar Tidal-Wave in the North American Lakes, demonstrated by Lieut.-Col. J. D. Graham, U.S. Topographical Engineers, 1861.

From the Author.

"Barrow's Travels in China," investigated by W. J. Proudfoot.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Dr. Hume.

Various Engravings from Brass-rubbings in the County of Norfolk.

By Mr. Fabert.

Six Maps of England and part of Scotland, dated 1676.

The following Paper was read:—

Popular Rhymes and Proverbs connected with Localities in Cumberland,* *by A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A.*

2nd May, 1861. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, President, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary Members of the Society:—

Frederick J. Jeffery, 11, Lodge Lane.
Rev. R. Leicester, A.M., Parsonage, Woolton.

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* Transactions, p. 45.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Society.
Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xxix, 1859.

From the Society.
Original Papers published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, vol. vi, part 1.

From the Society.
Journal of the Society of Arts, Nos. 369 to 440.

From the Society.
Transactions, vol. xxii, part 1, and Proceedings, No. 49, of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

From the Academy.
Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxiv, part 1—Science.

From the Numismatic Society.
The Numismatic Chronicle, March, 1861, New Series, No. 1.

From the Institution.
Report of the Liverpool Royal Institution, 1860-61.

From the Author.
The Plurality of Inhabited Worlds, by J. P. Joule, LL.D., F.R.S. &c.

From Mr. T. Dawson.
A coloured lithograph of old Shaw's Brow, the site of the New Free Public Library.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Dr. Hume.
Specimens of native gold, from Yass, New South Wales.

By Mr. T. Dawson.
1. A MS. volume of letters, written in 1742-43, by Foster Cunliffe, of Liverpool.
2. The poll of the Liverpool Election, 1754.
3. A collection of pamphlets, containing also a sketch by J. Gibson, sculptor, about 1813.
4. A list of persons in Liverpool assessed, in 1780, "under an Act "for inlighting and cleansing the said town, and for keeping and "maintaining a nightly watch there; being twelve pence in the "pound on houses, and twenty shillings for every £100 stock or "personal estate."

The following Paper was read :—

Sketch of the History of the Liverpool Blue Coat Hospital,* Part II., *by Mr. John R. Hughes.*

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* Transactions, p. 71.

9*th May*, 1861. MISCELLANEOUS MEETING.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

This meeting was held in the Chairman's Museum of Antiquities, and was attended by several hundreds of ladies and gentlemen, who after inspecting the various objects of interest, assembled in the principal room, when the following Papers were read:—

I. ON A GOLD PLATE, EMBOSSED WITH HIEROGLYPHICS, IN THE MUSEUM OF JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A. &c.,* *by C. Simonides, Ph. Dr.*

II. SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ART OF ENGRAVING ON GEMS, *by the Chairman*.

APPENDIX.

27*th July*, 1861. SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

On the above date the Annual Excursion took place. The members with their Friends, including several ladies, took their departure in the morning by railway from Birkenhead, and proceeded in the first instance to Beeston Castle, the ruins of which were explored, the Rev. Dr. Hume, Honorary Secretary, giving, on the spot, an interesting detail of the various events of historical note connected with the building. From all sides of the ruin a magnificent view of the surrounding country, extending in almost all directions for many miles, was presented, several of the principal buildings of Chester, the river Mersey and other distant objects being distinctly visible. From thence the party passed, by a pleasant walk through the fields, to Peckforton Castle, a noble modern red sandstone building, one of the country seats of Mr. Tollemache, M.P. for South Cheshire, by whose kind permission the party were escorted over the interior; and having inspected the numerous works of art contained in it, including various pictures by Vandyke, Rembrandt, Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds &c., took their way to Bunbury Church. After having examined the interior the excursion party returned to Chester, where a numerous company dined at the Queen's Hotel, the Chair being occupied by Joseph Mayer, Esq., one of the Vice-Prosidents of the Society. The usual loyal toasts, and sentiments appropriate to the occasion, having been proposed and responded to, the party took the return train to Birkenhead.

* Transactions, p. 305.

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